BP
file AG dinner

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
815 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

MEMORANDUM

Date: February 10, 1966

To: Vernon Jordan

From: E. T. Kehrer

Subject: Katzenbach Speech

The attached list contains the list of Labor people I would recommend be invited by VEP to the Katzenbach speech. I have included more than 10 names because I am certain some of these, although they should be invited, may not be able to attend.

ETK:sjs

Earl Davis
Phil Weightman
Al Barkan
Wilbur Hobby
Dan Powell

Saul Miller
AFL-CIO

Earl Davis
Weightman
Fannie Neal - Ala. COPE
Powell
Barkin -

Let know if can come
our guest for luncheon
Formal Invitations follow

Mike Bentley
TWUA

February 15, 1966

Mr. E. L. Abercrombie
Laundry Workers Union
157 Forsyth Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Abbie:

I know you will be receiving an invitation from the Council to attend a luncheon meeting to be addressed by Attorney General Katzenbach on February 28. I simply add my own personal word of invitation and hope that you can make it. I trust it will not be too long before we can get together.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:jb

February 15, 1966

Mr. E. T. Kehrer
Southern Office
Civil Rights Department, AFL-CIO
40 Marietta Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Al:

On behalf of the Southern Regional Council I want to invite you to be our guest at the luncheon meeting to be addressed by Attorney General Katzenbach.

The luncheon is now scheduled for 12:30, Monday, February 28, 1966 at the Marriott Motor Hotel. You alread know, of course, that Mr. Katzenbach will be addressing a Southwide group interested in voter registration and citizenship participation. He will take the occasion to speak to the region about the Justice Department's pâans and commitments in these important areas.

The Council, Vernon, and I want to thank you for your continued cooperation in this program as in so many others.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:jb

SAME LETTER SENT TO:

Art Hallgren, Vice-President
Florida AFl-CIO

Victor Bussie, President
Louisiana AFL-CIO

W. M. Barbee, President
North Carolina State AFL-CIO

E. T. Kirkland, Sec.Treas.
South Carolina Labor Council, AFL-CIO

Matthew Lynch, President
Tenn. State Labor Council, AFL-CIO

(Addresses attached)

February 15, 1966

Mr. Barney Weeks, President
Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO
604 Lyric Building
Birmingham, Alabama 35203

Dear Barney:

I would like to invite you on behalf of the Southern Regional Council to be our guest at a luncheon at which the Attorney General of the United States will be the featured speaker. Mr. Katzenbach will be with us on February 28, 1966. Lunch will be at 12:30 in the Marriott Motor Hotel in Atlanta, at the corner of Courtland and Cain Streets.

The Attorney General will address a group of persons from throughout the South who are especially interested in voter registration and citizenship participation for all peoples. Mr. Katzenbach will speak to the entire region about the Justice Department's plans and commitments in these important areas.

Regrettably, we do not have funds to cover travel costs, but it is our hope that you will be able to join us for this occasion. It would greatly assist our planning if you would let me know if you will be with us onbthe 28th.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:jb

February 16, 1966

Mr. Al Barkan
Committee on Political Education,
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Barkan:

The Southern Regional Council has invited Attorney General Katzenbach to address a Southwide luncheon attended by persons interested in voter registration and citizenship participation. We anticipate a major speech outlining the plans and commitments of the Justice Department in these important areas.

We expect that a number of regional labor leaders will attend the meeting but would of course like especially to have representation from C.O.P.E. itself. I fully realize that your own schedule is not likely to allow for your being an attendee at such an affair but I did want you to know that you would be most cordially welcome as our guest. Since we have worked cooperatively with a number of persons on your staff, as a matter of courtesy and because we hope that some of them may be able to attend, I am sending invitations to them. This list will include Phil Weightman, Earl Davis, Dan Powell, Wilbur Hobby, and Fannie Neal.

Regrettably, we are not able to pay travel expenses for this occasion. I do hope, however, that the travel schedule for you or some of your staff will make it possible for one or more of you to join with civil rights leaders and workers, labor leaders, and leaders from government, business and other walks of life for this meeting.

Lunch is set for 12:30, February 28, 1966, at the Marriott Motor Hotel, at the corner of Courtland and Cain Streets in Atlanta.

On another matter: I am sorry that bad weather, schedules, and health conspired to keep us from having someone from C.O.P.E. at the recent Southern Union Staff Institute sponsored by the National Institute of Labor Education in cooperation with the AFL-CIO Departments of Education and Civil Rights. It was a loss for us all; however, our final judgment was that the program as a whole was a great success.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:jb
bcc: Vernon Jordan

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

GEORGE MEANY
PRESIDENT

WM. F. SCHNITZLER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

REGION NO. 6, CHARLES H. GILLMAN, DIRECTOR
1026 HURT BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JACKSON 4-5001-2

February 16,1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

Dear Emory:

I appreciate your invitation to attend the luncheon to be held at 12:30 p.m. on February 28,1966, but I am sorry I will be unable to attend as we have previously arranged a staff meeting and educational program in Birmingham, Alabama, for that date.

Whenever you have time, it would be nice if you could stop by the office sometime and we could talk a while.

With best wishes, I remain

Fraternally yours,

Charlie

C. H. Gillman
Regional Director

CHG:pg
oeiu-21-afl-cio

T.O. ✓

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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WM. F. SCHNITZLER, SECRETARY-TREASURER

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L. M. RAFTERY
JOHN J. GROGAN

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DAVID J. McDONALD
DAVID DUBINSKY
WM. F. SCHNITZLER

815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C. NATIONAL 8-3870

February 16, 1966

Mr. Emory Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Please let me take this opportunity to thank you and the Southern Regional Council for the invitation to be your guest at the luncheon meeting to be addressed by Attorney General Katzenbach, Monday, February 28, at the Marriott Motor Hotel.

I plan to be present and look forward to hearing about the Justice Department's plans and commitments in the areas of voter registration and citizenship participation.

Very best personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

E. T. Kehrer, Southern Area Director
AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department

Suite 1422
40 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

ETK:sjs

SA ME LETTER SENT TO: Dan Powell, Memphis; Wilbur Hobby, Durham; Fannie Neal, Washington; and Earl Davis, Washington: all are with C.O.P.E., AFL-CIO.

February 17, 1966

Mr. Phil Weightman
Committee on Political Education,
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Phil:

I would like to invite you on behalf of the Southern Regional Council to be our guest at a luncheon at which the Attorney General of the United States will be the featured speaker. Mr. Katzenbach will be with us on February 28, 1966. Lunch will be at 12:30 in the Marriott Motor Hotel in Atlanta, at the corner of Courtland and Cain Streets.

The Attorney General will address a group of persons from throughout the South who are especially interested in voter registration and citizenship participation for all peoples. Mr. Katzenbach will speak to the entire region about the Justice Department's plans and commitments in these important areas.

Regrettably, we do not have funds to cover travel costs, but it is our hope that you will be able to join us for this occasion. It would greatly assist our planning if you would let me know if you will be with us on the 28th.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

American Federation of
STATE, COUNTY, and MUNICIPAL Employees

MADISON BUILDING
1155-15TH STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005

JERRY WURF
PRESIDENT

GORDON W. CHAPMAN
SECRETARY-TREASURER

AL GROSS
International Union
General Representative

Southeastern Area Office
1627 Peachtree Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309
Phone: (404) 875-4601

February 17, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Thank you for your letter of February 15 and the invitation to be your guest at a luncheon February 28 at the Marriott Motor Hotel.

I will be very happy to attend this luncheon.

Sincerely,

Albert Gross

Albert I. Gross
International General Representative

AIG:ap

checked
VK
T.O.

GEORGIA STATE AFL-CIO

CHARTERED BY AND SUBORDINATE TO AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

DISTRICT VICE PRESIDENTS

LOUIE M. NUNN
1ST DISTRICT

MRS. JIMMYE HATCHER
2ND DISTRICT

RALPH C. TOWNSON
3RD DISTRICT

J. W. HARDEGREE
4TH DISTRICT

MRS. MARTHA TRUE
5TH DISTRICT

MORGAN BOWEN
6TH DISTRICT

A. J. SCOTT
7TH DISTRICT

H. G. FITZPATRICK
8TH DISTRICT

OTIS CHILDERS
9TH DISTRICT

J. HAROLD DYE
10TH DISTRICT

15 PEACHTREE STREET, N. E.
ROOM 208
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
525-2793

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

W. H. MONTAGUE, SR.
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M. J. COUNIHAN
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

J. D. (JIM) MOORE
SECRETARY

MRS. LOUISE DEAN
TREASURER

February 17, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Via:

Thank you for your kind invitation to attend a luncheon on February 28, 1966, at 12:30 in the Marriott Motor Hotel in Atlanta, at which the Attorney General of the United States will be the featured speaker.

I will be delighted to attend, and am looking forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

W H Montague Sr

W. H. Montague, Sr.
President
Georgia State AFL-CIO

WHM:s
opeiu #21
afl-cio

checked
HR T.O. ✓

J. R. DINKINS, 2ND VICE PRESIDENT
TED B. DAVIS, 3RD VICE PRESIDENT
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J. L. CAPPS, VICE PRESIDENT
J. P. MCKELLAR, VICE PRESIDENT

North Carolina State AFL-CIO

W. M. BARBEE
PRESIDENT

J. R. FRY
1ST VICE PRESIDENT

POST OFFICE BOX 10805 RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

PHONE 833-6678

February 18, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Five Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Brother Via:

Thanks very much for your kind invitation dated February 28.

I wish it were possible for me to accept this invitation; however, due to previous commitments, this will not be possible.

Wishing for you a most successful meeting, I remain

Sincerely and fraternally yours,

W. M. Barbee

W. M. Barbee, President

WMB:dd
opeiu 84 afl-cio

checked 2-21
LK
T.O.

Alabama LABOR COUNCIL, AFL-CIO

324-5648 • 604 LYRIC BLDG.
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA 35203

BARNEY WEEKS, PRESIDENT
A. G. TRAMMELL, SECRETARY-TREASURER
WM. E. MINTZ, EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

February 18, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I have just returned to my office and found your very kind invitation of February 15, to attend a luncheon in Atlanta on February 28 to hear Attorney General Katzenbach.

I surely do appreciate your thinking of me and wish it were possible for me to attend, but my schedule is so heavy right now, and I am already committed.

Best wishes for a most successful meeting, and warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Barney

Barney Weeks
President

mw

OPEIU-18

Checked 2-21
L.K.
T.O.

COPE
AFL-CIO

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR & CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
AFL CIO

Committee on Political Education

GEORGE MEANY chairman WM. F. SCHNITZLER secretary-treasurer ALEXANDER E. BARKAN national director
815 16TH STREET, N.W. ★ WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 ★ PHONE 393-0220

February 21, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Thank you very much for your invitation on behalf of the Southern Regional Council to be a guest at your luncheon, but due to prior engagements involving our COPE conferences, I will be unable to attend. However, I have delegated a member of the COPE staff, Mrs. Fannie A. Neal, to be present at the affair.

I am sorry that I will have to miss such an informative and important meeting but thank you again for your invitation.

Sincerely,

Phil

Philip M. Weightman

PMW/pl
opeiu #2
afl-cio

cc: Mrs. Fannie Neal

T.O.✓

COPE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR & CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
AFL CIO

Committee on Political Education

GEORGE MEANY chairman
WM. F. SCHNITZLER secretary-treasurer
JAMES L. McDEVITT national director

AREA NO. 3
FLORIDA
GEORGIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
VIRGINIA

FROM THE OFFICE OF
WILBUR HOBBY
AREA DIRECTOR
COPE AREA NO. 3
BOX 175
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA
HOME PHONE: 383-9351
OFFICE: 681-5927

February 21, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory,

I am in receipt of your letter inviting me to attend the Southern Regional Conference luncheon at which the Attorney General of the United States will be the featured speaker. Please be advised that I plan to attend this luncheon.

I appreciate very much your invitation to this very important meeting.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Wilbur Hobby
AreaDirector

Wilbur Hobby

WH:b

T.C.V

Louisiana
FORMERLY: LOUISIANA STATE LABOR COUNCIL AFL-CIO

afl·cio

OFFICES:
BATON ROUGE
NEW ORLEANS
SHREVEPORT

MAILING ADDRESS: P. O. BOX 58 - BATON ROUGE

February 28, 1966

copy for Vernon J.

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. ~~Via~~ Emory:

I sincerely regret the delay in answering your letter of February 15. I had hoped I would be able to arrange my schedule in order to attend the luncheon but I found it to be impossible. Consequently, I placed the call to personally apologize. I sincerely hope you will understand.

I would have liked to hear the Attorney General's address and to have had the opportunity to discuss with him some of the problems we have had in Louisiana on voter registration. I have been to the Justice Department several times with these and it might have been helpful to have updated our problems with him.

Thank you again, Emory, for the invitation. I hope I will be able to see you soon.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Vic

Victor Bussie
President

VB:md

March 9, 1966

Mr. Victor Bussie, President
Louisiana AFL-CIO
P. O. Box 58
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Vic:

Thanks for your call and letter regarding the Katzenbach luncheon.

It would be of interest to us to know what sorts of voter registration problems you have run into in Louisiana that occasioned your going to the Justice Department. Such information would be doubly helpful to us -- one, for research purposes, and two, for making some practical decisions about Louisiana.

Could you write me further or send something you have already written or if you prefer call me or Vernon Jordan, Director of our Voter Education Project collect.

I hope you will get to meet Jordan before too long. You will find him an able operator in the whole field of voter registration and turnout.

I hope to come your way within a month of two.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

MEMORANDUM

TO: N. Morgan

FROM: E. Via

RE: Katzenbach luncheon

Tony Zillovich and Gid Parhan of the Teamsters will come; If there is room, we should also invite R. C. Cook, president of the local Teamsters local.

✓ = attended

Norm Hill also Advisory Committee

Labor - pays 16 checked plus 2 from margin —

KATZENBACH LUNCHEON - LABOR LIST

~~Accepted~~

Name	Accepted	Declined	Maybe
✓ ABERCROMBIE, E. L. (Laundry)	x		
[redacted]			
~~BUSSIE, Victor~~ (called)		x	
✓ BUTLER, R. J. (Atl. Lab. Council)	x		
" BUTLER, Herb (UAW)			x - (NST)
✓ CHRISTOPHER, Paul (Reg Dir)	x		
✓ Earl Davis (COPE)	X		
? DICKINSON, Guy RWDSU			x
✓ GREEN, Herb (UAW)	x		
✓ GROSS, Albert AFSCME)	x		
~~BARBEE, W. M.~~		x	
~~GILLMAN, Charles~~		x	
✓ HOBBY, Wilbur (COPE)	x		
✓ HANDLER, Jack (ILGWU)	x		
✓ KEHRER, E. T. (AFL-CIO)	x		
✓ LeCLERC, Fred (visited w. the Hobbs)	X		~~x~~
~~LYNCH, Matt~~		x	
✓ LEVINE, Jerome (ICWU)	x		
✓ MONTAGUE, W. H., Sr. (GA AFL-CIO)	x		
✓ MOORE, Jim Sec. (Ga AFL-CIO)	x	✓ Thomas, Harly — (ICWU)	
✓ NEAL, Fannie, Mrs. (COPE)	x	✓ Henderson, Earl — (UAW)	
✓ PARHAM, Gid (TEAMSTERS)	x		
✓ POWELL, Dan (COPE)			x
? MORAND, Martin (ILGWU)			x
~~WEEKS, Barney~~		x	
~~WEIGHTMAN, Phil~~		x	
~~RAMSAY, Claude~~		x	
✓ ZILLOVICH, Tony (TEAMSTERS)	x		
? VINCENT, T. H. (UPWA)			x
✓ Hill, NORM (IUD) (Advisory Committee - VEP)			

Labor Ed advisory Ctee

June 30, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Emory Via

For your consideration to be sent to the following persons:

Claude Ramsey
Bill Becker
Paul Christopher
Hank Brown
Jim Youngdahl
Joe Mire
Al Kehrer

Should we mention the period for which the project is funded?

Any other approval of the appointees required?

Attachment

Labor Ed Advisory Ottee

DATE

ADDRESS

DEAR_____:

This letter is to formally request that you serve on the Advisory Committee to the Council's Labor Program. The Program was established in September of 1965 with Emory Via as its director.

In 1965, the Council in cooperation with the National Institute of Labor Education secured a grant from the Taconic Foundation for the labor program. Subsequently, further funds were secured from the Ford Foundation.

The duties of the Advisory Committee Members will be to meet about twice a year for a review of activities and to assist in thinking through future programs and policies. Expenses incurred by attendance at such meetings will be paid by the Council.

We are asking the labor related members of S.R.C. and a representative each from the National Institute of Labor Education and the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO to constitute the Advisory Committee.

Will you please indicate at your early convenience if you will be able to accept this assignment?

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Kathy:
Can you read the attached letter? If so, would you please make a clean draft for P.A. to consider with a note saying: For your consideration to be sent to the following persons.

Letter proposed for:

Claud Ramsay
Bill Becker
Paul Christopher
Hank Brown
Jim Youngdahl
Joe Mire
Al Kehrer

add note at end of letter & include the 2 questions on the back sheet.

Thanks,
Jim

EV
MS-file

National Institute of Labor Education
at The American University

1911 F STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006
TELEPHONE: 737-1366

OFFICERS

RALPH N. CAMPBELL
PRESIDENT

FRANK P. GRAHAM
LAWRENCE ROGIN
VICE PRESIDENTS

LORENTZ H. ADOLFSON
TREASURER

JOSEPH MIRE
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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CARROLL HUTTON
F. RAY MARSHALL
JAMES E. NOE
JULES PAGANO
LAWRENCE ROGIN
BRENDAN SEXTON
GUS TYLER
JAMES E. WOLFE

Dear Paul,

July 7, 66

Thanks for your letter of July 5th.
I'll be glad to serve on your Advisory Committee for the Labor Program.
Good wishes!

Sincerely yours
Joe

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

GEORGE MEANY
PRESIDENT

WM. F. SCHNITZLER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

REGION NO. 8. PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, DIRECTOR
216 FLATIRON BUILDING
705 BROADWAY, N. E.
KNOXVILLE 17, TENNESSEE
524-7481-2

EV
MJ - note
& file

July 8, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

In reply to yours of July 5 I shall be glad to serve on the Advisory Committee to the Council's Labor Program.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul R. Christopher
AFL-CIO Region VIII Director

PRC:lr
oeiu 144 afl-cio

McMATH, LEATHERMAN, WOODS & YOUNGDAHL
ATTORNEYS-AT-LAW
711 WEST THIRD STREET
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS 72201

SIDNEY S. McMATH
LELAND F. LEATHERMAN
HENRY WOODS
JAMES E. YOUNGDAHL

JOHN P. SIZEMORE
SILAS H. BREWER, JR.

AREA CODE 501
FRANKLIN 6-3021

July 11, 1966

Read 7/13/66

EV
MJ

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

In response to your letter of July 5, 1966, I would be pleased to serve on the Advisory Committee to the Council's Labor Program.

I will look forward to receiving further information on this.

Sincerely,

James E. Youngdahl

JEY:ghw

opeiu105aflcio

Arkansas State AFL-CIO

1408 REBSAMEN PARK ROAD
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS MOhawk 3-4164

J. BILL BECKER
President
GEORGE H. ELLISON
Vice-President
E. J. JACOBS
Secretary-Treasurer

July 11, 1966

Read 7/13/66

EV
MJ

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of July 5th asking me to serve on the Advisory Committee to the Council's Labor Program. I would be most happy to do so and would consider it a privilege.

MJ - note
EV - answer?

I regret to advise you that I will be unable to attend your 1966 Annual Meeting in Atlanta on November 16, 17, and 18. I have a previous commitment that I cannot possibly break.

If you are planning that the Advisory Committee will meet during this period, you might want to find someone else to serve on the Committee since I will be unable to be there. With this reservation I would be glad to accept the appointment.

Always with a good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Bill Becker

J. Bill Becker
President

JBB:jm
opeiu 105, afl-cio

Mississippi AFL-CIO
FORMERLY: MISSISSIPPI LABOR COUNCIL AFL-CIO
133 SOUTH LAMAR STREET
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI 39201
PHONE 355-1754

July 11, 1966

Recd 7/13/66

EV
MJ

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I will be happy to serve on your Labor Advisory Committee, per your request of July 5, 1966.

Sincerely,

Claude

Claude Ramsay
President

CR/dm
opeiu 204
afl-cio

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

GEORGE MEANY, PRESIDENT
WM. F. SCHNITZLER, SECRETARY-TREASURER

WALTER P. REUTHER
DAVID DUBINSKY
JOSEPH D. KEENAN
RICHARD F. WALSH
JAMES A. SUFFRIDGE
PETER T. SCHOEMANN
JOHN J. GROGAN
DAVID SULLIVAN
GEORGE BURDON
GEORGE M. HARRISON
JOSEPH CURRAN
JACOB S. POTOFSKY
LEE W. MINTON
KARL F. FELLER
PAUL HALL
I. W. ABEL
HUNTER P. WHARTON
A. J. DeANDRADE
HARRY C. BATES
M. A. HUTCHESON
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
JOSEPH A. BEIRNE
PAUL L. PHILLIPS
HERMAN D. KENIN
P. L. SIEMILLER
PAUL JENNINGS
RALPH HELSTEIN

815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

EV
MJ

July 14, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I would be happy to serve on the Advisory Committee to Southern Regional Council's Labor Program.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Don

Don Slaiman
Director
Department of Civil Rights

DG:ppo

opeiu #2 afl-cio

SAME LETTER SENT TO: Paul R. Christopher, AFL-CIO Region VIII Director
Claude Ramsay, President, Mississippi AFL-CIO, J. Bill Becker, Pres.,
Arkansas State AFL-CIO, James E. Youngdahl, Don Slaiman, Direcdtor,
Department of Civil Rights, AFL-CIO,

August 12, 1966

Mr. Joseph Mire, Executive Director
National Institute of Labor Education
at The American University
1911 F Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Joe:

I am very pleased to hear from Paul Anthony that you have accepted appointment to the Advisory Committee of the Labor Education Project. I will be letting you know before too long when we will have our first meeting.

Enclosed is a copy of the six-months report of the Project. It attempts to do little more than to outline the major areas of concern and to detail a number of the programs in which we have been involved. However, I would welcome any comments which you wish to make.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosure

Mailing List

Add –

Walt ~~Davis~~ Davis

Steve Ramsey

Ed – Dir TWKA

Make file card

10/17/68 km

Robert Coles
Lewis G. Cowan
Constance Curry
Kenneth L. Dean
Fred Dutton
Marian Wright Edelman
Dorothy I. Height
Harry Huge
Paul Matthias
Charles Pregeon
Ralph Ruiz
David Wells
Peterson Zah

File copy

March 26, 1970

Mr. Al Clayton
306 12th Avenue South
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Al:

A small surplus has accumulated in our special hunger fund. We continue to make small grants, mostly $500.00, and could dispense all the money without difficulty, mainly in our region. Your help is needed to assist us to get wider geographic coverage. The fund is not large enough to mount any major program so please don't swamp us, but you are invited and encouraged to suggest some possible grantees. We are particularly interested in grantees who can effectively use small grants. You could either send us your suggestions or have them contact us direct. Thank you for whatever help you can give us.

Yours very truly,

James N. Wood, Jr.
Executive Assistant

JNW/km

March 26, 1970

ROUGH DRAFT

~~There~~ a small surplus has ~~been~~ accumulated in our special hunger fund. ~~a small surplus~~. ~~While~~ We continue to make small grants, ~~of around~~ mostly $500.00, and could dispense all the money without difficulty, mainly in our Region. Your help is needed to assist us to get wider geographic coverage. The fund is not large enough to mount any major program so please don't swamp us, but you are invited and encouraged to suggest some possible grantees. We are particularly interested in grantees who can effectively ~~using~~ use small grants. You could either send us your suggestions or have them contact us direct. Thank you for whatever help you can give us.

JW/km

HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE

National Office: 815 Sixteenth Street, N.W. - Washington, D.C. 20006

202/638-3914

HRDI National Office Staff

President - Julius F. Rothman
Executive Director - Robert M. McGlotten
Assistant Director - Alfred P. Love ✓
Assistant to the Exec. Dir. - Marcia Stein
Director of Job Development - James D. Boyle ✓
National Field Director - Charles R. Hollowell ✓
Communications Director - Olga Corey ✓
Program Analyst - Loretta Leen

add to mailing list

~~addresses for these are the~~ use address above for these persons

HRDI Regional Directors and Area Manpower Representatives

EAST COAST

REGION I

Paul J. Flynn, Regional Director
44 Bromfield Street, Room 307
Boston, Massachusetts 02108
617/482-1727

BOSTON -

CONNECTICUT STATE -
Donald P. Wrenn
Area Manpower Representative
9 Washington Avenue
Hamden, Connecticut 06518
203/288-0354

REGION II

John T. Burnell, Regional Director
386 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10016
212/MU5-9125/6

NEW YORK STATE -

NEWARK -
Earl Williams
Area Manpower Representative
744 Broad Street, Room 1120
Newark, New Jersey 07108
201/642-4134

TRENTON -
Joseph Ganie
Area Manpower Representative
900 Beatty Street
Trenton, New Jersey 08611
609/695-2004

REGION III

Ben Stahl, Regional Director
1512 Walnut Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102
215/PE5-9039

CAMDEN -

PHILADELPHIA -

Human Resources Development Institute

HRDI Regional Directors and Area Manpower Representatives

EAST COAST

REGION III (cont.)

PITTSBURGH -
Mrs. Minona J. Clinton
Area Manpower Representative
566 William Penn Hotel
William Penn Place
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15219
412/391-2267

REGION IV

James D. Boyle
HRDI National Office
815 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006
202/638-3912

BALTIMORE -

VIRGINIA - PS- 5-70
Vincent Moretti
Area Manpower Representative
1921 Lafayette ~~Boulevard~~
Norfolk, V~~irginia~~ 23509
703/623-4564

WASHINGTON, D.C. -
Mrs. Arline M. Neal
Area Manpower Representative
1148 Seventh Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001
202/483-2273

WEST VIRGINIA STATE -
Lawrence Barker
Area Manpower Representative
P. O. Box 646
Charleston, West Virginia 25323
304/343-2501

SOUTH

Peter Babin, III
Reg~~ional~~ Dir~~ector~~, HRDI
1016 Carondelet Building
New Orleans, Louisiana 70130
504/525-5577

ATLANTA -

Area Manpower Representative
501 Pulliam Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30312
404/874-7928

BIRMINGHAM -
Glen Cole
Area Manpower Representative
1712 Seventh Avenue North
Birmingham, Alabama 35203
205/328-5866/7

MIAMI -
Andrew E. Dann, Jr.
Area Manpower Representative
244 Biscayne Boulevard, Suite 301
Miami, Florida 33132
305/371-4043

NEW ORLEANS -

NORTH CAROLINA STATE - retype
L. G. Holleman
Area Manpower Representative
P. O. Box 10805
Raleigh, North Carolina 27605
919/828-3881

TAMPA -
Harold Reddick
Area Manpower Representative
305 Morgan Street, Rooms 719-720
Tampa, Florida 33601
813/229-1495

Human Resources Development Institute

HRDI Regional Directors and Area Manpower Representatives

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Detroit, Michigan 48201
313/961-4705
961-4724

AKRON -
Charles T. Anderson
Area Manpower Representative
5 E. Buchtel Avenue, Room 314
Akron, Ohio 44308
216/376-4908

CINCINNATI -
Eddie Campbell
Area Manpower Representative
1015 Vine Street
Cincinnati, Ohio 45202
513/421-7067

CLEVELAND -
Harold Winbush, Sr.
Area Manpower Representative
715 Prospect Avenue, Suite 564
Cleveland, Ohio 44114
216/621-0908

COLUMBUS -
Clarence Butler
Area Manpower Representative
36 W. Gay Street, Suite 203
Columbus, Ohio 43215
614/224-3344

DAYTON -
Luther Holt
Area Manpower Representative
1512 West Riverview Street (Temp.)
Dayton, Ohio 45407
513/268-6300

DETROIT -

INDIANAPOLIS -
Bernard Hanley
Area Manpower Representative
803 S. Meridian Street
Indianapolis, Indiana 46225
317/638-1597

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John C. Rober
Area Manpower Representative
912 Adams Street
Toledo, Ohio 34624
419/242-1476

MID-WEST

Charles E. Bradford, Regional Director
2319 Hampton Avenue, Room 108
St. Louis, Missouri 63139
314/644-0322

CHICAGO -
Richard A. Smith
Area Manpower Representative
330 South Wells Street, Room 700
Chicago, Illinois 60606
312/922-2780

KANSAS CITY -
Charles R. Kent
Area Manpower Representative
913 Tracy Street
Kansas City, Missouri 64104
816/471-0870/1

LOUISVILLE -
J. Richard Mahoney
Area Manpower Representative
112 South Fifth Street, Suite 606
Louisville, Kentucky 40202
502/584-2333

MEMPHIS -
William T. Ross, Jr.
Area Manpower Representative
136½ South Second Street
Memphis, Tennessee 38103
901/525-1114

MILWAUKEE -
James Clay
Area Manpower Representative
1012 North Third Street, Room 308
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53203
414/278-7833/4

NASHVILLE -
John Duncan
Area Manpower Representative
631 North First Street, Room 108
Nashville, Tennessee 37207
615/256-3520

Human Resources Development Institute

HRDI Regional Directors and Area Manpower Representatives

MID-WEST (cont.)

ST. LOUIS -

WISCONSIN STATE -
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Area Manpower Representative
6333 West BlueMound Road
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53213
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SOUTHWEST

Michael M. Arnold, Regional Director
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Dallas, Texas 75201
214/748-2705

DALLAS -

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Frank Gallegos
Area Manpower Representative
360 Acoma Street, Room 110
Denver, Colorado 80223
303/744-3124

Delete

HOUSTON -
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Houston, Texas 77023
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OKLAHOMA CITY -
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Area Manpower Representative
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Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73106
405/235-3669

PHOENIX -
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Area Manpower Representative
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SABINE AREA -
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Area Manpower Representative
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Port Neches, Texas 77651
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SAN ANTONIO -
Albert Garcia, Jr.
Area Manpower Representative
109 Lexington Avenue, Room 207
San Antonio, Texas 78205
512/225-1569

WEST COAST

Lyle W. Eller, Regional Director
213 Labor Center
201 S.W. Arthur Street
Portland, Oregon 97201
503/224-9352

LOS ANGELES -
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Area Manpower Representative
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Los Angeles, California 90006
213/381-5611

OAKLAND -
William H. Burks
Area Manpower Representative
595 Sixteenth Street
Oakland, California 94612
415/465-0956

PORTLAND -

Human Resources Development Institute

HRDI Regional Directors and Area Manpower Representatives

WEST COAST (cont.)

SAN DIEGO -
Frederick Martinez
Area Manpower Representative
San Diego Hotel
339 West Broadway Avenue, Suite 204
San Diego, California 92101
714/234-4189

SEATTLE -
George Williams
Area Manpower Representative
2800 First Avenue, Room 208
Seattle, Washington 98121
206/623-5393

PHILIP MURRAY BUILDING

PAUL JENNINGS
President

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND MACHINE WORKERS

AFFILIATED WITH THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR and CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS AND THE CANADIAN LABOUR CONGRESS

PHONE: 296-1200 (Area Code 202)
1126 SIXTEENTH STREET N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

June 13, 1966

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Gentlemen:

Please remove the attached label from your mailing list. Future correspondence should be addressed to:

6-20-66 is

Mr. William Gary, Director
of Civil Rights and Minority
Affairs
IUE-AFL-CIO
1126 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Thank you for your cooperation.

Yours truly,

Velma W Brock

Velma W. Brock, Librarian
for Al Loewenthal, Executive
Assistant to the President

opeiu-2aflcio
vb

PHILIP MURRAY BUILDING

PAUL JENNINGS
President

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND MACHINE WORKERS

AFFILIATED WITH THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR and CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS AND THE CANADIAN LABOUR CONGRESS

PHONE: 296-1200 (Area Code 202)
1126 SIXTEENTH STREET N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

July 7, 1966

New South
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Gentlemen:

Please remove the attached labels from your mailing list.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Yours truly,

Velma W. Brock

Velma W. Brock, Librarian
for Al Loewenthal, Executive
Assistant to the President

opeiu-2aflcio
vb

Have we done this? E.F.V.

What list was she on? See me about replacing her name with Wm Day.

New South
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GA. 30303

RETURN REQUESTED

MRS GLORIA REAHDON NO
INTL UNION OF ELECTRICAL
-RADIO & MACHINE WORKERS
1126-16TH ST N W
WASHINGTON D C 20036

do you
come to peace
there on?

New South
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GA. 30303

RETURN REQUESTED

MRS GLORIA RIORDAN NO
LEGISLATIVE REP
IUE-AFL-CIO-
1126 16TH ST N W
WASHINGTON D C 20036

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
Atlanta 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

July 8, 1966

EU: This is Whitfield's thing. Any additions to your list?
JB

Dear Friend:

Our organization is presently conducting a survey to determine who speaks to the white South.

Basically, our aim is to learn what work is being done by you towards reaching the average white Southerner on the subject of race relations.

All information forwarded to us shall be held in strict confidence. Findings will be presented in generalized terms. Cooperating agencies may be listed separately from the findings but there will be no one-to-one relation drawn between the findings and the cooperating agencies.

We shall appreciate your cooperation in filling out and returning to us the enclosed questionnaire, advising whether it would be feasible to send similar copies to your local chapters and providing us with a list of such chapters.

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

Antony Whitfield

Antony Whitfield
Assistant to the
Director of Information

AW:js

Enclosure - 1.

Did we provide self-addressed, stamped envelopes?

Notice to use extra space on backs of pages

Return address should be on questionnaire

QUESTIONNAIRE: WHO SPEAKS TO THE WHITE SOUTH?

(Please print or type)

1. What is the main purpose of your organization?

_____

_____

_____

_____

These top 3 things could be changed in follow up

2. Does your organization try to communicate with the general public about race relations? _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

3. On the issue of race relations, do you try to reach a sizable number of: (Check appropriate blocks)

A. Upper income whites ☐
B. Upper income Negroes ☐
C. Middle income whites ☐
D. Middle income Negroes ☐
E. Lower income whites ☐
F. Lower income Negroes ☐

For coding, give these different letters — can't be same as group above —

A. Whites with grammar school education ☐
B. Negroes with grammar school education ☐
C. Whites with high school education ☐
D. Negroes with high school education ☐
E. Whites with college education ☐
F. Negroes with college education ☐

4. What methods do you employ to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations?

A. Door-to-door campaigns ☐
B. Rallies and town meetings ☐
C. Local radio or TV broadcasts ☐
D. Distribution of literature ☐

1) Your own ☐
2) Other sources ☐

} don't split questions by page

Please specify: _____

_____

5. On the issue of race relations, what hindrances to your work do you encounter in your area? _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

6. Are there organized groups that are active in opposing the implementation of civil rights in your area?
Yes _____ No _____. Please comment: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

7. How effective do you judge the activities of such groups to be?

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☐
C. Somewhat influential ☐
D. Almost without influence ☐

8. Have such organizations hampered the success of your own organization on the civil rights and race relations issues? Yes _____ No _____. Please comment: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

9. On race relations, what are the problems that you encounter within your own ranks? _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

10. Do you have ways to gauge the effectiveness of your efforts to reach the white citizens of your area on race relations? Yes _____ No _____. Please comment and specify such methods, if any: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

11. How do you rate your organization in its ability to influence white citizens on race relations?

A. Highly influential ☐
B. Influential ☐
C. Somewhat influential ☐
D. Almost without influence ☐

12. Does your organization take an active part in protests or demonstrations which involve the issue of race relations? Yes _____ No _____.

13. Do you feel that demonstrations have a positive or negative effect on the white citizens of your area?
Positive _____ Negative _____

14. Do you feel that demonstrations alert the white citizens of your area or areas to an awareness of problems on the issue of race relations?
Yes _____ No _____. Please comment: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

15. Does your organization make appeals to civic and public officials on the issue of race relations? Yes _____ No _____.

Are the responses to such appeals generally handled satisfactorily? Yes _____ No _____. Please comment:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

16. On what other issues besides race relations has your organization achieved significant progress? _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

17. Is the handling of race relations relegated to a special committee or sub-committee of your organization? Yes _____ No _____. Please comment: ____

_____

_____

_____

_____

18. Is your organization a membership organization? Yes _____ No _____.

19. If so, what percentage, roughly, of your membership is actively engaged in race relations activities?

_____

_____

_____

_____

20. What is the size of your organization? Please specify whether this size represents the local, state, regional, or national level.

		Local	State	Reg'l	Nat'l
A. 1,000 +		_____	_____	_____	_____
B. 500-1,000		_____	_____	_____	_____
C. 100-500		_____	_____	_____	_____
D. - 100		_____	_____	_____	_____

21. Do you feel that there has been a change in the attitudes of white citizens in your area on the issue of race relations within the last five years?

Yes _____ No _____

The last two years?

Yes _____ No _____

Please comment: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

22. Do you feel that most of the white citizens in your area who have not already accepted constructive attitudes toward race relations can be effectively reached? Yes _____ No _____ Please comment: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

23. Please comment on the programs, policies, and interests of your organization regarding race relations and closely related issues which may not have been covered fully by the above questions.

why not last question

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

24. To the extent that you have been formerly concerned with race relations, do you feel that there is any point in continuing to pursue this concern, or do you feel that the issue of race relations has already been amply dealt with? _____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

25. Do you have an adult education program on race relations that is aimed specifically at the white citizens of your area? _____

Repeat ok.

_____
_____
_____
_____

File

United Steelworkers of America

1500 COMMONWEALTH BUILDING

Pittsburgh, Pa. 15222

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

PHONE: 471-5254
CABLE ADDRESS: USWA

August 8, 1966

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Thanks for the complimentary subscription to NEW SOUTH. This issue was most interesting. I shall put it in the library of our new staff center where it will be read by staff from throughout the country.

Also, thanks for helping us out in District 36-G. You evidently did your usual excellent job. By the way, District 36-G is no longer. Florida, Alabama and Mississippi have been put in with District 36: headquarters, Birmingham; Director, Howard Strevel. Louisiana has been absorbed by District 37: headquarters, Houston; Director, Jim Ward.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely,

Fred K. Hoehler, Jr.

Fred K. Hoehler, Jr.
Director

FKH:mgm

Fill

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION • AFL-CIO

SOUTHEAST REGION

457 PLASTER AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30324
TELEPHONE (404) 872-8161

Louis Stulberg
PRESIDENT

•

Martin J. Morand
DIRECTOR

August 3, 1966

Emery Via
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emery:

Thanks for NEW SOUTH. Do you know August Meier? I am wondering if he is the same fellow I knew 22 years ago at Pioneer Youth Camp.

Very truly yours,

Marty

Martin J. Morand
Director

MJM:f

AREA CODE 919
762-0584

561

United Transport Service Employees

AFFILIATED WITH THE AFL-CIO
815 RED CROSS STREET
WILMINGTON, NORTH CAROLINA

OFFICE OF
DIRECTOR
SOUTHEASTERN REGION

August 9, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 For-syth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

ck 8-11-66 8-11-66 is

Enclosed you will find a check for $3.00 to cover payment for one year subscription for the book, New South. I am very happy to receive this complimentary copy. It is a very interesting publication and it points out so well the problems of the Negro in the South; but sheds very little hope that the black-man will ever be able to break out of the political and economical dilemna in which the black-man finds, himself.

I had great hopes thirty (30) years ago when I became a member of Organized Labor, but I soon found out that even hear, it was room only for one, maybe two Negroes, if they were of the yes type. Despite all of this I have remain loyal to the Labor move-ment.

I still have hopes that some day the poor white man will realize that only hope for Organizing Labor is for him to join hands with the black-man in one common goal of making a great society in this land in which I love but can not enjoy. Again, I want to thank very much for the book. Looking to hear from you soon. With best wishes, Iam

Very truly yours,

John W. Jennings

John W. Jennings
Regional Director

JWJ/ejs

P.S. Send all publication to my office. The address is 815 Red Cross Street, Wilmington, N. C.

Communications

GEORGE E. GILL
VICE PRESIDENT

FLORIDA
GEORGIA
SOUTH CAROLINA

KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA

ALABAMA
LOUISIANA
MISSISSIPPI

CWA

Workers of America

DISTRICT 3 OFFICE
40 PRYOR STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
404-523-2917

25

August 11, 1966

April 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Labor Program
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Thanks very much for your letter of July 28th and your quarterly issue of New South. I appreciate very much your thoughtfulness in wanting to send me a one-year complimentary subscription. However, I thought I should tell you that I am already subscribing to this publication and would not have any use for two copies.

Sincerely yours,

George Gill

George E. Gill
Vice President

G/mfw

August 12, 1966

Mr. Martin J. Morand, Director
I.L.G.W.U. Southeast Region
457 Plaster Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30304

Dear Marty:

Glad you got the New South. I would guess August Meier you knew 22 years ago. I know people that didn't know anyone 22 years ago. You could reach Meier simply by addressing him at Roosevelt University, 430 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

I will be out of town for a couple of weeks but hope we can get together shortly thereafter. Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

August 12, 1966

Mr. John W. Jennings
Regional Director
United Transport Service Employees
815 Red Cross Street
Wilmington, North Carolina

Dear John:

Thanks forypour good letter and the subscription to the NEW SOUTH. I am glad you enjoyed the complimentary copy.

I hope to be in touch with you some time in the fall. Perhaps we can put our shoulders to the same wheel regarding some of the things you raised in your letter. In the meantime if you have ideas as to how my services might be of use I'd be happy to hear from you.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

LAW OFFICES
ADAIR, GOLDTHWAITE, STANFORD, DANIEL & HORN
1481 CANDLER BUILDING
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

THOMAS S. ADAIR
J. R. GOLDTHWAITE, JR.
MORGAN C. STANFORD
T. EMORY DANIEL
ALBERT M. HORN
J. LEON ADAIR
MICHAEL J. REILY

TELEPHONE
523-2525

August 18, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

past due —
billed LS

Dear Emory:

Thank you for sending me the copy of NEW SOUTH; I am already a subscriber to the magazine (unless my subscription has recently lapsed). Being a conservative, I am not certain that I like the new format as well as the old, which seemed folskier and not so academic.

Very truly yours,

A Horn

Albert M. Horn

AMH/hh

Mr. Lee Balliet
School for Workers
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Dr. Vernon M. Briggs
Assistant Professor
Department of Economics
University of Texas
Austin, Texas

Mr. Dennis A. Derryck
Tutor Corrd.
Apprenticeship Program
Workers Defense League
1646 Fulton Avenue
Brooklyn, New York

Mr. David J. Farber
Assistant Chief
Division of Research
U. S. Department of Labor
Bureau of Appr. and Training
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Ernest Green
Workers Defense League
Apprenticeship Training Program
112 East 19th Street
New York, New York

Mr. Adolph Holmes
Associate Director
Economic Development & Training
National Urban League
14 East 48th Street
New York, New York

Professor Ray Marshall
Department of Economics
University of Texas
Austin, Texas

Mr. Hugh Murphy, Director
Bureau of Apprenticehip &
Training
U. S. Department of Labor
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Winn Newman
Assistant to the Director
Equal Employment Opportunity
1800 G Street
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Herbert A. Perry
Department of Economics
Sacramento State College
Sacramento, California

Mr. Otto Pragan
Assistant Director
Department of Education, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W
Washington, D. C. 20006

Mr. George Strauss
Associate Director
Institute of Industrial Relat.
University of California
Berkeley, California

Mr. Don Vial, Chairman
Center for Labor Research &
Education
University of California
Berkeley, California

Mr. John A. Welch, Dean
School of Mechanical Industries
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

Prof. Jack Barbash
Department of Economics
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Prof. George Hugghand
School for Workers
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Mr. Owen Tapper
School for Workers
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

August 22, 1966

Mr. James Stewart
Business Agent
Construction & General Laborers'
Union, Local 576
517 East Broadway
Louisville, Kentucky 40202

Dear Mr. Stewart:

Your good letter of August 18 arrived at a time when Mr. Via is out of the office. It will be brought to his attention upon his return.

Let me thank you for the subscription to NEW SOUTH both for yourself and for Mr. Jackson. I'm putting Mr. Jackson's name on our mailing list and will notify him of it.

I passed through Lexington this summer and thought of you, but lo,you're not in the Lexington directory. Now I know why.

Sincerely,

Joan C. Browning

JB

22 August 1966

Mr. Amos Jackson
President & Organizer
Int'l. Hod Carriers and
Building Laborers Union # 265
533 Hale Avenue
Cincinnati, Ohio 45229

Dear Mr. Jackson:

Mr. James Stewart of the Laborers Local 576 in Louisville has informed us of your desire to subscribe to our magazine, NEW SOUTH.

Enclosed herewith is the Spring issue. The Summer issue will be out in a week or so.

You may consider this letter our bill in the amount of $3.00 for a one-year subscription.

Sincerely,

Joan C. Browning

JB

CONSTRUCTION & GENERAL LABORERS' UNION

LOCAL No. 576

Affiliated with the A.-F.-L.-C.I.O.

JAMES STEWART,
Business Agent

517 East Broadway 18 Louisville, Kentucky 40202

G. B. LAKE, *Financial Sec'y and Treas.*

August 18, 1966

Attention: Mr. Emory F. Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Alanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Sir:

Enclosed find check for 1 year subscription to New South, also a good friend of mine who lives in Cincinnati, Ohio would like to receive 1 year subscription to the New South, his card is also enclosed. He said if you will send him the book he will forward you a check.

I find the New South very interesting and keeps us abreast with the current events and facts in regard to our various problems of today.

We here in Kentucky are very grateful for an excellent job that the Council is doing. Give my regards to the entire staff.

Sincerely yours,

James Stewart

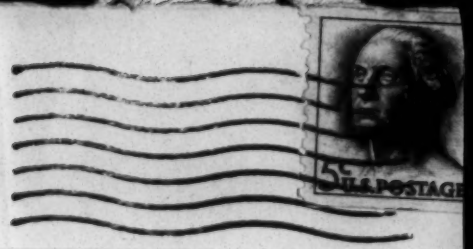
James Stewart
Business Agent

JS/jm

Encl:

Construction & General Labor Union No. 576
517 EAST BROADWAY
Louisville 2, Kentucky
18

LOUISVILLE, KY.
PM
18 AUG
1966
28



Attention: Mr. Emory F. Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atanta, Ga. 30303

6 September 1966

Mr. John G. Blair
Director of Publications
AFSCME, AFL-CIO
1155 15th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20005

Dear Mr. Blair:

We have made the changes in our mailing list as requested in your letter of 6 June.

We find that you are not on our subscription list for our quarterly magazine, NEW SOUTH; nor do we receive THE PUBLIC EMPLOYEE. Would you be interested in an exchange of these two publications?

Sincerely,

Joan C. Browning
for the
Labor Project

JB

15 September 1966

Professor Lee Balliet
School for Workers
University Extension Building
600 West Kilbourn Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53203

Dear Lee:

It was good to meet you in Madison even though briefly during the Apprenticeship Conference. Under separate cover I'm sending a copy of the Council's quarterly, NEW SOUTH. I thought you might like to see it in general, and the article by K. U. Smith on testing might be of special interest.

I look forward to working with you on my return to the staff. Please give my good regards to Irv, Keith, and the others.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

aSAME LETTER SENT TO: Dr. Vernon Briggs, U. Texas; Adolph Holmes, National Urban League; Mr. Hugh Murphy, Director, BAT; Prof. George Strauss, U.Cal-Berkeley.

15 September 1966

Mr. David J. Farber, Asst. Chief
Division of Research
U. S. Department of Labor
Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Farber:

I am sorry not to have met you at the recent Apprenticeship Conference in Madison. I thought you might be interested in the Council's quarterly, NEW SOUTH, and especially in the article by K. U. Smith on testing. A copy is being sent to you under separate cover.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

15 September 1966

Mr. Ernest Green
Workers Defense League
Apprenticeship Training Program
112 East 19th Street
New York, New York

Dear Ernest:

I am glad that I had the opportunity to meet you even briefly during the Apprenticeship Conference in Madison. I'm sending separately a copy of the Council's quarterly, NEW SOUTH. I thought you might like to see it and especially the article by K. U. Smith on testing.

I trust you will look us up if you are ever in Atlanta. It is my hope that we can work out some joint project or consultation before too long.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

September 21, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: Bob Anderson
FROM: Emory F. Via

Bob,
Would you try to keep it in mind to discuss the contents of the up coming issue of NEW SOUTH when you are relatively certain what will be included. What I am thinking about is a special distribution, if a fair amount of attention is being given to economic and related issues. I would simply want to make sure that enough copies will be available for me to have about a hundred (100) or so.

Thanks.

N.S. 1958

LIST OF LABOR PAPERS TO RECEIVE
COMPLIMENTARY SUBSCRIPTIONS TO NEW SOUTH

Leslie Orear, Editor
THE PACKING HOUSE WORKER
608 S. Dearborn
Chicago, Illinois

Irving Kahan, Editor
TEXTILE LABOR
99 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

Saul Miller, Director of Publications
AFL-CIO NEWS
815 Sixteenth St., N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Almon Barbour, Editor
NORTH CAROLINA LABOR AND INDUSTRY
North Carolina Dept. of Labor
Raleigh, N. C.

Oscar Jager, Director of Publications
I.U.D. BULLETIN
815 Sixteenth St., N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Al Hartlett, Editor
IUE AFL-CIO NEWS
Philip Murray Bldg.
1126 16th St., N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Ray Davidson, Editor
UNION NEWS
1840 California St.
Denver 2, Colorado

Editor, SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS
P. O. Box 6156, Acklen Station
Nashville 5, Tenn.

Max Steinbock, Editor
RWDSU RECORD
132 W. 43 St.
New York 36, N. Y.

Editor, DURHAM LABOR JOURNAL
P. O. Box 197
Durham, North Carolina

C. Edmund Fisher, Editor
THE ADVANCE
15 Union Square
New York 3, N. Y.

Dr. Joseph Krislov, Editor
KENTUCKY LABOR NEWS
312 Armory Place
Louisville 2, Kentucky

Leon Stein, Editor
JUSTICE
1710 Broadway
New York 19, N. Y.

Editor, AFL-CIO EDUCATION NEWS AND VIEWS
815 Sixteenth Stl, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Bob Senser, Editor
WORK
21 W. Superior St.
Chicago 10, Ill.

Bruce A. Bishop, Editor
INTERNATIONAL WOODWORKER
1622 N. Lombard
Portland 17, Oregon

Editor, LABOR'S ECONOMIC REVIEW
AFL-CIO Bldg.
Washington 6, D. C.

Saul Miller, Director of Publications
AFL-CIO NEWS
815 Sixteenth St., N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Gordon H. Cole, Editor
THE MACHINIST
Machinists Bldg.
Washington 6, D. C.

Carl Leatherwood, Editor
LABOR WORLD
1641 S. Kingshighway
St. Louis,10, Missouri

A. Philip Randolph, Editor-in-Chief
THE BLACK WORKER
217 West 125th St.
New York 27, N. Y.

Patrick E. Gorman, Editor
THE BUTCHER WORKMAN
2800 N. Sheridan Road
Chicago 14, Ill.

Vincent D. Sweeney, Editor
STEEL LABOR
2457 East Washington St.
Indianapolis 7, Indiana

John McCurley, Manager
GEORGIA LABOR NEWS DIGEST
95 Merritts Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Emil Beinecke, Editor
BREWERY WORKER
2347-51 Vine St.
Cincinnati 19, Ohio

Editor, UAW SOLIDARITY
2457 E. Washington St.
Indianapolis 7, Indiana

Mrs. W. C. Kendrick, Editor
THE JOURNAL OF LABOR
Room 100, Atlanta Labor Temple
345 Washington St., S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Victor K. Ray, Editor
UNION LABOR BULLETIN
Donaghey Bldg.
Little Rock, Arkansas

COMPLIMENTARY SUBSCRIPTIONS TO NEW SOUTH FROM LABOR PROGRAM

1 Mr. Fred Hoehler
Education Director
United Steelworkers of America
1500 Commonwealth Bldg.
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

2 Mr. Larry Rogin, Director
Education Department, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. c. 20006

3 Mr. Norman Hill
Staff Assistant
Industrial Union Dept., AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

4 Mr. Roy Reuther
United Auto Workers
8000 E. Jefferson Ave.
Detroit, Michigan 48214

5 Mr. Jack Conway, Director
Industrial Union Dept., AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

6 Mr. Paul Swaity
Textile Workers Union of America
99 University Place
New York, New York 10003

7 Mr. William Oliver
Fair Practices Division
United Auto Workers
8000 E. Jefferson Ave.
Detroit, Michigan 48214

8 Mr. George Gill
Communications Workers of America
40 Pryor Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

9 Mr. William Gary, Director
Civil Rights
Int'l. Union of Electrical Workers
1126 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

10 Mr. Martin J. Morand
Regional Director
Int'l. Ladies Garment Workers Union
457 Plaster Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30324

11 Mr. Carroll Hutton, Director
Education Department
United Auto Workers
8000 E. Jefferson Avenue
Detroit, Michigan 48214

12 Mr. Wilbur Hobby, Director
C.O.P.E. Area III
P. O. Box 175
103 Corporation Street
Durham, North Carolina

13 Mr. Elwood Taub
Education Director
AFSCME
815 Mt. Vernon Place, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20001

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

July 12, 1966

Mr. Sam Ezelle, Exec. Sec.-Treas.
Kentucky State AFL-CIO
706 E. Broadway
Louisville, Kentucky 40202

Dear Mr. Ezelle:

The enclosed magazine, NEW SOUTH, is the quarterly publication of the Southern Regional Council. This issue will start a one-year complimentary subscription in your name ~~as a small gift~~ ~~of~~ from the Council's labor program.

I think you will find over a year's time that NEW SOUTH will contain a number of articles of special interest to you. It is one good way to keep up with developments within the region and some of the thinking that goes on about the changing South.

Although the Council's main interest centers around problems involving racial relations, you will find that much of the material in the publication relates to other matters as well.

We would be very pleased to hear any comment that you have regarding the magazine.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via /jb.

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosure

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

Mr. Charlie Harris, President
Florida AFL-CIO
P. O. Box 537
Allapattah Station
Miami, Florida

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

MR. MATTHEW LYNCH, PRESIDENT
TENNESSEE STATE LABOR COUNCIL,
AFL-CIO
226 CAPITOL BLVD., ROOM 205
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37219

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5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

MR. BARNEY WEEKS, PRESIDENT
ALABAMA LABOR COUNCIL, AFL-CIO
604 LYRIC BUILDING
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA 35203

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5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
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MR. W. H. MONTAGUE, SR., PRES.
GEORGIA STATE AFL-CIO
15 PEACHTREE STREET, N.E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

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5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

Mr. Harold B. Boyd, President
Virginia State AFL-CIO
102 N. Belvidere Street
Richmond, Virginia 23220

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5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

MR. VICTOR BUSSIE, PRES.
LOUISIANA AFL-CIO
429 GOVERNMENT STREET
P. O. BOX 58
BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA 70821

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5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
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MR. W. M. BARBEE, PRESIDENT
NORTH CAROLINA STATE AFL-CIO
P. O. BOX 10805
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

Mr. Sinway Young, President
South Carolina Labor Council,
AFL-CIO
P. O. Box 1411
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

Mr. Sam Ezelle, Exec. Sec.-Treas.
Kentucky State AFL-CIO
706 E. Broadway
Louisville, Kentucky 40202

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EV: regarding ELewis's memo of today,

this is the list.

jb

ok

These will need personal letters and the current issue mailed to them. Show me the letters we used earlier

Same letter to: Hoehler, Rogin, Hill, Reuther, Conway, Swaity, Oliver, Gill, Gary, Morand, Hutton and Hobby. See attached list.

July 28, 1966

Mr. Elwood Taub
Education Director
AFSCME
815 Mt. Vernon Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20001

Dear Elwood:

The enclosed magazine, NEW SOUTH, is the quarterly publication of the Southern Regional Council. This issue will start a one-year complimentary subscription in your name from the Council's labor program.

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We would be very pleased to hear any comment that you have regarding the magazine.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:km
Enclosure

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:km
Enclosure

These do not have to make up bulk mailing

Check to see if receiving →

Barney Weeks (Ala)
Matt Lynn (Tenn)
Sam Egelle (Ky)
Charles Harris (Fla)
Montagues (Ga)
Sinway Young (S.C.)
Harold Boyd (Va)
Millard Barber (D.C.)

Dear :

The enclosed magazine, New South, is the quarterly publication of the Southern Regional Council. This issue will start a one year subscription in your name as a small gift from the Council's labor program.

I think you will find over a year's time that New South will contain a number of articles of special interest to you. It is one good way to keep up with developments within the region and some of the thinking that goes on about the changing South.

Although the Council's main interest centers around problems involving racial relations, you will find that much of the material in the publication relates to ~~a number of~~ other matters as well.

We would be very pleased to hear any comment that you have regarding the magazine.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

New South

Send day after the magazines are actually mailed —

Dear :

Because we are receiving your publication, (name of pub) ,
we would like for you to have a complimentary subscription
to our Quarterly, The New South.

I ~~tur tars~~ trust that you will find our publication of
interest. We would be pleased to hear any comments that
you might have regarding it.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

Are there any publications which we
receive gratis that do not receive
New South at this time?

To be sent two days, after the magazines are actually mailed

Dear :

Under separate cover I am sending you a complimentary copy of our publication, The New South. I think the new format of the magazine as a quarterly makes us better able to present thoughtful and useful material.

The current issue contains articles which I believe you will find of special interest. In each issue there will be a handy summary of events entitled "The State of the Southern States."

Frankly, I hope to encourage new subscriptions among a wider group of thoughtful people concerned with Southern developments. Would you look over the copy which I am sending? If you feel it would be useful to you, we would be happy to receive $3.00 for a year's subscription. Simply use the card found in the magazine.

In any event, we would like to hear any comments that you might have regarding The New South.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

All these names have been sent either comp. subs. or a single issue, with the exception of those labels in the envelope marked "Hold."

COMPLIMENTARY SUBSCRIPTIONS TO NEW SOUTH FROM LABOR PROGRAM

Mr. Fred Hoehler
Education Director
United Steelworkers of America
1500 Commonwealth Bldg.
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Mr. Larry Rogin, Director
Education Department, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. c. 20006

Mr. Norman Hill
Staff Assistant
Industrial Union Dept., AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Mr. Roy Reuther
United Auto Workers
8000 E. Jefferson Ave.
Detroit, Michigan 48214

Mr. Jack Conway, Director
Industrial Union Dept., AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Mr. Paul Swaity
Textile Workers Union of America
99 University Place
New York, New York 10003

Mr. William Oliver
Fair Practices Division
United Auto Workers
8000 E. Jefferson Ave.
Detroit, Michigan 48214

Mr. George Gill
Communications Workers of America
40 Pryor Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. William Gary, Director
Civil Rights
Int'l. Union of Electrical Workers
1126 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Mr. Martin J. Morand
Regional Director
Int'l. Ladies Garment Workers Union
457 Plaster Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30324

Mr. Carroll Hutton, Director
Education Department
United Auto Workers
8000 E. Jefferson Avenue
Detroit, Michigan 48214

Mr. Wilbur Hobby, Director
C.O.P.E. Area III
P. O. Box 175
103 Corporation Street
Durham, North Carolina

Mr. Elwood Taub
Education Director
AFSCME
815 Mt. Vernon Place, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20001

Mr. Fred Hoehler
Education Director
United Steelworkers of America
1500 Commonwealth Bldg.
Pittsburgh, Penn.

Mr. Sinway Young, Pres.
S. C. Labor Council, AFL-CIO
P. O. Box 1411
Columbia, S. C. 29201

Mr. Harold B. Boyd, Pres.
Virginia State AFL-CIO
102 N. Belvidere St.
Richmond, Va. 23220

~~Mxxx Sanx Exxitex~~

Mr. 'charlie Harris, Pres.
Fla. AFL-CIO
P. O. Box 537
Allapattah Station
Miami, Fla.

Mr. Barney Weeks, Pres.
Ala. Labor Council, AFL-CIO
604 Lyric Bldg.
Birmingham, Ala. 35203

Mr. W. H. Montague, Sr., Pres.
Georgia State AFL-CIO
15 Peachtree St., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mr. Victor Bussie, Pres.
La. AFL-CIO
429 Government Street
P. O. Box 58
Baton Rouge, La. 70821

Mr. Claude Ramsay, Pres.
Miss. AFL-CIO
133 South Lamar St.
Jackson, Miss. 39201

Mr. W. M. Barbee, Pres.
N. C. State AFL-CIO
P. O. Box 10805
Raleigh, N.C.

~~Mr. E. P. K~~
Mr. Matthew Lynch, Pres.
Tenn. State Labor Council , AFL-CIO
226 Capitol Blvd., Rm. 205
Nashville, Tenn. 37219

~~Mr. Kate~~
Mr. James E. Noe
Education Director
Int'l. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers
1200 15gh Street, N.W.
Washington, D C. 20005

Mr. Carroll Hutton, Director
Education Dept.
UAW
8000 Jefferson Ave.
Detroit, Michigan

Mr. Gus Tyler , Edication Director
Int'l. Ladies Garmant Workers Union
1710 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10019

Education Director
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of Amer.
15 Union Square
New York, N Y. 10003

Mr. Charles Kerns, Education Director
United Electrical Workers
11 E. 51st St
New York, N.Y. 10022

Mr. Helmuth F. Kern, Educ. Director
Amalgamated Meat Cutters of North America
2800 N. Sheridan Rd.
Chicago 14, Ill.

~~Mr. Don Mahony, Pres.~~
~~U----~~
Mr. LeRoy Johnson, Education Dir.
United Packinghouse Workers
608 S. Dearborn St.
Chicago 5, Ill.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

Fred Hoehler

~~MR. EMERY BACON~~ ~~NO!~~
EDUCATION DIRECTOR
UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA
1500 COMMONWEALTH BLDG.
PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA

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Don Slaiman Clerk ?

AFL-CIO
CIVIL RIGHTS DEPARTMENT
815 16TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

Hart

PROFESSOR HENRY ~~HOYT~~ No
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
MADISON, WISCONSIN

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
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Loemker ?

Professor Leroy Joenher
Department of Philosophy
Emory University
Atlanta, Georgia 30322

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

Larry Rogin

AFL-CIO
EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
815 16TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

NO

Mr. Norman Hill, Staff Assistant
Civil Rights Department, AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

I.V.D.

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NEW LABELS MADE JULY 12 IN LIEU OF ATTACHED.

Mr. Fred Hoehler
Education Director
United Steelworkers of America
1500 Commonwealth Bldg.
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Mr. Larry Rogan
AFL-CIO
Education Department
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Mr. Don Slaiman
AFL-CIO
Civil Rights Department
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Mr. Norman Hill
Staff Assistant
Industrial Union Department,
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Professor Henry Hart
Dept. of Political Science
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Professor Leroy Loemker
Department of Philosophy
Emory University
Atlanta, Georgia 30322

Mr. Sinway Young, President
South Carolina Labor Council,
AFL-CIO
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PRESS RELEASE

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
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FOR RELEASE TO
EVENING PAPERS:
THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1970

ATLANTA -- Atlanta experienced "a collapse of public leadership" as it confronted a court order for full integration of the public schools, a research report in the monthly publication SOUTH TODAY concludes.

The report on developments leading up to court orders for faculty and student integration contrasts the city's response in late 1969 and early 1970 with its performance almost a decade earlier when school desegregation began.

Atlanta recently has experienced a "leadership vacuum," said SOUTH TODAY, which is published by the Southern Regional Council. The schools transition came at a time when the civic-business leadership of the 1960s was still "smarting from the wounds" of rejection in the October city elections and before new leaders in City Hall had taken firm hold of their new duties, the report says.

U. S. District Judge Frank Hooper had called for integration plans on Dec. 16, SOUTH TODAY reports, but for weeks "there was little but silence from Atlanta's political, business, civic and religious leaders on the impending developments." In the meantime, students were marching in the streets and urging defiance of the law, and Gov. Lester Maddox was calling for school boycotts. Although the public school system was being direly threatened by this revolt, the report says, by mid-January nothing had been done "to prepare the city's residents for what was coming."

Judge Hooper had ordered that the faculties of all schools in the Atlanta system be made 57 per cent black and 43 per cent white by early

February. He subsequently granted a delay until March 4.

The "taciturnity" of the city's business leadership as teachers, students and parents were rallying to the Maddox position especially noteworthy, the report says. It says that leading business figures and the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, often credited with helping to create a climate of racial tolerance in the 1960s, were "faced with a crisis of potentially city-wrecking proportions, and by mid-January all they had mustered was a sickly resolution urgaing calm and support of the school board, which not all of the Chamber's board of directors would even sign."

Young leaders have emerged to fill some of the leadership vacuum, the report concludes. It especially notes the roles played by Good Government Atlanta and Better Schools Atlanta, two organizations which in recent months "have had enormous influence on the city's future." Good Government Atlanta hand-picked a number of candidates for the Board of Aldermen and Board of Education and the support of black voters helped most of them to victory.

The report also criticizes the Atlanta Board of Education's performance before January, saying its attorneys over a span of 12 years had made "more than 290 legal maneuvers designed, overall, to slow the movement of Negroes to white schools," thus precipitating the eventual order from Judge Hooper for faculty integration on the basis of percentages. A slate of reform candidates won half the seats on the school board in the recent elections, but the problems it inherited through the laggard conduct of the old board are formidable, the report says.

The report notes that 1970 is an election year in Georgia and candidates for governor were among those countenancing defiance of the law. It says that in addition to Gov. Maddox, a Democrat who hopes to

remove a constitutional ban against a second term, candidates who encouraged the forces of resistance with their first public comments about the impending school integration were State Compt. Gen. James L. Bentley and State Sen. Oliver Bateman, likely opponents for the Republican gubernatorial nomination, and former State Sen. Jimmy Carter, a Democrat.

"The only state politicians to speak out loudly, clearly and immediately for reason were former Gov. Carl Sanders, a Democratic gubernatorial candidate this year, and former Gov. Ernest Vandiver," the report says.

And, it adds:

"As of mid-January, residents of Atlanta had seen very little evidence of concern on the part of the city's leaders, who were, for the most part, strangely quiet. Outgoing Mayor Ivan Allen did say that Atlanta's people always faced crisis with "wisdom," and incoming Mayor Sam Massell did call for calm and a "positive approach," the report notes, but during the month from mid-December until mid-January neither offered strong public leadership in the crisis.

The report was compiled by William Winn. SOUTH TODAY is a monthly publication dealing with problems of race and poverty, as well as regional socio-economic trends and their background.

# # #

PRESS RELEASE

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
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FOR RELEASE TO
MORNING PAPERS:
SUNDAY, JUNE 21, 1970

ATLANTA -- Southern school officials are now hearing tougher talk from the Nixon administration's school enforcement officials than they were hearing a year ago, despite earlier talk about neighborhood schools.

That is the conclusion of Paul M. Rilling, who recently resigned as Southeastern regional civil rights director of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare because of dissatisfaction with the administration's posture on civil rights. Mr. Rilling's views are expressed in an article which will appear in the July issue of South Today, monthly publication of the Southern Regional Council.

Mr. Rilling charges the administration with a "shoddy performance" in school desegregation matters during the past year, but he says there is reason to believe it will be more tough-minded in September. In "capitulating to segregationist pressures a year ago," he says, the administration repeatedly said total desegregation should take place in September, 1970.

"Administration spokesmen are now boxed in by their own rhetoric of a year ago," he writes. ". . . Now their own credibility is really on the line."

He notes that Jerris Leonard, assistant attorney general for civil rights, and Robert C. Mardian, staff director of the President's cabinet-level committee on school desegregation, have been touring the South talking to school officials.

He adds:

"At meetings with school officials this summer Mr. Mardian and Mr. Leonard have teen talking tough. They offer no relief for districts

asking for more time, beyond the fall of 1970. For all their criticism of 'overzealousness' on the part of the Office of Civil Rights personnel under the Johnson administration, they are now talking in very much the same accents as did HEW representatives during the summer of 1968. In fact, being less experienced in the nuances of Southern rhetoric, their statements sometimes sound tougher than anything said by their predecessors."

Mr. Rilling writes that the desegregation plans now being approved by HEW provide for completely unitary systems by September. "Although there is lip service to the concept of 'neighborhood schools,'" he says, "Mr. Leonard has made it clear that school zones are expected to be drawn so as to maximize desegregation.... There have been fewer special political exceptions this year than there were a year ago."

Mr. Rilling sees the next school year as the most crucial one yet in school desegregation in the South. "It will either see the end of effective resistance and the achievement of complete desegregation throughout most of the deep South; or the progress of desegregation will come to a halt with fateful consequences for the South and the nation," he writes.

The former enforcement officer says the Nixon administration's "failure of will last year cost the federal government credibility and valuable time, but it was not decisive." He adds: "The Supreme Court has spoken clearly, but where stands the executive branch? Where stands the President of the United States?"

Unless the Justice Department files statewide desegregation suits in the South immediately, he says, it will be too late for this "major lever being applied by the government" to do its job by September.

The Southern Regional Council, publisher of South Today, is a foundation-supported agency in the human relations field.

PRESS RELEASE

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FOR RELEASE TO
MORNING PAPERS:
SUNDAY, JULY 5, 1970

ATLANTA -- The welfare departments of North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia and Florida are the biggest slum owners in those states, the Southern Regional Council says in a new report.

The report in the Council's monthly newspaper, South Today, says these states have become slum owners in an attempt to recoup some of their welfare expenditures by enforcing liens or claims against the property-owning poor. The lien/claim laws provide that welfare recipients must put a "voluntary" lien on their property so that the state can be assured of repayment upon the death of the client.

The laws have the effect, says the report, of discouraging many needy people from applying for welfare payments. The report suggests this was the principal motivation behind the states' passage of the laws.

"Once the recipient dies," says the article, "and the state gains title to the land, the property is not sold for at least six months and sometimes two to three years pass before they are disposed of at forced auction. Since they cannot be rented or leased during this period, they deteriorate like festering sores enhancing the squalor of the city or country slum--a fitting monument to the welfare system's concern for the poor."

Among the points made by the study:

--Welfare departments not only own substandard housing, they contribute to its deterioration.

--The lien law operating in neighborhoods where property

values are most threatened robs the poor person of his motivation to maintain his property.

--While efforts were made in many state legislatures this year to abolish the lien law system, only Virginia's was successful.

--Nixon welfare proposals included a provision that would deny federal funds to states with lien/claim laws. But this provision was eliminated in the version passed by the House and pending in the Senate. The South Today report says the chances of eliminating the lien/claim laws this year are now slight.

According to the South Today report, under some of the "first class" lien laws the state takes out the amount it paid the welfare client in public assistance when the lien property is finally sold at auction. But the federal government pre-empts between 75 and 80 per cent of this amount to recover its contribution to the state's Old Age Assistance and Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled Programs. For the two-year fiscal period, 1966-68, North Carolina recovered $3,885,694 before the federal share was taken out, less than one per cent of the total welfare expenditure by the state.

Supporters of the lien system freely admit that the direct recoveries are not sufficient to justify the lien laws, says the report. The real financial benefits that accrue are in the deterrent effects of the law, since the liens keep thousands of people from applying for public assistance.

The report charges that the welfare department, an agency charged with the responsibility of administering to the needs of the destitute, has become "one of the primary perpetuators, if not actual architects, of the Southern slum."

It also states that those states in the South which have lien laws are precisely those states which have some of the highest land values in the region due to their industry or tourist trade. The same holds true for states with lien laws outside of the South, such as New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Massachusetts.

Perhaps the best way to ameliorate the welfare slum, the report suggests, would be a negative property tax developed along the lines of the negative income tax to provide the resources as well as the incentive to improve ghetto homesteads. People with poverty-line (or lower) incomes could be rewarded for making improvements on substandard property through a tax rebate to partially cover the costs.

"Poor people would no longer be punished with higher taxes for improving their property; instead they would be encouraged to maintain their homesteads. The poor themselves then should participate in the planning and implementation of ghetto housing rehabilitation," says the report.

The report was written by Robert Troy, who teaches political science at Georgia Tech, and Gary Elwell, who has worked with community organization in poor areas throughout the country.

The Southern Regional Council, founded in 1944, is a foundation-supported research and information agency dealing with human relations problems.

# # #

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TORONTO DAILY STAR

1/18/71

The blacks' struggle returns to the South in search of a policy

1/18/71

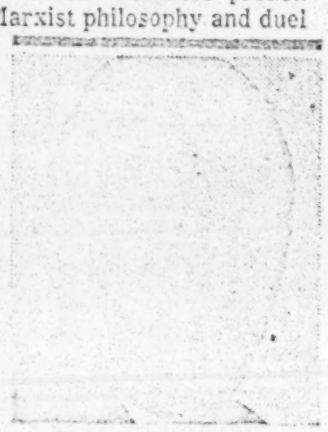
By BRUCE GARVEY
Star staff writer

ATLANTA — What do you do when the lunch counters and the libraries are all integrated? When blacks are voting their leaders into office and semi-integration of the schools has stilled the cry for classroom desegregation?

Atlanta's civil rights leaders now are groping for Phase Two of their campaign for racial equality.

With Martin Luther King gone and the notion of separate development sweeping the black community, the problem has Atlanta's black leadership in a quandary. The south's civil rights movement is stalled at the crossroads, with the bigger racial nationalism of northern Negro militants coming up fast.

While the Black Panthers preach their quasi-Marxist philosophy and duel with the police, southern black leadership is agreed on one thing—the solution to America's racial crisis lies in the deep south, where it all began.



Bruce Garvey

The Negro in the U.S.

Bitterly disillusioned by Atlanta's vaunted progress toward racial equality — legally and physically a fact: spiritually a facade young civil rights leaders here cling to the belief that King's Christian non-violence is still the best hope.

Despite President Richard Nixon's slowing down of school integration, the huge government civil rights bureaucracy assembled during the 1960s grinds on toward racial equality with a ponderous momentum of its own. But it moves so slowly that the men whose protests created it see their own hold on the aspirations of black America as tenuous and slipping.

"There still seem to be ways out in the south, integration's still a force here whereas in Detroit and Newark they've had it," says Clarence Wright, a young community worker for the Southern Regional Council.

"After all, integration has made life a lot better for an awful lot of people tribute something to the other side." He grimaces at Atlanta's proud claims of school desegregation.

In the suburbs and rural hinterland busing is "either a dirty word or a God-send," according to one education official. "It's a God-send for diluting concentrations of blacks," she added, "Spreading them around a bit thinner, I mean."

In Atlanta—as in every city in America—the trend is to a white migration to the suburbs, leaving a decaying black city. Yet it's here in the south that the blacks say the racial battle will be fought and won. Already the great migration from the rural farms to the northern cities has been turned around.

"There's a move back to the south and the kind of people who are moving back seem to be intelligent," says civil rights worker Leon Hall.

Bought 1,000-acre farm

"I'd say that by the mid-70s it will be a very serious move—there's room to operate in the south. In the north it's like floating in a river of daggers and swords and you don't find out where they are until one is in your back. In the south you know where you stand, once you get outside Atlanta. You know who the enemy is. And there's land available—the land is here. By the mid-70s, I think there'll be a serious thrust put on a demand for land."

The militant Black Muslim movement has already pioneered the idea of land acquisition. The Muslims bought a 1,000-acre farm in St. Clair county, Ala. Last year and weathered the fury—and the poisoned cattle—from local whites. Last month, the Muslims announced a new purchase of 556 acres in Calhoun, County, Ala., for $99,613.

Civil rights pioneers such as Hall swallow their disappointment in the failings of integration by looking on 10 years of protest as the education that has paved the way "for the present-day new militancy."

The great argument is which direction the new racial equality thrust will take.

"It has to be in the form of mass activities," believes Hall. "It's absurd that we aren't doing some of these things today. The risk is much greater now but the gains are much more greater too. After Kent State, I suppose that it may mean slews of black people will be literally slaughtered—but we've got to be prepared to do it. Local demands have got to be made in a mass form."

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"There still seem to be ways out in the south, integration's still a force here whereas in Detroit and Newark they've had it," says Clarence Wright, a young community worker for the Southern Regional Council.

"After all, integration has made life a lot better for an awful lot of people here and we don't have the intense, urban hopelessness that there is in the north."

Yet "Butch" Wright, a big, brawny young man, agonizes over his commitment to King's methods and the articulate, cynical arguments of militants such as the Panthers that so often are almost irrefutable.

Schools explosive issue

While Atlanta found a willing place for its black citizens in a booming, expanding economy, the city's experience with the explosive issue of school integration reeks of the doubts that bother Butch Wright.

"Take the example of my wife," he says. "She teaches at Dykes high school. It's in a fancy white neighborhood and it's almost strictly white—yet the teachers have been integrated. The only blacks the white kids out there know are the teacher and the janitor."

Atlanta showed its willingness to meet desegregation standards with a massive shuffling of teachers—800 black and 800 white teachers were suddenly transferred around the city's schools to create standard faculties that were 57 per cent black and 43 per cent white.

The same thing didn't happen with the student bodies, however. By some quirk of fate, a years-old local statute ruled that no child could be bused to a school if it was less than two miles from his home.

No fleet of buses

The result was that Atlanta didn't have any fleet of bright yellow school buses whose daily comings and goings have caused racial havoc all over America.

No buses meant no busing and that meant semi-integration at best. Where it has happened, Atlanta's desegregated schools—and they've been more than nominally desegregated for years—have been a comparative model of racial harmony.

Yet there are still all-black schools and predominantly black schools and their standards are woefully lower than their white counterparts.

"It's sad, really, you know," said a lecturer at the overwhelmingly black Atlanta University Centre. "I've got bright black kids who can think and grasp concepts but some of them can barely read of write."

This professor left white-establishment Princeton after 30 years in Ivy League colleges two years before his retirement. "So I could perhaps con-

defenses, believes that. It's absurd that we aren't doing some of these things today. The risk is much greater now but the gains are much more greater too. After Kent State, I suppose that it may mean slews of black people will be literally slaughtered—but we've got to be prepared to do it. Local demands have got to be made in a mass form."

A key factor will be the posture adopted by King's old Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

"In the spring SCLC will either emerge either as a speakers' bureau or a very dangerous animal," says Hall.

Put on the defensive

"But all this talk of separatism is no good—I live in a bi-racial society and if improvement means working with you, I'm prepared to do it. One of the damaging things about the Panthers is that they've put black people on the defensive. We were always on the offensive with King throwing things in the face of white America that it hadn't been slapped with before.

"The only 'ism' I will tolerate is humanism—not separatism, communism or any other ism. I'm having enough trouble getting out from under the nigger label without having another one pinned on me."

"It's right," says Clarence Wright, "it's no good putting yourself in a box in America. If you do that, you're one dead nigger. Communications is the answer and you need them as much as I do."

'I have a dream . . .'

It's a passionate defence of Martin Luther King's philosophy, the guiding spirit of the civil rights movement that has brought black Americans progres that 10 years ago was only a dream.

But King's dreams are still far from fulfilled in America.

In his most famous address, King declared: "I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slaveowners will sit down together at the table of brotherhood . . . I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

"I have a dream that my four little children one day will live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character."

King's great Christian faith and eloquence still inspire the south and Butch Wright. Yet the great void between the dreams and the realities makes Wright shrug sadly and admit:

"There ain't a black person in the south who'd be yelling for integration if we could get decent black schools.

"Hell, you stay on your side of the fence and I'll stay on mine. That's fine by me."

Time Left to Avoid Ghettos of Blacks In South, Council Says

* * *

Human-Relations Group Claims Enough Land Available, but Questions if It Will Happen

7/19/71

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

ATLANTA—Southern cities still have time "to avoid the mass concentrations of black people in central cities that have made Northern cities so rigidly ghettoized," according to a report of the Southern Regional Council, a human-relations organization based here.

"Enough land is still available in the suburbs of most Southern cities to easily accommodate the dispersal of housing for poor and moderate-income people," says the report, entitled "Equal Housing Opportunities in the South."

However, the report questions whether this will happen. It notes that "thoughtful urban planners" are worried that "the nation will become so absorbed with the idea of housing production, per se, that equal opportunities in housing will be forgotten or deliberately shunted aside," which the report says would be "particularly tragic" in the South.

The report is critical of federal enforcement of open housing regulations, particularly by the Federal Housing Administration. It accuses the agency of reinforcing segregation by not permitting FHA-backed low and moderate-income housing projects in white suburban areas.

The report notes that President Nixon, arguing that "black" and "poor" aren't necessarily synonymous, recently indicated he doesn't believe low and moderate-income housing should be forced into outlying residential areas because of suburbanites' fears "of crime, violence, drugs and the other conditions from which so many of those who are trapped in the slums themselves want to escape."

The report concedes that these conditions exist and that Mr. Nixon probably is correct in his assessment of the suburban mood. However, it argues that by "injecting such considerations without at the time defining in a more compassionate, understanding way their interrelationship to poverty and the need for federal involvement in its eradication, President Nixon simply gave credence to the stereotype of blacks and the poor as undeserving members of society."

The report also is critical of "the entire real estate industry in promoting practices that deny blacks access to housing outside of traditional black areas," which has enabled individual real estate agents to hound whites into leaving neighborhoods into which black families move. "Whites interviewed in connection with this report were bitter in their condemnation of white and black realtors," the study says.

The report says 25 neighborhood groups exist in the South today to promote open housing by fighting real estate block busters and by working to maintain or improve their neighborhoods. "This is a vital concern because cities often cut back on services in areas into which blacks have moved," the report says.

"Such areas may also be fair game for rezonings, conversions to multiple occupancy, allowing entry of more commercial enterprise, and a number of other actions which were somehow not so appropriate when the area was all white."

Dunbar Book Wins Award

The Southern Regional Council has announced that "Our Land Too" by Tony Dunbar has won the Council's 1971 Lillian Smith Award which is presented annually for a distinguished literary work on the South and Southern affairs. The award this year includes a $500 honorarium.

Dunbar's book, describing life in a black community of rural Mississippi and in a coal mining section of Kentucky, is the product of the author's observations and insights as a field worker with the poor in both localities.

"Our Land Too" was published by Pantheon Books, division of Random House, last spring.

Atlanta Constitution
1/2/72

RDC pub.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

A SORT OF NADER'S RAIDERS

Southern Regional Council To Get Facelift, New Chief

By PAUL BEEMAN

The Southern Regional Council (SRC) one of the oldest functioning biracial organzations in the South, is about to get a new director and a little plastic surgery as well.

Though changes are not expected to be drastic, by early fall the face of the organization should no longer show what some might have thought were crow's feet. The rest of the new look includes a sharper nose.

Dr. Vivian Henderson, president of Clark College and chairman of the SRC's Executive Committee, said the group found itself in need of self-evaluation after the Voter Education Project (VEP) moved out from under its supervision.

"It's no secret," Henderson said, "I've never been happy with the fact VEP separated from the SRC. It had program value, prestige value. It is a very solid program and John Lewis (VEP executive director) is doing a fine job."

AFTER THE administrative split, Henderson said a challenge came from some of the younger members of the Council of 100, the biracial group that is the heart of the SRC and that determines the agency's course. "They weren't satisfied with what we're doing. They said we weren't involved," Henderson said.

"It was a good, legitimate, forceful challenge, from which no one could turn away," Henderson said. "We set up the mechanism for evaluation and included a task force of both members and outside experts."

They asked themselves what was their mission? Do we have the same goals we had 25 years ago? Are they the right goals? Are our procedures outmoded?

"We concluded," Henderson said, "that some of our aims and goals are still viable. While the South had become a part of the nation, it still has problems characteristic of the region. We did not have to alter our aim of harmony and bringing the races together to work out problems.

search and training programs and operated experimental and demonstration projects in manpower development.

When the North Carolina Fund ended in 1969, Esser became Southern adviser on grants and projects for the Ford Foundation. Ford contintor to the SRC's efforts, havues to be the largest contribuing granted $417,000 this year.

Since the announcement of his appointment early this year, Esser has been wrapping things up on several Ford projects and setting in motion his plans for the SRC.

A Virginia native, he fully agrees on the uniqueness of the South's problems and the need for private organizations such as the SRC in tackling them.

While in Atlanta recently, he said there are far more such organizations in other regions. "The South is underinstitutionalized in this area," he said.

"Now that the legal barriers are down . . .," he said, "the problem is to try and achieve a balance which recognizes the worth of the individual."

HE SAID that far more federal resources than private resources are being used to combat social problems, but that it is important the organizations not fiscally bound to governmental policies flourish at least in a monitoring capacity.

He would do nothing to alter the SRC's role as monitor he said. There will be no significant alteration in the SRC's publishing and information program which includes publishing its own monthly newsletter, "The South Today," and its own quarterly magazine, "The New South."

Lofty though it may sound, Esser hopes the SRC could function as a major role-player in efforts toward "a sound economy with equitable systems of benefits and a responsive government."

He looks at the South optimistically. "The opportunity we have is that despite history, we are now in a position to build a society that is strong and has a strong sense of justice. We can do this

DR. VIVIAN HENDERSON
'Deal With Solutions'

GEORGE H. ESSER JR.
Seeks a Place for the Poor

at student and professor levels for a summer, a semester, even a year.

Some expect Esser's previous work with the private North Carolina Fund and with the Ford Foundation, to mean instant money for the SRC.

Esser makes no such promise, claiming that if the SRC succeeds in coming up with worthwhile and meaningful

DIRTY PHOTO CONTEST ANNOUNCED

PORTLAND, Ore. (AP) — The conservationist Izaak Walton League of America is seeking photographs for a "Dirty Picture Contest."

League officials say the subject is pollution, not pornography, and "any insult to the environment is fair game in this contest."

The contest offers $100 in cash awards. Only residents of the Portland metropolitan area are eligible.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Mrs. King Plans Wednesday Talk To Hungry Club

Coretta Scott King will speak at the Butler Street YMCA Hungry Club Forum Wednesday at noon.

Mrs. King, the widow of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., has published numerous articles and is the author of "My Life with Martin Luther King Jr." She is the recipient of numerous awards and honorary degrees and has the distinction of being the first woman to deliver the graduation address at Harvard University.

Her subject for the forum will be taken from the book by Dr. King, which she forwarded, "Where Do We Go From Here?"

Gwinnett Woman Killed in Crash; 3 Seriously Hurt

A 55-year-old Gwinnett County woman was killed Friday when the car in which she was a passenger collided with another car at the intersection of Thomas Mill Road and Bogan Road in Gwinnett.

The victim was identified by police as Mrs. Carrole Revis of Route 2, Buford, Ga.

Her husband, William Revis, and 14-year-old son, Jerry Revis, both were seriously injured, as was Harold Wilkerson, 23, of Buford, who was a passenger in the other vehicle.

New $91,000 Gun

LONDON (AP) — The British

Treason Counts Filed Against German Women

KARLSRUHE, Germany (AP) — The federal prosecutor brought treason charges against two women, one of them a former secretary of a Cabinet minister. They are accused of betraying official secrets to East Berlin.

Prosecutor Ludwig Martin said Irene Schultz, 51, and Ingeborg Weber, 44, will be tried by a Duesseldorf court on charges of treason, breach of secrecy, bribery and falsification of documents.

The Schultz woman was working as a secretary in the office of former Science and Education Minister Hans Leussink when she was arrested in February 1970. Her job gave her access to ministry secrets, including documents on West German cooperation with other governments on research projects.

Martin said the other woman, who lived in Cologne under the name Liane Lindner, was dispatched to Bonn in 1959 by the East German secret service. Her objective was to set up a spy ring with the Schultz woman and Wiedemann.

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involved," Henderson said.

"It was a good, legitimate, forceful challenge, from which no one could turn away," Henderson said. "We set up the mechanism for evaluation and included a task force of both members and outside experts."

They asked themselves what was their mission? Do we have the same goals we had 25 years ago? Are they the right goals? Are our procedures outmoded?

"We concluded," Henderson said, "that some of our aims and goals are still viable. While the South had become a part of the nation, it still has problems characteristic of the region. We did not have to alter our aim of harmony and bringing the races together to work out problems.

"WE CONCLUDED that we needed to restructure our efforts somewhat and develop a new thrust. It became apparent that we think in terms of the problems of the poor, not just blacks.

"Things have changed rapidly in the last 10 years. The lunch counter issue and issues such as that are now dead." He explained there are now laws which deal with many of the problems about which the SRC once levied its efforts.

"Traditionally," Henderson said, "the SRC has done a hell of a job in information services, probing and surfacing problems, putting them in the public eye." He cited the SRC's well-known reports on hunger and the police killing of demonstrating students at Orangeburg, S.C.

"Even so, we want to go beyond that, broaden our scope, deal with solutions—develop a program actively involved in ferreting out solutions.

"It was felt we should be more catalytic in our role, although we do not intend on becoming a lobby group."

INSTEAD of a big staff, the organization probably will continue with a small nucleus of staffers, with efforts built around a series of task forces, Henderson said.

To call it a sort of Nader's Raiders dealing with Southern problems of race and poverty would be a fair comparison, Henderson conceded.

The hunger problem surfaced about three years ago. Had it been now, according to Henderson, a task force probably would be assigned.

A task force, he said, could attack such problems as availability of health services. "It could take three months maybe even a year to surface a problem and activate a solution. We would pursue a problem down to where we can't go any further.

"Esser, I think, has the equipment to push us in that direction," Henderson said.

Esser is George H. Esser Jr., 51, the man who becomes executive director of the SRC in May. Since graduating from Harvard Law School in 1948 he has lived in Chapel Hill, N.C., where for 15 years he was associated with the University of North Carolina.

IN 1963 he became director of the North Carolina Fund, which during its six years of operation oversaw and supported 11 community action programs, carried out re-

ity.

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Lofty though it may sound, Esser hopes the SRC could function as a major role-player in efforts toward "a sound economy with equitable systems of benefits and a responsive government."

He looks at the South optimistically. "The opportunity we have is that despite history, we are now in a position to build a society that is strong and has a strong sense of justice. We can do this more successfully than the cities in the North and communities in the Far West.

"THE SOUTH is an area with a relatively undeveloped human resource. One of the problems we have is to determine how we can help this (poor) part of our society find a place for themselves and their children within our society. There is still some sense of frustration (among the poor)."

Even if the poor are provided quality education, "Are there going to be opportunities for them when they complete that education?" he asks.

Esser said he hopes that by the time he takes over in May he will have some positive recommendations about areas that need exploration.

One of the problems he is considering is how the ghetto can be eliminated as our cities are built. "I don't know of anyone thinking about how a city, if it really wants to, can practically open up development so housing opportunities are really equal."

"As we look at long-range issues I hope we can involve the talents of our universities," he said.

HE SAID he is familiar with a number of research programs in Southern universities which would be interested in working on such projects and hopes to tap these resources

GEORGE H. ESSER JR.
Seeks a Place for the Poor

at student and professor levels for a summer, a semester, even a year.

Some expect Esser's previous work with the private North Carolina Fund and with the Ford Foundation, to mean instant money for the SRC.

Esser makes no such promise, claiming that if the SRC succeeds in coming up with worthwhile and meaningful prophets, the monies will come. "There is relatively little money in philanthropy today," he said, and but a small amount of that is given for exploration of social difficulties.

Data Processing Course Set At Cobb School

The Marietta-Cobb Area Vocational-Technical School will begin two evening classes Monday, in data processing technology and electricity.

Data processing students will progress over a period of quarterly work into full computer programming.

The basic electricity class will be fundamental to persons interested in moving into the areas of electrical technology, electronics technology and radio and television repair.

There are also limited openings in the following classes: machine shop, welding, drafting and design technology, mechanical technology and business education.

Interested persons should phone the admission office at 422-1664 after 4 p.m.

Kined in Crash, 3 Seriously Hurt

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New $91,000 Gun

LONDON (AP) — The British army has unveiled what it claims is the best light field gun in the world. It said the 105 mm gun fires up to six 35-pound shells a minute with a range of 10.5 miles, and costs $91,000.

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15x30	Thick Polyester Russett Shear	$8	$3.99
15x60	Deep Celery Green Nylon Twist	$8	$3.99
12x52	Green Stripe Waterproof Commercial	$8	$3.99
12x40	Rich Italian Green Nylon Mini-Shag	$8	$3.99
12x44	Inca Gold Nylon Twist	$8	$3.99
12x87	Moss Green Smooth Plush W/Pad	$8	$3.99

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12x85	Willow Green Heavy Shag Plush	$9	$4.99
12x83	Red On Red Spaghetti Shag Beauty	$9	$4.99
12x44	Rich Italian Green Velvet Plush	$8	$4.99
15x92	Sky Blue Heavy Polyester Tip Shear	$9	$4.99
15x51	Heavy Pattern Nylon Cortez Gold	$8	$4.99
15x80	Burnt Orange Polyester Heavy Pattern	$9	$4.99
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12x41	Candy Stripe Den Carpet	$8	$4.99
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12x110	Red-White and Blue Shag	$11	$5.99
12x75	Harvest Tones in Heavy Acrylic Shag	$10	$5.99
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12x24	Blue Pattern Den Carpet	$192	$69
12x10.6	Tri Color Gold Shag Beauty	$135	$79
15x14	Dune Design Embossed Nylon	$169	$59
15x8.2	Spanish Bronze Embossed W/Pad	$125	$44
10x12	Forrest Green Indoor-Outdoor	$69	$19
9x12	Red Pattern Kitchen Carpet W/Pad	$89	$39
6x15	Deep Royal Blue Wool Plush	$130	$39
12x12.10	Silky Deep Bronze Gold Shag	$148	$59
12x9	Shades of Deep Blue in Designer Shag	$129	$39
12x12	Plush Polyester Shag Golden Olive	$165	$54
12x14.10	Earthtone Commercial Nylon	$159	$49
12x12.6	Olive Bronze & Gold Spaghetti Shag	$129	$59
10x9	Blye Tweed Area Rug Bound	$120	$29
15x9	Deep Kelly Plush Pattern	$179	$69
12x12	Spanish Gold Luxurious Shear	$149	$55
12x10	Ruby Red Indoor-Outdoor	$64	$19
12x12	Floral Pattern W/Pad	$139	$39
6x7.6	Brown Indian Design Area Rug	$69	$19
3.6x12	Rose Pattern Axminster Runner	$69	$19

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RDC - Reports 1972

TO: Eugenia Kemp

FROM: Emory F. Via

DATE: April 13, 1972

RE: SRC NEWSLETTER

Resources Development Center

Exploratory work has been done in the past few weeks toward establishing a special Task Force Project on Education. The proposed project would deal with current pressing problems in public education to bring fresh and dramatic emphasis to the region's continuing need for desegregated quality education.

Manpower and Labor Education Division

Emory Via served on a panel at the national conference of the Urban League's Labor Affairs Division. The main presentation in that section was made by Executive Committee Chariman Vivian Henderson. Alexis Herman and Paulette Norvel of the Black Women Employment Project also attended the conference.

We have provided consultative and program planning assistance recently to Georgia State University and the National Alliance of Postal Employees for an upcoming labor education institute. Emory has also been planning a training session with a section of the Laundry Workers Union.

Bundy Says Division Giving Way to Reform

By PHIL GAILLY

McGeorge Bundy, president of the Ford Foundation, said here Thursday he believes that the nation's divisiveness is giving way to a period of reform and reconciliation.

"It seems to be in the nature of American society that periods of reform and reconciliation follow periods of divisiveness," he told the National Jewish Welfare League meeting at the Regency Hyatt House. "I think we are seeing evidence of such a movement now.

"We are learning once again that issues that initially seemed to divide and polarize can be attacked in ways that lead to reconciliation. Law and order advocates and those who see the poor as victims of law enforcement can agree, for example, on the need for prison reform both for its effect on the prisoner and its value to society.

"Improving police departments can be as much of a benefit for those who legitimately complain of police brutality as to those who are fearful of walking the streets at night. A reform of the welfare system can be made to serve the need of its clients for meaningful work and also to meet their needs for adequate food and shelter. Cleaning up the environment can help provide jobs for the jobless and stimulus to the economy."

Bundy said the civil rights struggle and the Vietnam war have spawned a new habit "of critical examination of all those aspects of society which fall short of our professions of democratic faith."

He added, "We are better

Staff Photo—Al Stephenson

SEES 'RECONCILIATION'
McGeorge Bundy

most institutions. But it is not right to denounce as racist the man or woman who has to move over or wait for his promotion longer and who says, 'Why me?' "

Another speaker, Dr. Eugene B. Borowitz, editor of Sh'ma and professor of Jewish thought at Hebrew Union College in New York, said a Jewish cultural explosion in the United States is likely in the next decade.

"Two factors combine to make this view possible," he said. "First is the increased ethnic self-confidence in the Jewish community. A greater proportion of Jews than we have yet seen in American Jewry, particularly young people, are determined to shape their life through their Jewish heritage.

"Secondly, the cultural experience and know-how of the Jewish community is at an all-time high."

lead to reconciliation. Law and order advocates and those who see the poor as victims of law enforcement can agree, for example, on the need for prison reform both for its effect on the prisoner and its value to society.

"Improving police departments can be as much of a benefit for those who legitimately complain of police brutality as to those who are fearful of walking the streets at night. A reform of the welfare system can be made to serve the need of its clients for meaningful work and also to meet their needs for adequate food and shelter. Cleaning up the environment can help provide jobs for the jobless and stimulus to the economy."

Bundy said the civil rights struggle and the Vietnam war have spawned a new habit "of critical examination of all those aspects of society which fall short of our professions of democratic faith."

He added, "We are better off for all the new groups, young and not so young, that have found their voices in the last decade even if what some of them say falls short of the wisdom of Solomon . . . The extremes of the right and left have little lasting appeal to the American majority, and they do not believe that explosive issues like busing can reverse the steady progress the American society has made toward social justice. We are learning once again that issues that seem to divide and polarize can be attacked in ways that lead to reconciliation."

Bundy, an adviser to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, said, "The accommodations required of American society to overcome gross inequality often seem to fall heavily on those least able to bear them."

In the labor market, for example, he said the competition is keenest not in the higher reaches of corporate life, but on the assembly line and in the craft unions. Scatter-site public housing is more likely to be targeted for lower and middle-income neighborhoods than more affluent residential areas.

"As the price of higher education increases," he continued, "families of moderate means feel they need financial aid too, no matter that on the hard evidence minorities need scholarships even more.

"When a middle-class white student fails to get admitted to his first-choice college, or a teacher is passed over in promotion to a principalship, and blacks or Spanish-speaking candidates are favored for these positions, is there a measure of injustice in the effort to widen justice?

"Racial minorities do still have a long way to go to make up for lost time. They are still grossly underrepresented in most institutions. But it is not right to denounce as racist the man or woman who has to

"Secondly, the cultural experience and know-how of the Jewish community is at an all-time high."

EV - Res. Seminar Folder
Business Week
June 6, 1970

The Northeast cuts its losses

A decade ago, many economists and even more politicians were predicting that the migration of American industry would produce a crisis. Manufacturing plants, attracted by the climate or favorable tax and labor policies, were shifting to the South and West. The Northeast and Midwest feared the switch would become an inexorable movement that would denude the "heartland" and leave pockets of poverty in its wake.

Today, there still are alarmists, but they have little evidence to go on. Particularly in the past five years, according to a new study by the McGraw-Hill Economics Dept., the older regions very nearly have held their own. Only in the Middle Atlantic states has the share of manufacturing employment dropped significantly, and that merely an edging down from 24% to 22% of total jobs in industry.

In the future, the McGraw-Hill study says, industrial growth in the South and West "will not be at the expense of the Northeast but in addition to it."

Growth. Between 1953 and 1963, according to the study, states south of the Mason-Dixon Line and west of the Mississippi River grew much more rapidly than the rest of the country. Their share of total manufacturing employment rose from 34% to 42%.

Since 1963, the group of states has grown only a little faster than older industrial regions, the study found. Its share of total manufacturing, at 44% in 1968, is expected to climb to 47% by 1975.

The defense industry is perhaps the biggest single factor behind the shifting regional manufacturing patterns. Much of the West's earlier growth in employment was based on missile-oriented defense procurement. The war in Vietnam, however, slowed the trend toward sophisticated equipment and revived demand for more conventional arms. By 1968, this trend had cut ordnance employment in the West from 71% of the national total to 65%. In contrast, New England moved from 16% of defense industry employment in 1963 to 21% in 1968, while the Middle Atlantic states improved their share of total ordnance jobs from 8% to 12%.

Forward look. By 1975, with the war in Southeast Asia over and the anti-missile missile program in full swing—ac-

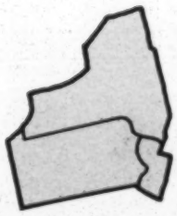
The gradual migration of industry

New England

Regions that will lose ground

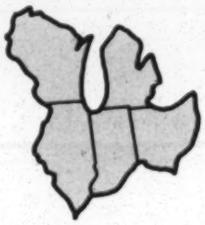
	Percent of total U.S. employment		
	1963	1968	1975
Ordnance	16%	21%	16%
Furniture	4	3	2
Machinery	10	8	7
Textiles	11	9	8
Apparel	7	6	4
Rubber & plastics	18	14	12

Middle Atlantic



	1963	1968	1975
Machinery	21	20	18
Electrical equip.	28	25	23
Transportation equip.	12	11	9
Instruments	52	48	46
Tobacco	18	17	15
Apparel	44	41	39

East North Central



	1963	1968	1975
Stone & glass	25	23	21
Machinery	41	40	38
Electrical equip.	32	30	28
Transportation equip.	41	37	35
Apparel	7	5	4
Petroleum & coal	18	18	16

Southeast

Regions that will gain ground

	Percent of total U.S. employment		
	1963	1968	1975
Furniture	35%	37%	39%
Stone, clay & glass	21	23	25
Electrical equip.	9	11	13
Transportation equip.	9	11	13
Apparel	28	33	36
Rubber & plastics	6	11	13

West Central

	1963	1968	1975
Machinery	12	15	18
Electrical equip.	6	9	11
Instruments	2	2	3
Apparel	9	9	10
Rubber & plastics	2	3	4
Leather	13	13	14

Western

	1963	1968	1975
Ordnance	71	65	71
Stone, clay & glass	11	12	13
Machinery	8	9	10
Food	15	17	18
Paper	9	11	12
Petroleum & coal	19	23	26

Data: McGraw-Hill Economics Dept.

cording to the assumptions of the McGraw-Hill study—the 1963 pattern will reassert itself. This will account for most of the growth in jobs on the West Coast between now and 1975 and a good part of the relatively weak performance of the East Coast.

Other shifts in regional employment patterns will be gradual: the continued erosion of the Middle Atlantic regions as a chemical producer in favor of the Southeast; the continued expansion of machinery production in the West Central states; a moderate drift of the apparel industry to the Southeast.

The real problem lies in the movement away from the cities

The new areas, in fact, are going through very nearly the same life cycle as the older industrial heartland: the development of a few key industries—defense in the West and textiles in the South—has formed a base around which other manufacturing enterprises can grow. In other words, what appears to be the continued migration of industry actually is a process in which the newer areas gradually are deepening their industrial base. As a result, the nation's industrial profile is being strengthened, at least on a regional basis. There are fewer gaping holes in the distribution of manufacturing activities, and the economy is less vulnerable to volatile swings in regional demand than it was a decade ago.

Inner change. The real problem posed by the migration of industry, consequently, is not the shifts among regions covered by the McGraw-Hill study. Instead, it is the persistent movement, within the primary regions, away from the established urban centers and out to "satellite" cities. Here a revolution in the technology of transportation—the private auto and a massive highway network—has been the root cause of an industrial exodus.

The migration from the city has been particularly marked in two supporting activities of manufacturing concerns, research and storage; both these functions have little need for the specialized business services offered in the central city. But the suburbs are drawing businesses with the lures of cheaper land, lower starting costs and more congenial living conditions.

Counteracting the movement of factory employment from the inner city, New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles are gaining as focal points for corporate headquarters. In fact, the current building boom in Manhattan attests to the growing desire of many companies to centralize executive offices in New York where they are closer to the city's financial, advertising, and communications centers. ■

Alternative military budgets

'Minimum deterrence'—Strategic forces based on Polaris-Poseidon. Minuteman and manned bombers are phased out. Reduction in general purpose forces. Armed forces number 2.3-million men. 1972 spending: $42.2-billion.

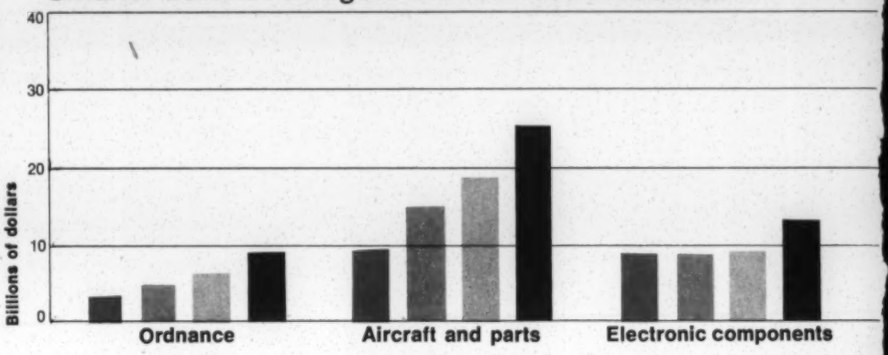
'Streamlined'—Deferral of Safeguard and phase-out of B-52's. New programs are funded by reduction of older ones. Armed forces number 2.5-million men. 1972 spending: $59.4-billion.

'Postwar baseline'—Reduction of general purpose forces to 1965 level. Strategic forces maintained at 1970 level. Armed forces number 2.7-million. 1972 spending: $70.5-billion.

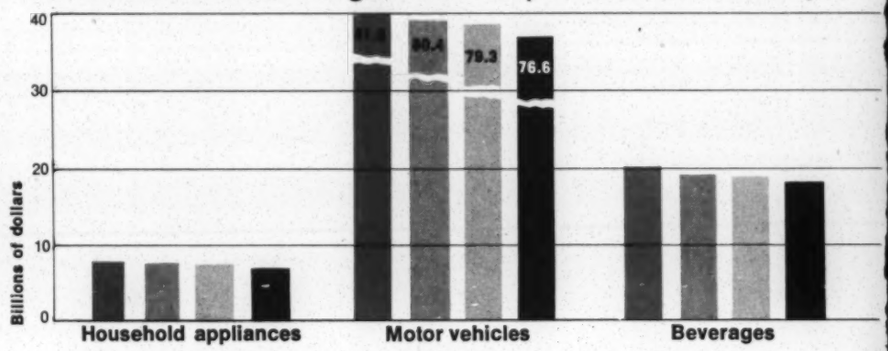
'Postwar Superiority'—Heavy ABM commitment. Stepped up procurement of missiles, F-106x's. Expanded R & D. Armed forces number 3.5-million. 1972 spending: $93.6-billion.

Data: University of Maryland

Smaller defense budgets will hit these industries



These industries will gain from a peacetime economy



ECONOMICS

The peace bonanza that went bust

So far, the promised post-Vietnam dividend has mostly meant lost jobs

The peace dividend, the fiscal bonanza that was supposed to come with the end of the Vietnam war, has turned out so far to be a bittersweet reward.

In the past year, the war has wound down enough for military spending cuts to have a measurable economic impact. At the 1968 peak, according to Defense Secretary Melvin Laird, operations in Southeast Asia were costing nearly $30-billion annually. By July of this year, the cost was down to around $18-billion.

The $12-billion difference has not represented much of a dividend for the Nixon Administration, however. Cutbacks of military programs have brought real distress to the defense industry, while inflation has so raised costs that the Pentagon budget is only about $4-billion less than the record $77.9-billion of fiscal 1969.

Rather than emphasizing, as Democrats did, the opportunities involved in the conversion to a peacetime economy, Republicans have had to own up to the costs that the shift imposes on at least some sectors of the economy.

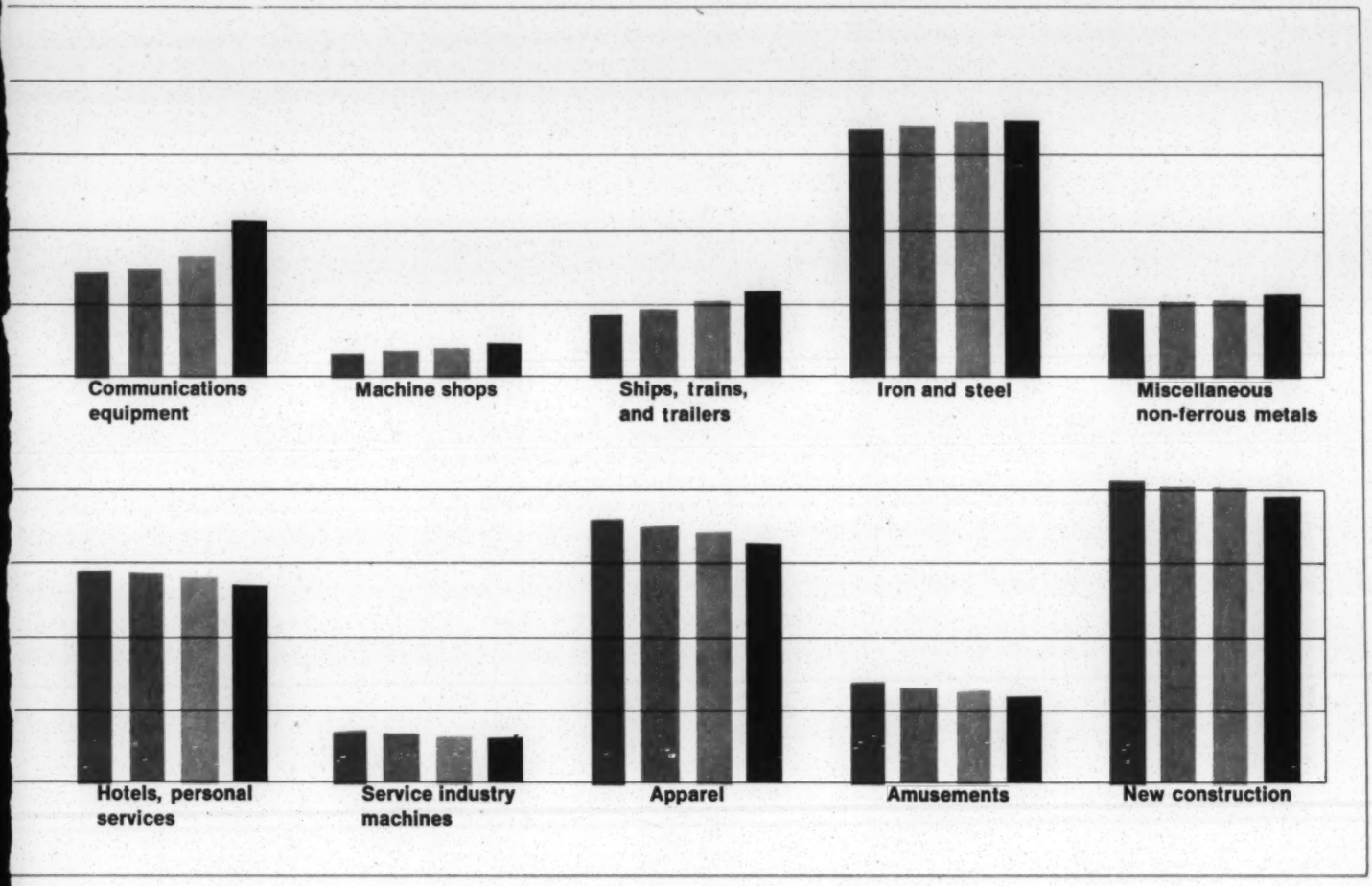
Part of the problem is that where the Democrats assumed that the conversion would take place in the context of a full employment economy, the Republicans have had to manage the switch while simultaneously deflating the economy. Tight monetary and fiscal policies produced economic slack just as military payrolls and defense procurement were beginning to feel the knife. The combination has worked out to an unappealing 5% unemployment rate.

With the fall elections only two months away and no relief in sight, Administration officials are trying to throw much of the blame for bulging jobless rolls on the "reordering of priorities" that led to the defense cuts. In the past year, about 400,000 military and 100,000 civilian employees have been released by the Pentagon and nearly 400,000 more jobs in defense-related industry have dried up. "It is not hard to see where much of the current increase in total unemployment has come from," President Nixon says.

More to come. If the Administration is right, more unemployment is on the way. Robert Moot, Defense Dept. comptroller, estimates that by June another 750,000 jobs will disappear in the defense establishment, bringing the "peace dividend" in employment terms to 1.65-million lost jobs.

Clearly, some industries and thousands of individuals are in for a wrenching experience. The aerospace industry is already a disaster area. Some small—and several not-so-small—research and development companies are wondering if they will survive until the next contract. Defense suppliers are out shopping for civilian orders to take up the slack.

For society as a whole, however, this slack is a true "peace dividend". It represents real resources that can be put to work elsewhere in the economy. The crucial question is how long the shift will take and how painful the adjustment process will be for particular industries and groups of workers.



Most economists are inclined to be optimistic about the conversion problem. "The U. S. economy is sufficiently strong and resilient to absorb the impact of various likely military spending cutbacks without major dislocations," declares a comprehensive study recently completed for the U. S. Arms Control & Disarmament Agency.

The study relied heavily on econometric models constructed at the University of Maryland and the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School of Finance. The models make alternative forecasts for the economy in 1972, assuming different patterns of defense spending. The alternative defense budgets ranged from a low of $42.2-billion (in 1972 dollars) to a high of $93.6-billion. For the smaller budgets, the models assumed some type of offsetting tax reduction.

Not surprisingly, the $42-billion budget helped to generate the highest level of unemployment. But even there, unemployment was only 4.8%. A $70.5-billion defense budget, slightly less than the Administration's request for the current fiscal year, was consistent with an unemployment rate of just over 4%—without any compensating fiscal or monetary actions.

"Both models suggest that the U. S. economy could adjust to cuts in defense expenditures far greater than those expected, with unemployment rates which could generally be considered tolerable. The likely application of monetary, fiscal, and other compensatory policies could be expected to reduce these unemployment rates even further," says Bernard Udis of the University of Colorado, who coordinated the project.

The Administration was caught astride a deflating economy

The pattern of industrial output would, of course, vary considerably with different patterns of defense spending. The Maryland model, based on an input-output framework that takes into account both direct and indirect effects of the alternative budgets, comes up with some striking contrasts for the economy in 1972 (chart). In particular, it suggests that lower defense spending could produce a consumer boom by way of income tax reductions. It seems probable, however, that much of the peace dividend will be absorbed by additional government programs, such as urban renewal. To the extent that this happens, there would be a different list of gainers, though the losers would be the same.

Impact. Three of the alternative budgets were cranked into a version of the Maryland model to determine regional and state impact, which in some cases was severe. Even with compensatory programs, 14 states experienced at least 5% unemployment with either of the two lower budgets. For some defense-oriented cities, the projected jobless rates were frighteningly high. With a $59.4-billion budget, Lawton, Okla., would have a 1972 unemployment rate of 17.1%; Duluth, Minn., and Superior, Wis., 12.5%; Fayetteville, N.C., 12.2%; Salinas-Monterey, Calif., 11.9%; and San Diego, Calif., 10.4%. That same budget, however, probably would generate a low rate of 1.4% in Lansing, Mich., and Jersey City, N. J.

In general, the arms control studies indicate that individuals would be more able than companies to make the adjustment.

Assistant Treasury Secretary Murray Weidenbaum, who worked with the group before coming to Washington, concludes that some major defense companies will have serious problems shifting to civilian markets. Two major problems, he says, appear to be a lack of management motivation (they prefer the lower risks of military production) and a lack of capability. The major defense concerns often have low capitalization, little marketing capacity, and limited experience in producing high-volume output at low unit cost.

The switch. Most of the workers in defense-related industries have jobs that

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August 28, 1970

Pressure mounts in Congress for a formal conversion program

are easily turned to nondefense work, the Udis group concludes. And it adds, "The specialized concept of defense workers does not appear to be useful, and special policies for him do not seem necessary." What is needed, Udis says, is a better functioning labor market and maintenance of high levels of overall employment in the economy.

An earlier study by John Cambern, an economist with the arms control agency, and David Newton, an occupational analyst with the U. S. Employment Service, reached essentially the same conclusions. They studied occupational skills at two California missile plants and found that nearly two-thirds of the jobs could be transferred to a nondefense industry, but that relocation might be necessary. Most of the remaining employees held jobs with no counterparts outside defense industries. Some retraining would be required before these workers could switch elsewhere.

But Cambern and Newton added a caveat: "While case studies of actual layoff situations at Boeing, Republic Aviation, and Martin Marietta indicate that the transition period after layoff is difficult, major efforts should be devoted to mobility assistance and to income maintenance programs that will ease hardships during this period."

Official reaction. The Nixon Administration apparently is not about to propose any special program to ease the conversion period. One interagency committee studied the question last year, came up with no recommendations, and quietly faded away. Another, under Defense Secretary Laird, is still at work. But Congressional pressures are mounting for a formal conversion program.

Last month, Senator Edward Kennedy proposed a way to help one group of employees and businesses through a difficult time. He wants a three-year, $450-million program to retrain the scientists, technicians, and management personnel now engaged in defense-related research and development so that they can "redirect their talents to resolving our pressing domestic problems, restoring the integrity of our environment, and enhancing the quality of our lives."

But the most important aid to conversion is a full-employment economy, something that the Nixon Administration cannot deliver right now. While basic monetary and fiscal policies have become much more expansionary, some real push will be needed to absorb further impact of the defense cuts already in the works. ■

9/16/70

MEMO

TO: Paul Gaston

FROM: Emory F. Via

RE: Arrangements for Research Seminar

Attached is a copy of the letter and of the information sheet sent to invitees to the research seminar.

Would you be so kind as to follow the invitation with a phone call at your earliest convenience to the following:

312-395-3884 Weld ~~Carter~~ COMING

703-526-5111 Edgar Toppin CAN'T COME home: 703-526-6275

716-275-2052 Eugene Genovese CAN'T COME home: 716-288-0573

609-452-~~3000~~ 4832 Gary Orfield ? PROBABLY WILL KNOW IN 3-4 days

Made the above calls:

Phone, Gaston, 9/16/70,

(Carter) - Coming

Toppin - NO

Genovese - NO

Orfield - Probably, will know in 3-4 days

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

DIVISION OF
EDUCATION AND RESEARCH
SPECIAL PROJECTS

September 28, 1970

Doctors Vivian Henderson and Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Viv and Paul:

I appreciate very much your kind invitation to participate in the research seminar on October 9 through 11. I only wish I were able to accept. To my deep regret, because of a prior commitment, I am unable to be present.

I wish the conference much success.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Samuel DuBois Cook
Program Officer

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

DIVISION OF
EDUCATION AND RESEARCH
SPECIAL PROJECTS

September 28, 1970

Dr. Emory F. Via
Director
Resources Development Center
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

It was good to chat with you via the phone the other day. I now understand what happened to the invitation to attend the research seminar. It was sent to my home.

I appreciate very much your kind invitation to attend the seminar. I regret that, because of prior commitments, I am unable to accept.

I wish the seminar much success.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Sam

Samuel DuBois Cook
Program Officer

Information Sheet

RESEARCH SEMINAR

sponsored by

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
in cooperation with

The Ford Foundation

DATES: October 9-11, 1970

PLACE: Sheraton-Biltmore Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia

ACCOMMODATIONS: Will be arranged through the Council at the Sheraton-Biltmore Hotel.

EXPENSES: Travel, Room, and Meal expenses will be reimbursed

PROGRAM

PROGRAM: Informal group discussions

Friday, October 9	
4:00 p.m.	Arrival and check-in
5:00 p.m.	Social Hour, SRC Suite
6:00 p.m.	Group Dinner
7:30-10:00 p.m.	Discussion--Seminar Room A & B
Saturday, October 10	
9:00-12:00	Discussion (Coffe/coke available)
12:30 p.m.	Group lunch--Seminar Room C & D
2:00-5:00 p.m.	Discussion
5:15 p.m.	Social Hour, SRC Suite
Dinner	On your own
Sunday, October 11	
9:00-12:00	Discussion (Coffee/coke available)
12:00 p.m.	Adjournment of seminar

For information, contact:

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Phone No. : (404) 522-8764

Information Sheet

RESEARCH SEMINAR

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For information, contact: Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Phone No. : (404) 522-8764

Roster of Participants in Research Seminar

sponsored by

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in cooperation with

THE FORD FOUNDATION

Angell BEZA	Director, Research Services of The Institute for Research in Social Science University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514
David BROWER	DO.
Weld S. CARTER	Executive Secretary TRED (Committee on Taxation, Resources, and Economic Development)
Anthony J. CATANEESE	Director, Urban Simulation Laboratory Georgia Institute of Technology 225 North Avenue, N.W. Atlanta, Georgia 30332
Fred R. CRAWFORD	Director, Center for Research in Social Change, Emory University 1380 South Oxford Road, S.E. Atlanta, Georgia 30322
Moye W. FREYMANN	Director, Carolina Population Center University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514

John A. GRIFFIN	Director, Southern Education Foundation 811 Cypress Street, N.E. Atlanta, Georgia 30308
Vivian HENDERSON	President, Clark College Chairman, Executive Committee, Southern Regional Council, Inc. 240 Chestnut Street, S.W. Atlanta, Georgia 30314
Tobe JOHNSON	Director, Undergraduate Program in Afro-American Studies, Atlanta University; Professor of Political Science, Morehouse College Box 43, Morehouse College Atlanta, Georgia 30314
Alex B. LACEY	Dean, School of Urban Life Georgia State University 33 Gilmer Street, S.E. Atlanta, Georgia 30303
James R. LEUTZE	Assistant Professor of History University of North Carolina 2133 Lakeshore Drive Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514
John LEWIS	Director, Voter Education Project, Inc. 5 Forsyth Street, N.W. Atlanta, Georgia 30303
C. Eric LINCOLN	Professor of Sociology and Religion Union Theological Seminary 3041 Broadway New York, New York 10027

Herman H. LONG	President, Talladega College Talladega, Alabama 35160
F. Ray MARSHALL	Chairman, Department of Economics University of Texas Austin, Texas 78712
Ruby G. MARTIN	Washington Research Project 1823 Jefferson Place, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036
John MONRO	Dean, Freshman Studies Miles College Birmingham, Alabama 35208
Thomas H. NAYLOR	Professor of Economics Duke University Durham, North Carolina 27706
Eugene ODUM	Director, Institute of Ecology University of Georgia Athens, Georgia 30601
Gary ORFIELD	Professor of Politics Princeton University Princeton, New Jersey 08540
Carol VAN ALSTYNE	Assistant Director for Program Development, Low Income Housing Development Corporation of North Carolina P.O. Box 1108 Durham, North Carolina 27702

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Lucy WATKINS	National Affairs Division Ford Foundation Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL STAFF

Robert ANDERSON	Editor of Publications Editor of New South
Paul ANTHONY	Executive Director
Arthur CAMPBELL	Associate Director, Planning and Housing Project
Reese CLEGHORN	Director, Leadership Project; Editor of South Today
Paul GASTON	Research Director
Emory F. VIA	Director, Resources Development Center
Pat WATTERS	Director, Research and Information
James N. WOOD	Executive Assistant
Clarence WRIGHT	Director, Community Organization Project

Notes: Research Seminar

Questions, issues, concerns:

- --how to focus research on problems, based on idea that resources would be wasted without comprehensive approach
- Knowledge → facts no-good without action to accomplish objectives
- group questioned traditional approach of educating people to change attitudes.
- Survey research → potential influence on political process.
- must consider immediate vs institutional change
- need to view political process as instrument of change.
- ~~use vese~~

Suggestions:

- establish Research Clearinghouse to:
  - (a.) find & fill gaps in knowledge (e.g. there is little knowledge of discrimination in rural non-farm employment)
  - (b.) increase sharing of information
  - (c) bring about a division of labor (e.g. colleges, operating agencies, private [SRC]) in doing research.

to there logical division of labor)

(d) find financing for needed research projects.

— Persuade Fed. govt. to collect more data pertinent to South's problems.

— Develop a matrix for determing <u>Purpose</u> & objectives of research.

①

Institutions	Problem Areas
1. Economic	1. low per capital income
2. Political	2. Rural poverty
3. social	3. Substandard housing
4. others	4. Environmental Pollution
	5. Others

② Examine

la. institution in light of problems → determine policy implications

③ Generally, should be more conscious of how to eliminate "Institutional obsolescence" without contributing to ideological isolationism. One question to be answered: Are inst. <u>policies</u> aggravating <u>problems</u>.

— Toward Determination of [meaning] word Research

-- how to give Black community leverage on power structure.

-- is the overlock of operational research
-- Need to develop basic info. on level of Education.
-- Basic research needed to give perspective to [newspaper] reporting.

- info. to affect regional policies must be coupled w/ research at community level.

- develop [regional] information system -- network to insure that basic info. on South is available; analysis might lead to development of programs, or might influence policies.

- Problem areas needing research:
  Education
  Population - migration, distribution, employment, education, housing

<u>Impact of Movement of People</u>
↳ Mobility Trends → (1) Rapid Transit
(2) Communications technology
(3) others

- Research aimed at institutions should be considered as basic strategy.

- establish research potential of exist. institutions.
- Initiate student info. gathering on issues affecting movement of Blacks to satellite communities.
- Determine new ways of guiding urban growth

- Begin research in Local Areas:
  1. delivery of health services
  2. " " housing programs
  3. Evaluative research of programs (e.g. Title I - Ruby Martin)
  4. Identify impediments to successful implementation of policy
  5. surface problems
  ~~(6) Interrelation~~

- How can Black colleges become more involved in doing research? (will their role include monitoring public policy?)

- Explore relationship of property tax to building.
- what is the degree of Black participation in setting priorities of research on race-oriented problems

- research: feasibility of marginal economic enterprises as leverage devices (how to reach econ. independence)

- research in pivotal areas: e.g. racial discrimination in education — State Dept. of Education hire no Blacks in key positions — thus a key area to concentrate in effort to change employment practices.

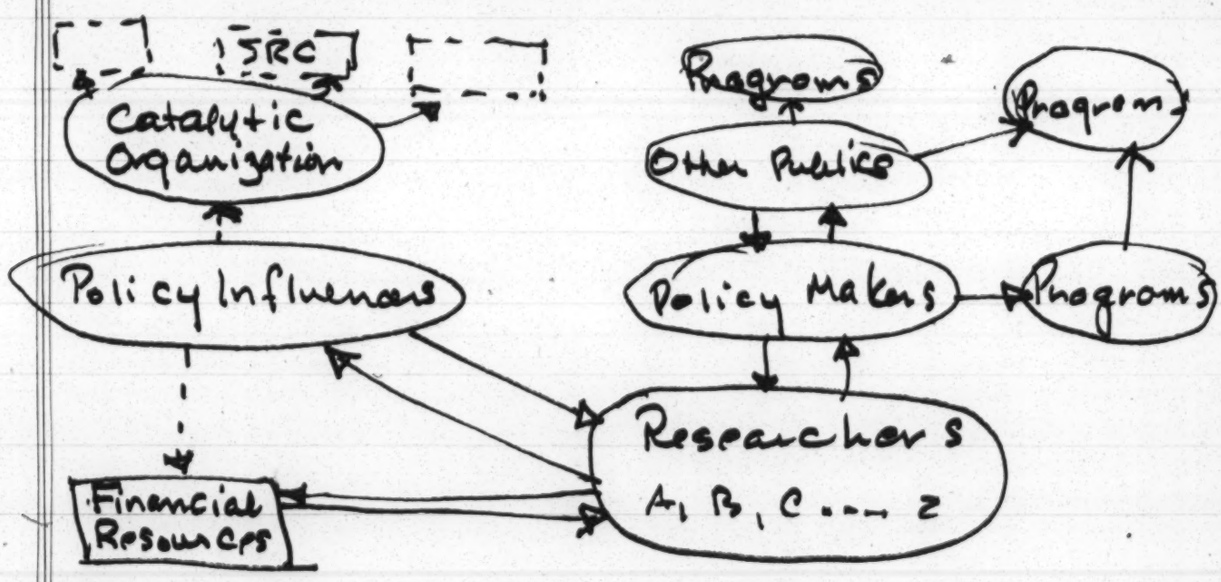
- develop Network of Black & white graduate students to work on particular problems
  → who can coordinate these student research teams? _____.

Research Clearinghouse

1. Education	1. research available
2. Population	2. its present use
3. Economic Development	3. function
4. Communications	4. areas for action
5. Enabling techniques	

Clearinghouse would:

a. develop prospectus of desired research
b. steer money to research organizations
c. develop research problems & ideas.
d. serve as information center / conglomerate data bank.
e. help release existing resources
f. alleviate dearth of applied research
g. find soft money for conducting research.



Priorities:

1. Delivery of Services by those inst. affecting rural housing.
2. Resources for Research
3. Effect of technology in transportation & communication on mobility trends
4. Long range effect of fed. programs (ineffective use of, barriers to implementation
5. Identify & coordinate network of researchers.

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

John Lewis

TO: EY

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PROJECT

The Community Organization Project of the Southern Regional Council has functioned as a source for informational and technical assistance for poor indigenous groups in the south. This project has provided small grants (seed money) to groups and organizations developed by poor people in various communities in our region. The objectives of the Community Organization Project ~~has~~ have been: (1) to provide technical assistance to existing and developing poor organizations; (2) to assist communal groups and organizations in the drafting and writing of proposals; (3) to assist communal groups and cooperatives in recruiting consultants or experts for certain special problem areas.

During the past decade, community organization has become one of the most important mechanisms for mobilizing poor people and getting things done. It has helped to develop meaningful programs for poor people by enabling them to develop their own human resources. This brings out undiscovered abilities and new leadership in poor communities. There is a great need for encouragement. There remains a great number of communities that lack support, socially and financially in order to accomplish their goals. Some poor communities are untouched and

uninformed about their rights to participate in the decision-making process in their region. It will take time, money and energy to accomplish these ends. There are still existing in our society, poor blacks and whites who are starving, working for low wages and living in bad housing. There is a great deal to be done and poor people can do it for themselves if they are given the opportunity and resources.

The Community Organization Project has discovered through its endeavors, that a large number of poor organizations are developing in the south with little or no financial support or technical assistance. They usually consist of poor persons who have become dissatisfied with their conditions and have decided to do something. In many cases, these groups are uninformed about governmental procedures, and operations. Sometimes they become discouraged about the lack of support, accomplishments and eventually disolve their organization. If persons of experience were accessible to local organizations that couldn't afford technical assistance, this would be a step in correcting the organizational problems of poor people. However, we have tried in the past year to help such groups and organizations to become more realistic in dealing with their problems. In some instances, our limited resources have prevented us from

responding to the needs and demands requested by these poor people.

Securing funds from large funding sources is becoming more and more difficult. The smaller and the least recognized poor groups and organizations do not know how to apply for funds from large foundations or agencies. There is a need for a regional program designed to help groups and organizations to develop programs that are within reason for larger support. Many groups need technical assistance in the drafting of proposals, securing trained persons, and developing a program that is applicable to local conditions. It will take money in the essential stage for groups to develop this kind of awareness. In some instances, many groups need funds immediately to sustain their organization. The need becomes urgent and they do not have time to wait for funds from larger sources. Larger sources must review, evaluate and vote on proposals before taking any type of action. (?)

We recognize that seed money is only the beginning for community development. Yet, it is a starting point for some communities and with the hope that something can be done to upgrade their conditions. The Community Organization Project can play a significant role in bringing about social change in

the lives of southern poor people. It can function as an emergency source for some communities and a consultant for others. This project can also function to assist foundations and agencies in locating communities in need of help. In the past, we have accompanied foundation representatives who have expressed an interest in some communities in Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, Mississippi and others.

Recently, the Community Organization Project revised a Community Organization Handbook to be distributed to various organizations and agencies. This is a simple step by step guide for persons beginning work as community organizers. The Urban League, poverty programs, and other private organizations and agencies are using the Handbook for training sessions and for information.

During the past year, the Community Organization Project ~~have~~ has awarded 25 grants to various organizations, both black and white. We have made grants ranging from the support of a day care center in the black belt of Alabama to the support of poor white organizations for business development in the Appalachain area. Recently, one organization received its license from the state for the operation of a day care center.

In the coming year, the Community Organization Project will

function as an information agency for poor groups who requested our assistance. Hopefully, this project can provide technical assistance to such groups developing in the south. It is necessary to help groups with developing programs and gaining local support needed for their programs. We will assist community groups in the writing and drafting of proposals and hopefully become involved with groups in the field, which will allow us to gain insight into the problems of various communities . It is essential at this point because of the present law regulating the use of foundation grants. Instead of giving grants, we will provide technical assistance.

THE HOUSING AND PLANNING PROJECT

During the first half of 1969, this project continued essentially as a one-man operation, directed by Moreland Griffith Smith, FAIA. On June 1, 1969 Arthur C. Campbell, Planner, started his services with the Southern Regional Council. This culminated a long process of working toward enlargement of the scope of the Housing and Planning Project as well as to reinforcing SRC's service with black professionals.

Mr. Campbell is a native of Waugh, Alabama. He was born and raised there and is a product of Montgomery County's school system. From there, Mr. Campbell went to Tuskegee Institute from which he has a Bachelor of Science in Architecture. Mr. Campbell has also completed his academic work for his Masters in Planning at Georgia Tech and he is now in the process of winding up his thesis.

In spite of the enactment of the first Federal Civil Rights Housing Law, there has been non-compliance, as has been the case with all of the other civil rights laws. Attitudes have hardened, resistance techniques have been perfected, the mood of the country has moved ever to the right. Since the Federal Government is seen as a monster handing down decrees from afar, it becomes increasingly important to work to change the attitudes

on the grass roots level.

Local fair housing groups have sprung up all over the country. These can be used as vehicles for change. The SRC Housing and Planning Project will continue to work with these groups to soften community attitudes and to bring about the enactment of local housing laws. Some of these groups have obtained foundation funds to aid Negroes in financing integrated housing. This aspect needs to be broadened.

In the past, throughout the South, there has been considerable dispersion of Negro residential areas. However, the southern pattern has changed rapidly in recent years to parallel more closely urban solutions in the North. Interstate Highways and rapid transit as well as railroads are at present, commonly designed to prevent easy access between white and Negro neighborhoods. Further, buffer zones force circutious patterns of circulation. This creates a great hardship in time and money for Negroes going to and from work. The Housing and Planning Project has and will of course, continue to work with local planning groups to stress the desirability of more free and equal circulation.

The idea has been raised that there is a great need for an indepth study of one sample city. This would doubtlessly show

how the placement of freeways and urban renewal has been determined -- the displacement of Negroes in relation to whites, the percentage in rejected alternatives. Case histories of the machinations of real estate boards and of the FHA should be included. Also, in this report should be included case histories of suits which have taken place against real estate people and landlords. SRC's reports get wide publicity and are effective instruments for change. Such a report would provide a solid base from which to work in effecting change in the area of housing.

The open occupancy legislation opens up opportunities for bolder solutions for total city planning -- land use, intra-city transportation, inter-neighborhood communication, proximity of jobs to housing -- which can contribute to a healthier economic base and thus appeal to the business interest within the city.

If we are to have an open society, urban planning is a necessity. As an illustration: The implementation of school desegregation would be greatly facilitated if neighborhoods were desegregated. The SRC project cannot make an impact solely through its own efforts alone. Resources and staff are inadequate. It will, however, continue to work in this area, and especially

seek to influence others to take up this fight. It will seek to develop financing for research papers that will call attention to the need for action, and thus enlist others in this cause.

It is proposed to continue the Housing and Planning Project, trying to encourage the private sector to participate in urban planning areas in order to broaden the base of interest within the city in order to reach all economic strata. It is felt this can be done by encouraging the awareness of the American Institute of Planners, the American Institute of Architects, the Chamber of Commerce, as well as the neighborhood organizations, in addition to organizations which SRC has advised and worked with such as:

1. Southwest Atlantans for Progress
2. The Housing Committee - Houston Council on Human Relations
3. New Orleans Consortium
4. The Arkansas Council on Human Relations
5. The Georgia Council on Human Relations
6. The North Carolina Council on Human Relations
7. The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
8. the Tennessee Council on Human Relations

9. The Virginia Council on Human Relations
10. The American Friends Service Committee
11. Ansley Park Fair Housing
12. Metropolitan Atlanta Housing Conference
13. The Mayor's Committee on Housing Resources
14. The Mayor's Code Committee
15. HUD, Nationally and Regionally

In recent months, it appears that past efforts to obtain cooperation from the national and state professional societies is bringing fruit and in the months to come, we will be able to report more substantial efforts by the AIP and the AIA in education and employment of minority groups.

The Housing and Planning Project will also continue to circulate the seven (7) publications:

1. Neighborhood Stabilization
2. A Home of Our Own
3. Mr. Mayor - Slum Ghettos in Your City: Can we solve our housing dilemma?
4. Neighborhoods where Human Relations Began
5. A Guide to Programs for Better Homes and Neighborhoods
6. Atlanta Residential Patterns

7. A Report to the Mayor

It is hoped that the Housing and Planning Project will be able to revise and update these in the near future.

HOUSING AND PLANNING SINCE JUNE, 1969 AND ITS FUTURE

Two summer interns working with this program did an evaluation of youth participation in Model Cities while actually conducting a program in which young people participated.

Housing and Planning, under the direction of Mr. Arthur Campbell developed a filing system for project materials.

Arthur Campbell participated in a tour of European new towns sponsored by Urban America, Inc. This tour was to familiarize participants with the new town concept and industrialized building. He is presently working with a Tenant's Association in Harlem, Florida (Cleviston). Engaged in evaluating the circumstances in Harlem to help determine what route the community should take to get new housing built. We will probably become involved in preparing preliminary site plans and preliminary design of structures.

We will begin surveying small towns (5,000 population and below) throughout the south to determine what kind of advocacy planning assistance our program might provide. Such surveys should provide some insight into the following areas:

1. What community groups exist and how effective have they been?
2. Who has the responsibility for housing planning and implementation?
3. Adequacy of the Housing supply
4. What housing programs are presently underway?
5. What are the obstacles to solv ing the town's problems?
6. How well has housing problems been defined and documented by existing data?
7. How much concern is there about town problems?
8. What policies exist relative to housing?
9. What are the town's or the community groups objectives?
10. What planning activity is underway?
11. What kind of assistance does the town or community group need?
12. What problems are apparent that the city need to be made aware of?

Dear Miss Fancher:

I enclose a copy of a letter I wrote to Supt. Trammel in response to the article printed in the Los Angeles Times. I called the Times to ask if they could tell me which Court I might write to where Pat Conroy is planning to plead his case. The Editors suggested I send it to you believing that you would know where it might be at least a drop in what I hope will be a large bucket of outrage, and might have some impact. I sincerely hope it does.

Sincerely yours,

Patricia G. Baker

Patricia G. Baker

Pat
J.J.D.
Betsy

614 San Lorenzo Street
Santa Monica, California
90402

November 15, 1970

Supt. Walter Trammell
County School Board
Beaufort, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Trammel:

I am deeply indebted to Miss Betsy Fancher and the Los Angeles Times for printing the story of the dismissal of Pat Conroy from his teaching task on Daufuskie Island.

I feel deep and unqualified despair at the system of priorities this country so often sets for itself. I fear so deeply that we may never learn how to be human. I see men frightened by another man's dedication; jedous of another's freedom to do what he deeply feels; restricting the freedom of others so that they may feel more comfort in their own inadequacy and impotency.

There is no profession more fulfilling to me than that of watching those with whom I work, whether children or adults, expand their own horizons, discover worlds withing themselves full of ideas and potentialities they never dreamed existed before, to find that there is a beauty in life and that there is hope for each individual to blossom, and perhaps to learn that his life may possibly have meaning. Each of those children has a model in Pat Conroy of how he might grow up and use his life. All this Pat Conroy apparently cared about very much. What do you care about?

What incredible rationality gives you and the School Board any shred of self-respect for this cruel action? I hope that every outraged citizen of this country deluges you with letters conveying their shock.

Why is it so hard in this country to be kind, to work freely, unencumbered by small minds, more interested in status than self-esteem? I feel such contempt and such frustration and such sorrow that there are so many like you in positions of power everywhere.

What is so strange to me is that the alternative way of behavior you have open to yousis to expand with pride that you are lucky enough to have such a teacher in your system. You have a teacher, a real teacher, and you choose to nail him to a cross. Must it continue throughout history to be thus until we are destoyed by oun own blindness? I urge you to reinstate Pat Conroy to his task of love.

I am sending a copy to Pat Conroy and to friends in Health, Education and Welfare in Washington, D.C.

I hope my letter will give some help to the people of Daufuskie Island.

Sadly,

Patricia G. Baker

Patricia G. Baker

February 3, 1971

Mr. William J. Thomas
3920 Carpenter Court
Studio City, California 91604

Dear Mr. Thomas:

John Foley of the Los Angeles Times forwarded your letter to me, and I do appreciate your interest in Daufuskie and your criticisms, which were well taken. They reveal a concern for the barrier islands which I also share. I have done a book on the, "The Lost Legacy of Georgia's Golden Isles" which will be published by Doubleday Feb. 12 and which contains much of the history which you mentioned, and much of the present too. My family settled on Daufuskie before the Revolution, then moved on to a Sapelo Island plantation and I spend most of my spare weekends on the coast.

Having come of age on the Constitution and felt the heavy yet kindly blue pencil of Ralph McGill, I can only say I share your respect for accurate journalism. As a journalist of 20 years, you humble me--as a teacher of journalism, this is probably all to the good. As for the Conroy story, it is quite accurate and quite tragic. My story was followed up by Newsweek's Southern Bureau Chief, Joe Cumming, and his report was much the same as mine.

With sincere thanks for your interest.

Sincerely,

Betsy Fancher
Associate Editor

BF/rh

February 3, 1971

Mr. John Foley
Executive News Editor
Los Angeles Times
Times Mirror Square
Los Angeles, California 90053

Dear Mr. Foley:

Thanks for forwarding the letter from Mr. Thomas. Having just finished a book on the barrier islands for Doubleday, "The Lost Legacy of Georgia's Golden Isles," which deals explicitly with the Gullahs, the Port Royal Experiment, etc., I felt I was on solid ground. Much of this has already been published as background for our report on hunger in the Beaufort area, etc., and seemed superflous to include in the Conroy story.

Thanks for defending me--I will write Mr. Thomas as I do deeply appreciate his interest in the islands. But we spent many hours with Pat Conroy--both myself and the Council staff and having grown up under Ralph McGill, I have to challenge his allegations that the story was based on any distortions of fact, or lack of background material. Sadly, it's all too true. Conroy has lost his suit to be reinstated and a Newsweek Bureau Chief, Joe Cumming, tells me that on his latest trip to Beaufort he learned that the Daufuskie islanders who spoke in Conroy's defense had not received their Social Security checks in December.

We have had a tremendous response to the story from lawyers, school children, teachers, film people and other writers.

Again, thanks for your letter.

Sincerely,

Betsy Fancher
Associate Editor

BF/rh

Jan. 27, 1971

Dear Mr. Thomas,

I appreciate the time and effort you took to respond to Betsy Fancher's piece on Daufuskie and its problems. I am forwarding your letter to her for her possible edification.

Incidentally, I checked Miss Fancher's credentials via various sources and worked directly with her.

Also incidentally, I am an old southern boy myself, Mississippi, and I get back there about every two years.

Sincerely,

John Foley
Executive news editor

William J. Thomas

3920 Carpenter Court
Studio City
California 91604

January 12, 1971

The Editor
Opinion Section
Los Angeles Times
Times Mirror Square
Los Angeles, California 90053

Dear Sir:

The editor who placed the article Daufuskie---"No Man an Island," in the Opinion Section of The Los Angeles Times, Sunday, November 15, 1970, date line Beaufort, South Carolina, obviously has no knowledge of the subject.

It was based on fragments of truth, deliberate intent to deceive, distortions of fact and lack of background information.

My old city editor, the great Stanley Walker, would have sent both writer and editor back to the scene to get complete facts. Tell Betsy Fander to dig through the morgues until she finds articles by Meyer Berger, Ishbell Ross or Virginius Dabney and learn something about journalism.

Semi-tropical Daufuskie Island nestles in Calibogue Sound,. One side faces the Atlantic Ocean, another affords an excellent view of the downtown Savannah, Georgia, skyline, probably no more than 12 miles distant. That is closer than I am to downtown Los Angeles from Studio City.

(more)

From Daufuskie, one can watch ocean vessels entering and departing the Savannah River channel or a constant stream of commercial and pleasure craft cruising the Intra-coastal Waterway that touches the island's shores and extends from the populous Northeast to Florida and the Gulf of Mexico. Daufuskie is not isolated.

I visited Daufuskie Island many years ago in my boyhood. Then, as now, it was canopied by tall pines, spreading live oaks, palmettoes, chinquapin, sassafras and other foliage. If it were in the South Pacific, travel agents would go into ecstacies over a beautiful spot.

At that time, there probably were only two or three white families on the island. All other inhabitants were Negroes of the famous Gullahs, who also populated most of the sea islands chain along the South Carolina and Georgia coasts.

Steamers making the regular run between Savannah and Beaufort provided passenger and freight service to all the islands along the route.

In the year 1900, I would venture to estimate, the Gullahs made up at least 75%, perhaps 80%, of the population of Beaufort County. Hilton Head Island, to which your writer referred, was about 98%. Many other islands reached a total of 100%.

Late in 1959 I went exploring and had a man row me across Lucy Point Creek to Coosaw Island in St. Helena Sound. (The motor ferry, operated by the county, had been wrecked a few weeks before by hurricane Gracie and not yet restored to service.)

(more)

No white man had lived on Coosaw Island during the previous 90 years. I talked with some of the natives, who speak the Gullah dialect which you probably could not understand. One elderly woman deplored the migration of many young persons to Northern cities.

"They'll come back," she told me, hopefully. Wise old woman.

At that time, Coosaw Island had a one-room, one-teacher school house, very old and heated by a single stove. The school teacher, a very dedicated woman who commuted from Port Royal, explained that the school was maintained for the benefit of children in the early grades, to spare them the trip across Lucy Point Creek, sometimes hazardous in bad weather, with its reversing currents. Older students were ferried over to board a bus which transported them to a very handsome school on St. Helena Island. Since my visit, I've heard that a bridge has been built so the one-room school has passed into oblivion.

Coosaw is another charming island.

These islands, long separated from the mainland by broad, meandering tidal rivers, represent an interesting page in New World history. Fought over for centuries by Indians, Spaniards, French, English, Confederates and Union forces, they were turned over almost exclusively to the Gullahs during and after the War between the States.

Most of the white people fled before Northern occupation forces, never to return. The land was divided largely into "ten acres and a mule" farms and given to the Gullahs. So it remained until rather recently.

(more)

Education missionaries moved down from the North to establish schools for the ex-slaves and their children. The Federal government, church organizations and private institutions supported them. At least two of the schools still thrive in Beaufort County. In time, as a public school system was developed through the years, the Gullahs had a choice of public or private schools, both free.

Many of these missionaries remained and, as did others who went to Hawaii in earlier years, they bought land cheap, went into farming and commerce. Their descendants are prominent citizens of the community now. Your writer probably would describe them as "Southern aristocrats." A-hem.

Ten years ago, my wife and I visited in Bluffton where we had many enlightening conversations with persons connected with the schools. They volunteered the information that Daufuskie Island did not have a population large enough to justify an all-service school, so the state boarded children of high school age in Bluffton homes so these children could have the advantages of attending the very good local high school. The problem, they told us, in both Daufuskie and Bluffton, was to induce these very children to remain in school.

Now, your writer referred to "posh Hilton Head Island, a residential resort."

Sports Illustrated, reporting recently on the $100,000.00 Heritage Golf Tournament, called Hilton Head the hottest thing east of Las Vegas. S.I. said that there now are six championship golf courses on the island.

(more)

All this has happened within fifteen years or less.

Hilton Head is one of the largest islands on our Atlantic Coast south of New York. Remember, it was populated almost exclusively by the Gullahs, with scarcely enough white people there to count.

About fifteen years ago, private capital started something. A corporation was formed, built a bridge (since acquired by the South Carolina Highway Department) to the island and began developing it. The growth has been phenomenal, according to magazine and newspaper accounts that have come to my attention.

Your article reports that a new school is under construction on Hilton Head, and I am not surprised. There must be a need for it with a growing population, just as new schools are being built in San Fernando Valley and all across the United States. We have a thing called population explosion.

Now, two parting comments.

Your article and many others refer to the lack of privies in some of the rural, isolated areas. The writer neglected to mention that privy homes and priviless homes have been and are being replaced by modern cottages with inside plumbing. Also, lumber is plentiful and cheap and anyone could knock together a privy in half a day.

It seems sad to me that natives of these beautiful islands are leaving God's great outdoors to move into slum areas of Northern cities.

The man who rowed me to Coosaw Island told me that he had tried to live in a big northern city.

"I came back home," he said. "Folks down here take time to live."

# # #

Wm. J. Thomas

February 22, 1971

Mrs. O. Benjamin Sparks
364 Walnut Avenue, S. W.
Roanoke, Virginia 24016

Dear Mrs. Sparks:

We certainly appreciate your comments and your interest in our publication. I am passing your letter on to Betsy, who is out of the office this week making appearances in connection with her new book on the Golden Isles.

Pat Conroy's address is 403 Hancock St., Beaufort, S. C. 29902. I am certain that he would appreciate hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Reese Cleghorn
Editor

RC/rh

Signed in Mr. Cleghorn's absence

Betty

Answer

Paul and Gwen Dubov

5700 RHODES AVENUE - NORTH HOLLYWOOD, CALIFORNIA 91607

Feb. 25, 1971

Dear Miss Fancher!

Yesterday's mail brought us NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC, and in it a photograph taken on Daufuskie -- in tragic juxtaposition to the affluence of the region. Again, we were deeply touched and affected by it.

We're writing mainly to inquire how things are going. Have you firmed a deal for a film? And a book -- when and where may we find a copy of it? Most interested to read it.

Our regards to Mr.Conroy. Hope he has met with success in his lawsuit.

This story must be filmed. If, for any reason, the proposed motion picture deals do not materialize, remember -- we are still vitally interested.

Best wishes,

Sincerely,

Gwen Dubov -

Gwen and Paul Dubov

721 N. Alfred #103
Los Angeles, Calif. 90069
10 April 1971

Miss Betsy Fancher
SOUTH TODAY
c/o Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Miss Fancher:

I have read with great interest an article of yours published in the Los Angeles Times about Mr. Pat Conroy, a teacher on Daufuskie Island during 1970 and his subsequent dismissal by the Beaufort County School Board.

I work for a film company here in Hollywood, and I believe Mr. Conroy's story is of great interest and importance. If you have any information as to the present whereabouts of Mr. Conroy, I would appreciate it if you could send me his address. Many thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Tak Fujimoto

TAK FUJIMOTO

Los Angeles Times
TIMES MIRROR SQUARE
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90053

Dear Miss Fancher,

I thought you might be interested in this letter from one of the readers of your article on Daufuskie which I reprinted in The Times Nov. 15.

John Foley

The Firing Of Daufuskie Teacher Upheld By Resident Judge Rhodes

Pat Conroy, the dismissed Daufuskie teach, lost his suit for reinstatement against the board of education last Thursday.

W. L. Rhodes, Jr., resident judge of the Fourteenth Judicial Circuit, handed down the decision rejecting Conroy's suit.

Carl Hendricks, Jr., one of Conroy's two attorneys, expressed his "extreme disappointment," saying that the discharge was unjustified and should have "far-reaching consequences." "Beaufort is losing a fine, talented boy," he continued. "Teachers coming here in the future will think twice," said Hendricks.

Judge Rhodes' ruling was that "the Board of Education did have good and sufficient reasons for dismissing" Conroy. However, the judge took issue with the school board's provision that Conroy could resign only if he did not appeal the board's decision; this, Rhodes called, "coercive."

He, therefore concluded that Conroy "shall have the right to present for acceptance his resignation to the school board, and it shall be accepted by the Board," providing it is presented "prior to the expiration of five days after a final disposition of this case by the Courts." However, he is entitled to no compensation from the Board beyond September 18, 1970 (his last official working day).

The judge cited Sections 21-230 and 21-230.1, which grant authority to a county board of education to discharge teachers "when good and sufficient reasons for so doing present themselves." "Therefore, said Rhodes, "The basic issue to be determined by this Court is whether or not in this case the said County Board had good and sufficient reasons for discharging the petitioner (Conroy) from his position as a teacher in the school system."

Conroy, a 26-year-old Beaufort native, taught children at the Daufuskie school in grades five through eight. Dr. William E. Dufford, a University of South Carolina faculty member and long-time friend of Conroy's, asked Conroy to assist him as a member of desegregation team in Jasper County. Conroy joined him during the school week of September 21 through September 25, 1970.

According to Conroy, his primary motive in accepting this temporary employment was to use the money he earned ($65 per day) for the purpose of taking the Daufuskie school children on a field trip to Atlanta. Conroy emphasized in his testimony the need for getting the children off the remote island and letting them see the outside world. Conroy appeared to be well-liked by the students and his September dismissal prompted a protest boycott of the school for several days afterwards.

A primary "bone of contention" in the case was Conroy's failure to notify any administrative superior, other than a VISTA substitute teacher. Said Judge Rhodes, "There is no question here but that Conroy did not follow the procedure required by contacting his immediate supervisor prior to the time of his taking leave. There is further no question in my mind, but that such a policy is reasonable and essential to the orderly operation of school system."

At press time, Hendricks, Conroy's lawyer, said that they had not yet made a decision on whether or not to appeal. Conroy's other lawyer is George G. Trask. Attorneys for the school board are Julian S. Levin and Ladson F. Howell.

Dear Betsy,

Here is the first exciting installment —

I hope it is what the council desired —

The typist was rapid and careless.

The mistakes are innumerable.

The punctuation is terrible.

Hope all is going well with everyone.

Love,

Pat

[Note that this ms. - with numerous revisions - may be found on pp. 13-16 of Conroy's THE WATER IS WIDE, N.Y., Dell Publish'g. Co., 1972.]

Portrait of Daufuskie

Daufuskie is an island off the South Carolina mainland not far from Savannah, Georgia. The west side of the island is fringed with the green, undulating marshes of the southern soast; the east side is bounded by the Atlantci ocean. Shrimp boats ply the waters around her and fishermen cast their lines along her bountiful shore. Deer cut through her forests in quick, silent herds. The great southern oaks, with their heavy shocks of moss and imposing bulk, stand broodingly on her banks. The island and the waters around her teem with life. There is something eternal and indestructible about the tide-pocked shores and the dark, rather threatening silences of the swamp in the heart of the island. Daufuskie is beautiful because man has not had time to destroy this beauty and his civilization has not yet engulfed the island in its relentless purge of nature.

The twentieth century has basically ignored the presence of Daufuskie Island. Because of deep and turbulent rivers and sounds, no bridge connects Daufuskie with the mainland. Anyone who sets foot on the island comes by water, or more improbably, by air. The roads of the island are unpaved and rutted by the passage of wooden oxcarts, still a major form of transportation. The island is populated with black people who depend on the sea, the hunt, and their small gardens for a living. The hand pump, long a hackneyed image of the old

south, serves up questionable water to these residents who dwell in their small, familiar houses. Sears and Roebuck catalogues perform their classic function in the crudely-built privies which sit, half-hidden, in the tall grasses behind the shacks. Electricity came to the island several years ago and there is something unquestionably moving about the line of utility poles coming across the marsh, moving, perhaps, because electricity is a bringer of miracles and the journey of the faceless poles is such a long one, and such a humane one. But there are no telephones (electricity is enough of a miracle for one century), nor can one communicate to the island except by letter or short-wave radio. By necessity, Daufuskie remains aloof and apart from the world beyond the river.

Yet the world is rapidly coming to the island. Directly across Calibogue Sound sits the fat and pompous Hilton Head Island. Hilton Head was an island inhabited primarily by blacks and the similarity between Daufuskie and Hilton Head was considerable. But a bridge linked Hilton Head to the outside and the white men with burnished dreams of empire busily set about to make the island an Eden for the retired captains of northern industry. Hotels spawned on the white beaches like toads and golf courses wormed through forests and over land-filled swamps. The black people of the island sold their land cheaply and quickly to the high-pressure whites who saw the gold mine by the shacks and in the woods. Hilton Head developed rapidly; the island now stinks of wealth and golf-fed prosperity; the

island lies pocked with cypress-garmented houses and late model cars. Country clubs abound and exclusivity is the password as the furred ladies of the greying gentlemen watch a golf tournament by the ten million dollar marina and the string of rainbow condominiums which look directly across Calibogue Sound at Daufuskie Island. Black people still live on Hilton Head, and they make nice ornaments and maids and bootblacks. It is only a matter of time before Daufuskie will receive her gift of bridgedom, and the great trek of the wealthy will begin.

Daufuskie is not a large island, nor an important one, but it represents an era and a segment of history that is rapidly dying in America. The people of the island have changed little since the Emancipation Proclamation. Indeed, many of them have never heard of this proclamation. They love their island with genuine affection, and have watched with alarm at the migration of the young to the city, to the lands far away and far removed from the island. In the forties, over eight hundred people lived and worked on the island; today, the population numbers barely over the hundred mark. The people are very young or very old for the most part. The others have gone to search for jobs. The island is dying and the people know it.

In the parable of Daufuskie there was a time when the black people supported themselves well, worked hard, and lived up to the sacred tenents laid down in the Protestant ethic. Each morning the strong, young men would take to their bateaus and

search the shores and inlets for the large clusters of oysters which thrived in abundance on the island's perimeters. The men brought the oysters to the factory, where the women and old men shucked the oysters into large jars. Daufuskie Oysters were world famous. An island legend has it that a Czar of Russia once ordered Daufuskie oysters for an imperial banquet. The white people propogate that rumor. The blacks, for the most part, would not know a Czar from a fiddler crab, nor would they care. But the oysters were good, and the oyster factories operating on the island provided a substantial living for all the people. Everyone worked, everyone made money, and everyone was content to remain isolated and removed from the trends which shook the rest of America.

Then a villain appeared. It was an industrial factory, stationed on a knoll above the Savannah river many miles away from Daufuskie. The villain spewed its excrement into the river, infected the creeks and as silently as the pull of the tides, crept to the shores of Daufuskie Island. Pollution, mankind's gift to the world that spawned him, came to dwell in the waters around Daufuskie, As every good health inspector knows, the unfortunate consumer who gums an infected oyster is flirting with hepatitis. Someone took samples of the waters around Daufuskie, analyzed it under a microscope, and reported it to the proper officials. Soon after this, white signs appeared by the oyster banks forbidding anyone to gather the oysters. The oysters around the island were now as worthless as grains

of sand. The muddy creatures which had provided the people of the island with a way to keep their families alive were placed under permanent quarantine. The factory in Savannah kept spitting its waste into the river and was soon joined by other factories. Since a factory has no soul, it could not be moved to understand the destruction its coming had wrought. But when the oysters became contaminated, the island's only industry collapsed almost immediately. The great migration began. A steady flow of people faced with starvation moved to the cities. They came in search of jobs. Few cities had any intemperate demand for professional oyster-shuckers, but the people were somehow assimilated. Houses surrendered their tenants and signs of sudden departure were rife in the interiors of deserted homes. The people left reluctantly, but they left permanently, and returned only on sporadic visits to pay homage to the relatives too old or too stubborn to leave the island. As the oysters died, so did the people. The factories on the Savannah river were prime movers in island genocide.

The people who remain earn their living haphazardly. Some survive off Social Security checks or welfare payments. Operation Mainstream, a project of the O.E.O., offers three jobs for island males, but the jobs last for only two years, and then, according to the theory of the program, the men will be trained sufficiently to enter into a suitable occupation. On Daufuskie, there are no jobs for blacks for which to train. The public school on the island provides two islanders with jobs, one a

cook, the other a janitor. The only other jobs available on the island belong to the three-man crew who ferry a government-owned boat to the mainland each day. There are no other jobs on the island.

Several white families dwell on the island in a paternalistic, but in some ways, symbiotic relationship with their neighbors. Socially, their lives do not touch the blacks, but they sometimes hire the blacks to perform tasks about their houses. One white family is particularly interesting. They control every major job on the island. Lance Burn is a small, beefy man who has gained a monopoly over the state-controlled jobs on the island. At one time or another, he had been magistrate, game warden, director of Economic Opportunity, road-grader, civil defense director, and poll watcher. The few jobs he has been unable to garner for himself have gone to his wife Billie. She is the postmaster, the school bus driver, and substitute teacher at the school. Together, they have formed a powerful dynasty and rule the island like Persian satraps. The island's short-wave radio is located in the Burn's kitchen, so any message transmitted to or from the island is monitored by them. They also control most of the transportation facilities of the island. One of the island's most durable games is trying to guess how much revenue the Burns' reap in one fiscal year.

Less than ten years ago, the Burns' had a school-age boy on the island. Beaufort County built a one-room school house

and hired a teacher to come to the island to teach in a one-student school. No one action seems to indicate more fully what crimes have been oommitted in the name of segregation than this one structure, known on the island as the "white school house." The blacks live on, people of the sea, and people of the hunt on an island with a white cemetery and a black one, with a white schoolhouse and a black one; with a peeling, weathered church without a preacher and without a deacon; with a future without much hope for change. They have few jobs and few prospects for getting any more. They do have their land and their knowledge that someday a bridge is coming; possibly from the west, across the chain of islands toward Bluffton, or maybe from the south toward Savannah. Meanwhile, they can stare across Calibogue Sound at the condominiums and the yachts, the golf courses and the country club. It is only a matter of time before the deer will be driven from the island and the white men will want ~~their~~ the peoples' land for the seventeenth green. Already, the white men own all the waterfront property on the island. Already, a polo-playing millionaire has bought up the northern third of the island. Time is now the great enemy. For those of us who love the island and care for the people, the coming of the cadillacs and condominiums is an unspeakable obscenity. Yet we know the people need the jobs, no matter how demeaning they are.

NPR COLLECT

Newsweek, N.Y.C.Y

Telex (or UX)

Education Re: Pat Conroy, Daufuskie Island teacher

From Cumming

"It is not possible to spend any prolonged period visiting public school classrooms," said Charles E. Silberman before the Mondale Committee on Equal Education, "without being appalled by the mutilation visible everywhere, ...mutilation of spontaneity, of joy in learning, of pleasure in creating, of a sense of self..."

Examples of how to overcome this mutilation are as rare despite all the talk of a revolution in education. And when they occur in public schools they are likely to be feared rather than embraced. A young teacher in Beaufort County, South Carolina fought against this mutilation and inadvertently uncovered how deeply rooted it is in the system. The invidious thing is that this mutilation is perpetrated by the good intentions of people whose lives have been truly dedicated to "the improvement of education."

A young white male teacher, Pat Conroy, was inexperienced enough in the wise ways of education to react with anger to the mutilation he found when he reported for work in the two-room school house on the remote South Carolina coastal island called Daufuski. School board officials took a patronizing view of the young man who seems to have discovered "what we've been knowing for years" and they remained unimpressed with Conroy's zest and imagination with which he began to develop ways to touch the benighted black kids of Daufuskie. As he began to touch their awareness in a way that might have gone on to become an experiment as beautiful and important as Robert Dennison of "The Lives of

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children", he set up vibrations counter to the established system that eventually and inevitably and tragically (not so much for Conroy or even the kids, but for us all) led to him being fired.

Daufuskie Island is one of these remoter, mysterious, beautiful, old coastal islands, muffled in Spanish moss, where a remnant of gullah-accented black people are all that is left of a past of ante bellum cotton plantations of which no structural remnant is left.

Pat Conroy, now 25, is kid-next-door young man with an Irish face, a quick, easy smile, a snub nose, clean brow line, oldest of seven, Catholic family, father a marine aviator, a colonel now in Viet Nam. Because his father was stationed nearby Conroy attended the last two years of high school in Beaufort, S.C., county seat which has Daufuskie Island. He was a popular student and won a basketball scholarship to the Citadel, the rugged military school in Charleston which is deep seated in southern and especially South Carolina history.

After graduating in 1967 he came back to Beaufort and taught a special English classes at Beaufort High School. For reasons that are not easily identifiable, Conroy was possessed of ceaseless energy and urge to engage more deeply in revolence. He applied for the Peace Corps.

At this point in the saga the accounts of Conroy and the school superintendent Dr. Walter Trammell, 55, diverge. I talked to both at great length and both avoided direct assaults on the other. Yet they were clearly antagonists. I can only account for the inevitable schism by saying they simply belonged to different consciousnesses, different mind sets. Or does this come down to simply different generations. I must say that Dr. Trammell's record as a skilled and dedicated professional seems unassailable. Yet, there was something faintly disingenuous the way he would continue to speak of Conroy as "Walter Trammell twenty years ago", or pondering the decision to fire him by "thinking of my own 26 year old son...."

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#1 11:10 AMEST

EDUCATION DAUGHERTY

ATLANTA CUMMING

PAT CONROY

1-143-71

DR. WALTER TRAMMELL, 55, IS ONE OF THE OUTSTANDING SUPERINTENDENTS IN THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA. HE CAME TO BEAUFORT TO BECOME SUPERINTENDENT IN 1968 AFTER AN IMPRESSIVE RECORD OF 20 YEARS IN THE JOB AS SUPERINTENDENT, 30 YEARS IN PUBLIC EDUCATION. HE COMES FROM THE PIEDMONT SECTION OF THE STATE, WAS A POOR BOY WHO WORKED HIS WAY UP THROUGH THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY INTO MANAGEMENT. THEN, AFTER A WAR-TIME SERVICE IN THE NAVY, HE GAVE UP A CAREER IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY TO GO INTO PUBLIC SCHOLLSOLS, "TO DEDICATE MY LIFE TO HELPING THE CHILDREN OF SOUTH CAROLINA." HE SAYS HE HAS TURNED DOWN MANY OFFERS TO GO INTO MANAGEMENT AT HIGHER SALARY THAN HE IS MAKING IN EDUCATION.

FROM MY INTERVIEW WITH HIM IN HIS MODERN OFFICE IN THE QUAINT, CHARMING PRE-REVOLUTIONARY TOWN OF BEAUFORT I WOULD EASILY BELIEVE THAT HE IS AN EXCELLENT ADMINISTRATOR. HE BEGAN THE INTERVIEW WITH A LONG, SILENT, FROSTY BLUE-EYED STARE OVER HIS HALF GLASSES, FIXING ME WITH A WOULD-BE SHREWD APPRAISING GLANCE. I COULD SWEAR THAT HE HAS DONE THIS MANY TIMES BEFORE AND WHEN PAT CONROY TOLD ME HIS STAFF WAS TERRIFIED OF HIM I COULD UNDERSTAND THAT THIS IS HIS WAY. IT IS PART OF THE OLD TEXTILE TRADITION OF PLAYING CONTROL BALL.

FOR FOUR HOURS TRAMMELL HELD FORTH FOUR, SAYING NICE THINGS FOR THE RECORD, DOWNRIGHT BUTTERY PRAISE FORTHIS YOUNG MAN'S IDEALISM, "JUST LIKE ME WHEN I WAS THAT AGE," BUT THEN OUT OF THE OTHER SIDE OF THE MOUTH SUCH THINGS AS "OF COURSE, TEACHERS LIKE TO BE OPOPUPOPULAR AND YOU CAN ALWAYS JUST TAKE CHILDREN ON FIELD TRIPS AND BE THEIR FAVORITE."

"HIS TEACHING METHODS WE APPROVED OF," HE SAID ON THE SUNNY SIDE. "THEY WERE TREMENDOUS. AS FAR AS SDEVELOPMENT, EXPERIMENTATION. HE WAS ABLE TO FINANCE A FIELD TRIP TO WASHINGTON AND SAVANNAH. THIS IS EXCELLENT. FOR CHILDREN WHOSE ACADEMIC CAPABILITY IS LIKE THEIRS THIS TYPE OF THINGS [illegible]

FAVORITE."

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THEN HE POINTED OUT PROUDLY HIS "SCOPE AND SEQUENCE" PROGRAM WHICH HE HAD WORKED OUT TO GUARANTEE (TO PARENTS AND TAXPAYERS) THAT SCHOOL CHILDREN AT EACH GRADE LEVEL WOULD BE "EXPOSED TO THESE SKILLS."

THEN HE TAPPED THE HARD REDDISH BROWN MANILA NOTEBOOK WHICH PRESCRIBED HIS PROCEDURES, WORKED OUT FROM TWENTY YEARS OF EXPERIENCE, INCLUDING HIS YEARS AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK, GETTINGS HIS PHD

"THIS IS THE HEART OF THE SYSTEM," HE SAID. "THE REASON I TOOK ACTION WITH MR. CONROY WAS HENOT IN HIS CLASSROOM TEACHING. IT WAS THAT HE IGNORED SCHOOL BOARD POLICIES, DELIBERATELY DISREGARDED THE WRITTEN PROCEDURES. MR. CONROY IS A DEDICATED, WONEDERFUL YOUNG PERSON. HE HAS QUALITIES WHICH WE NEED. BUT HE HAS TO LEARN THERE'S SOMEBODY IN THE WORLD BESIDES HIM."

ONE ANCIENT NEGRO GRANDMOTHER ON DAUFUSKIE I TALKED TO NAMED BLOSSOM ROBINSON, SAID IN THE EMPHATIC, DRAMATIC SINGSONG GTONES OF GULLAH DIALECT AS WE SAT IN HER TINY KITCHEN: "MISTER, THIS IS A NUMBER ONE MAHN. HE IS DE BEST MAHN WHO TEACH ON DIS ISLAND. YOU TALK TO HIM, YOU TALK TO A MAN WHO TEACH CHILDREN. THAT MAN TAKE MY CHILD TO AWASHINGTON. THAT MAN TOOK THEM CHILDREN, TOOK THEM TO BEAUFORT, A PLACE THEY NEVER BEEN BEFORE. THAT MAN, HE TEACH THEM CHILDREN TO SWIM. THAT MAN HERE, HE TEACH THEM THE KIND OF THINGS THEY GONNA NEED WHEN THEY LEAVE DAUFUSKIE. I BORN AND RAISED HERE ON DAUFUSKIE AND MY DADDY AND GRANDDADDY BORN HERE AND I SAY WE AIN'T NEVER HAD A TEACHER LIKE THIS MAN."

THE CHARLESTON (S.C). POST EDITORIALIZED IN SUPPORT OF CONROY AND WERE BOLD ENOUGH TO SUGGEST THAT THERE WAS SOMETHING MORE THAN CONROY'S FAILURE TO ADHERE TO THE SYSTEM..." ...THERE MAY BE OTHER THINGS BEHIND THE BOARD'S ACTION," THE EDITORIAL CONCLUDED. "PERHAPS IT WAS MR. CONROY'S DECISION TO TAKE TWO DAUFUSKIE CHILDREN INTO HIS HOME IN A BEADFORT WHITE NEIGHBORHOOD..."

AND THAT LEADS TO THE QUESTION OFTHE SPEED WITH WHICH PAT WAS MADE A-1 BY HIS DRAFT BOARD AND EVE N WHY JOE AND BLOSSOM ROBINSON, WHEN WE TALKED TO THEM, HAD NOT RECEIVED THEIR SOCIAL SECURITY CHECK FOR TWO MONTHS. COULD IT BE BECAUSE THEY WERE STRONG SUPPORTERS OF CONROY?

CONROY?

CONROY'S LAWNER, GEORGE TRASK, SUMMED IT UP THIS WAY: "THIS IS DEFINITELY A CASE OF A CREATIVE INDIVIDUAL WHO HAS RUN AFOUL OF THE SYSTEM AND THE SYSTEM IS NOT FLEXIBLE ENOUGH TO ACCOMMODATE HIM."

IN THE COURT HEARING, BEFORE AN EQUITY COURT, NO JURY, IN WIHICH CONROY SOUGHT TO BE RE-HIRED, THE SCHOOL BOARD MADE MUCH OVER THE ARTICLE BY BETSY FANCHER, AND HOW SHE HAD GIVEN THE IMPRESSION CONROY HAD WROUGHT MIRACLES. THE BOARD CWENT OUT AND TESTED THE KIDS HE HAD TAUGHT AND CAME UP WITH THE SAME BELL CURVE OF SOME BRIGHT, SOME DUMB, MOST HALFWAY, THAT ANY GROUP WOULD PRODUCE. THEY--AND TRAMMELL WITH ME---HIT HARD HOW MUCH THE REALITY WAS SHORT OF THE IMPRESSION GIVEN IN THE PIECE. I TALKED TO SOME OFTHE KIDS AND, INDEED, THEY DIDN'T ALL KNOW THE CAPITOLS FOR ALL THE STATES BUT I COULD SEE THEY HAD FUN TRYING TO MEMORIZE THEM AND THE ONE GIRL AND BOY I TALKED TO ABOUT IT WERE BETTER THAN I WAS. QUICK, WHATS THE CAPITOL OF IDAHO. AND THEY STILL TALK ABOUT THE TUNE WITH THE BUMBLE BEE AND RICHARD CORY THAT MAN "WWHO "WENT HOME AND PUT A BLLET THULLET THROUGH HIS HEAD."

PAT'S PLACE HAS BEEN TAKEN BY A 24-YEAR-OLD WHITE MAN, A FRIEND OF PAT'S BUT ONE WHO CALLS HIMSELF CONSERVATIVE. MIKE MCEACHERAN (MUST CHECK IF USE),. PAT AND I VISITED HIS CLASS BECAUSE MRS. JOHNSON WAS AWAY. PAT HAS BEEN THREATENED WITH ARREST IF HE GOES AROUND THE SCHOO SO PERHAPS SHOULD MENTION. THE KIDS WERE OBVIOUSLY DELIGHTED TO SEE PAT (SEE PIX). MIKE HAS D BEEN GIVING AN EXERCISE TO THE OLDER AND BRIGHTER KIDS. ON THE BLACKBOARD WERE A LONG LIST OF WORDS LIKE "BIOLOGY," "EPIDERMIS," "PERSPIRATION" AND THE STUDENTS WERE WRITING THEM DOWN AND LOOKING UP THE DEFINITION IN THE DICTIONARY. THEIR HADWNDWRITING WAS STRIKINGLY NEAT BUT THEIR HEARTS WEREN'T REALLY IN THE PROJECT. I TALKED TO MIKE AND HE WAS DISCOURAGED. "YOU KNOW, PAT AND I HAVE THE OPPOSITE PHILOSOPHY ABOUT TEACHING. I THINK YOU'VE GOT TO PREPARE THEM TO FACE THE OUTSIDE WORLD WITH READING, WRITING.." HE SAT DOWN ON ONE OF THE CHILD-SIZED CHAIRS AND SHOOK HIS HEAD. "BUT SOMETIMES I DON'T KNOW WHAT'S THE RIGHT WAY."

AS WE LEFT PAT SAID TO MIKE. "CHEER UP. EVERY TEACHER HAS DAYS WHEN HE FEELS HE'SNOT DOING ANY GOOD. LISTEN, YOU'VE GOT TO HANG IN THERE MAN. WE'RE COUNTING ON YOU...."

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ENDIT

to Mike

Bill Green
5062 Calderon Road
Woodland Hills
Califronia

November 21, 1970

Betsy Fancher
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Betsy,

Once again I would like to compliment you about the excellent article on Pat Conroy. Perhaps if enough information is revealed about similar conditions then we can truly have equal opportunity for everyone.

Regarding our telephone conversation this week, I will try to outline my idea so you will understand the objective and some of the problems involved in making a motion picture from the very beginning. The motive is to make money of course, but also to produce a film that makes a strong case for equal opportunity. If we transpose your story to film, it can't be anything but sucessful.

The most important first step is writing a script or detailed outline about the story. With this script I can present a preliminary budget and find the financial backing. As I mentioned on the telephone I know of two sources who I think will be interested and many others who will at least talk to me about this kind of project. The budget for a film of this nature; shooting on location, using local people, small cast and crew... would be around 600 to 800 thousand dollars. I realize those figures may sound high to you, but in terms of motion pictres that is considered a low budget. The money market is very tight now, especially for the motion picture industry, but I feel confident that the money would be available with a good script and a known actor involved.

In-so-far as shooting the film is concerned, I have the experience as well as the necessary logistics.....Cast, crews, equipment, budget and production control, and an Attorney to handle the distribution contracts and other legal problems. The actual production is easy enough to work out when we have a green light to shoot.

I think your story about Daufuskie will make an excellant dramatic film using the South Carolina location and local people. We may have a problem getting the School Board's support, but we'll just work around them. With this story on film we have a chance to do something positive about Pat Conroy's dedication to better education for all children and be financially sucessful as well. I hope you are as excited about this project as much as I am.

Sincerely yours,

Bill Green

Bill Green

Paul — Reply? B.F.

12 / 7 / 70

Dear Miss Fancher,

Our History class teacher read us your article in "The Los Angeles Times" about the situation on Dafuskie Island. As we are deeply concerned and sympathetic, we would like to know more about it. However, we know enough about it to feel that the school board was very wrong in dismissing that teacher.

We can not understand how such an outstanding teacher, not to mention a wonderful human being, could be replaced by a person who has very little knowledge, and probably very little experience in teaching.

We would all like very much to help to correct this terrible error. We are sure that the people of the Island are suffering deeply because of this act.

If it concerns funds for a boat, we will gladly start a collection. If the school board needs to be pressured, we will do so. Whatever it is that we can do, please let us know.

A letter from you telling us of what service we can be will be greatly accepted. We hope it will be soon.

It's a shame there are not more people like that teacher around, and we feel that there is a lesson for every one to learn from your article.

All the students in the class wrote a letter to you and we combined them into one, so that the feelings expressed to you on this letter are mutual.

We will be looking forward to receiving a letter from you very soon as to what we can do to help.

Very Sincerely Yours,

Nino King,
Dave Wickham,
and the students of
Mrs. Natalie Taksar's
U.S.History class at:
James Monroe High School,
9229 Haskle Ave.
Sepulveda, California
91347

Character kids

University of Missouri - Columbia

1004 Elm St.
Columbia, Mo. 65201

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION DIVISION
Labor Education Program

Telephone
314 449-9171

December 7, 1970

The Honorable Ernest F. Hollings
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Hollings:

I first saw the Beaufort area 18 years ago when I was at Parris Island. It is truly sad how little has changed for many of the residents in all these years.

I cannot bring myself to believe that the people of South Carolina care so little for human life that someone will not correct the conditions related in the story enclosed. It frankly makes me sick to read it, and I can only hope that your reaction will be one of disgust and of determination to correct this situation.

Having lived in Georgia for the past two years, I am well acquainted with the kind of thinking that causes situations like this. I trust that the leadership, concern and integrity of a United States Senator can make a difference if they are applied to instances of injustice.

I wonder how many would make the effort that Mr. Conroy did?

Yours truly,

Stanley E. Kravit
Specialist and Instructor
Labor Education Program

SEK:jw

Enclosure art from
back pg of ~~Atlanta~~ South Today

ERNEST F. HOLLINGS
SOUTH CAROLINA

BANKING AND CURRENCY
COMMERCE
POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

December 16, 1970

Mr. Stanley E. Kravit
University of Missouri-Columbia
1004 Elm Street
Columbia, Missouri 65201

Dear Mr. Kravit:

Thank you for your comments on the problem of hunger in America.

The problem of eradicating hunger is really a lack of awareness on the part of both the people and their leadership. It is thus encouraging to receive comments from concerned citizens such as yourself. I hope you will do everything possible to make your sentiments known on all levels of government. Be assured of my continuing commitment to wipe this disgraceful blight from our land.

Again, my appreciation for taking the time to write.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Ernest F. Hollings

Ernest F. Hollings

EFH/se

paul dubov

5700 rhodes avenue - north hollywood, california - poplar 9-4006

January 7, 1971

Dear Miss Fancher:

Not having heard from you -- a note of query.

We're still interested in the story of Mr. Conroy. Have you seen him, talked with him again, and how does he feel about it?

Your second article reinforced our faith in the possibility of a project.

Hope to hear from you, be the answer Yes or No.

Sincerely,

Paul and Gwen Dubov

University of Missouri - Columbia

1004 Elm St.
Columbia, Mo. 65201

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION DIVISION
Labor Education Program

Telephone
314 449-9171

January 7, 1971

The Honorable Ernest F. Hollings
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Senator Hollings:

I am returning to you a copy of my original correspondence and enclosure along with your reply. I can only conclude that there was a mix-up somewhere and that, as a result, you were under the impression I had written to you concerning hunger.

There undoubtedly is hunger on Daufuskie Island, however, my letter was concerned with the illiteracy and indifference which cause hunger and poverty. Why should officials in Beaufort County deprive the Island people of the opportunity to benefit from Mr. Conroy's teaching and idealism? What can possibly be the basis for the outrageous actions described in the December, 1970 "South Today" which I am also enclosing?

The idea of keeping a man unemployed and changing his draft status to 1-A to punish him for his social concerns is reprehensible and intolerable in a democratic society. There is no issue more important than the preservation of Constitutional rights and every evidence of concern by an elected representative becomes an admonition to State officials to respect these rights.

I know something of and appreciate your efforts to deal with the problem of hunger, however, the permanent solution of this problem would seem to be equipping people to earn a living through education and opportunity. The people of Daufuskie Island do not seem to have had a great deal of either and perhaps we can now see why.

Yours truly,

Stanley E. Kravit
Specialist and Instructor
Labor Education Program

SEK:jw

Enclosures

University of Missouri - Columbia

1004 Elm St.
Columbia, Mo. 65201

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION DIVISION
Labor Education Program

Telephone
314 449-9171

January 7, 1971

Read ~ Return

Mrs. Betsy Fancher
Associate Editor
South Today
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Fancher:

I was greatly disturbed by your articles on Pat Conroy and, as a result, have had the enclosed correspondence with Senator Hollings. Since this does not appear promising--I didn't really think it would--I would like to know what is being done to assist Mr. Conroy.

If you have any information on his legal situation, I would appreciate it and perhaps something can be done to aid him financially. I am also enclosing a copy of a situation in Kentucky that may interest you.

Yours truly,

Stanley E. Kravit

Stanley E. Kravit
Specialist and Instructor
Labor Education Program

SEK:jw

Enclosures

1-16-71

From the desk of:

WILLIAM F. MARSCHER

TO:

Copy to

Fancher

Daufuskie Teacher Dismissal Upheld

VPC 1/16/78

HAMPTON—A circuit judge has upheld the decision of the Beaufort County School Board to fire Daufuskie Island school teacher Pat Conroy after a preliminary hearing on a reinstatement suit.

Fourteenth Circuit Judge William L. Rhodes Jr. said in a letter received Friday by Conroy's lawyers that the reasons stated by the board were sufficient for the dismissal of the 24-year-old Citadel alumnus.

The charges were: (1) "disregard of instructions"; (4) "insubordination"; (3) "gross neglect of duty", and (4) "conduct unacceptable for a professional educator."

Conroy asserted that he had been dismissed because of a personality conflict with his principal.

It was noted that Conroy had once taken a week's leave from his school duties without having the proper authority to do so. However, Conroy's lawyers contested it had been stated in his contract that he was allowed ten days of leave each year.

Conroy had taken the leave to work at a desegregation center in Jasper County which was sponsored by the University of South Carolina. Conroy stated that he was working there so that he might make some additional money to fund a trip for his school children.

Representing Conroy in the hearing were Beaufort lawyers George G. Trask and Carl C. Hendrix Jr.

Man, Dog Join In Attempt To Save Cat

BEAUFORT—James Watson Jr. was driving down Boundary Street recenly when he noiced a Pekingese standing over something in the road.

Watson, son of Jim Watson, who owns the Itty Bitty Farm on St. Helena Island, discovered that the dog was standing over and protecting a yellow and white cat. Afer puling he injured animal in his car, Watson noticed the dog following him for a couple of blocks before turning back.

Despite efforts to save the cat, the animal died that night.

"I love animals very much and could never pass an injured animal by without helping it," James said.

Teacher Firing Upheld By Judge

1/16/71 Chas. Evgn. Post

By JACK LELAND
Evening Post Staff Writer

BEAUFORT — A circuit judge's ruling upholding the Beaufort County School Board's dismissal of a teacher may be appealed.

Pat Conroy, former Daufuskie Island teacher, and his attorney said today the ruling by Judge William L. Rhodes Jr. probably would be appealed to the S.C. Supreme Court. The judge, in effect, said that reasons stated by the board at a two-day hearing in Hampton last month were sufficient causes for dismissal. Conroy has 10 days to perfect an appeal.

Judge Rhodes, in his ruling, said there "is no question" but that Conroy did not follow the established procedures of the board. He said he found the board's procedure directives "reasonable" and stated that "chaos" would result if boards did not have established regulations that were enforced.

THE JUDGE said that all parties concerned were convinced that Conroy was "a dedicated and gifted teacher". However, he said, Conroy's letters, read at the hearing, indicated that the teacher "rebelled at any attempt at authority over him."

Conroy, a former Beaufort High School teacher, was in his second year at the two-teacher Daufuskie Island school when he was discharged by Superintendent Walter Trammell last September. The board upheld Trammell's action in October. Conroy then filed suit to have the action reversed.

Trammell and the board charged Conroy with disregard of instructions, insubordination, gross neglect of duty and conduct unacceptable for a professional educator.

THE ISSUE developed after Conroy was assigned to the lonely island post. He said he found that the pupils, all Negroes, were unprepared for even rudimentary grammar school work and were almost totally unaware of the history, geography or modern development of the United States.

Conroy then initiated a self-approved program of bringing outside educators to the island to instruct the children. He also brought over from the mainland motion pictures and recordings and taped music to play for them.

He obtained financing for trips to the mainland for the children, including one to Washington, D.C. Last September, in what was a move to earn enough extra money to take the pupils to Atlanta, Conroy took a one-week consultant's job with a University of South Carolina school integration seminar in nearby Jasper County.

He asked a VISTA worker on the island, a college graduate, to substitute for him that week but he did not obtain permission from the "head teacher" a Daufuskie or the administrative offices. It was his contention that he could take 10 days "personal leave" without going through regular channels.

Daufuskie Hearing

Conroy's Qualities Extolled

By JACK LELAND
Evening Post Staff Writer

HAMPTON — A S.C. circuit judge yesterday took under advisement a suit for reinstatement by a Beaufort County school teacher fired in September.

Judge William L. Rhodes gave legal counsel for Pat Conroy and the Beaufort County Board of Education a week to file written briefs in the case.

Conroy had filed suit for reinstatement last month after the Beaufort County Board of Education affirmed his firing by County Superintendent Walter Trammell.

Dr. Trammell said yesterday in an emotion filled voice: "I would give anything in the world if this had not happened. Pat Conroy has some of the finest qualities I've ever seen in a teacher. He had his weaknesses, of course, but the public school system needs teachers with the qualities he possesses."

Trammell told the court he had broken up the night he had told Conroy he was fired.

"Have you ever seen a grown man cry," he asked a questioning lawyer. "Well I cried over this. I share Pat Conroy's dedication for these poor people. Thirty years ago, when I was just out of college, I was very much like Pat Conroy. I went back to the cotton mill town I grew up in and tried to help the kids there."

"But," he said, "I have an obligation to the whole county. We have rules and regulations and they cannot be deviated from. Years ago, I realized I had to work through the system. Pat hasn't realized that yet."

JUDGE RHODES interrupted to ask Trammell if the Beaufort school board has "gradations of disciplinary action for teachers."

Trammell replied: "No sir. We don't expect to have to discipline teachers. We have none except outright discharge or permission to resign."

Earlier the court heard other witnesses for the board. Monday was taken up with witnesses for Conroy.

Lance Burn, magistrate on Daufuskie Island, told of the fluctuations in the arrival and departures of the Daufuskie Island school boat which was assigned to Conroy. The boat was kept at Burn's dock through an arrangement with the school board. One issue concerned whether Conroy attended his classes regularly; whether he was on time and how often he used the boat for commuting from the island.

H. E. McCracken, supervisor of the Bluffton area schools, described his relationships with Conroy and the Daufuskie school. He said a visit to the school on one occasion revealed that Conroy's classroom was "disorderly, not what we wanted in the way of organization and in a state of dishevelment."

McCRACKEN also discussed the boat and gasoline expense issue. He said, however, that the matter of expenses was not "in my division. The bills went to the central office." McCracken said he would estimate the cost of a round trip to the island in the outboard rig would cost about $2.50 a day. At issue was a bill of $36 received one month and which was described by a school official as exorbitant.

Conroy's lawyers tried to draw McCracken out on the per pupil costs of instruction on the island 10 years ago when it had a single white child attending a one-teacher school while about 60 Negro pupils attended the two-room school that operates today. However, Rhodes ruled that the question of costs in 1961-62 "are in no way relevant to this case."

The white school was closed after the lone child finished the eighth grade. Today, only Negro children attend the island school.

McCracken also said Conroy did not attend an organizational meeting of the Bluffton area schools although "I had particularly asked him to do so." McCracken said that, while it was not a part of Conroy's contract, "I understood he was to live on Daufuskie and commute each weekend."

JOHN FENWICK, principal of Bluffton High School, said he had filed recommendations for use of the boat after Trammell asked him to look into the matter. Fenwick said he recommended that the boat be used for one round trip a week except in emergencies.

He said the issue was not one of fuel alone but maintenance. He said the boat sank once and a new motor had to be purchased and that there were a lot of "bent propellors" that had to be replaced.

Fenwick said he had a conference with Conroy last Jan. 7. After the conference, he said he realized Conway was still using the boat almost daily. However, he said, he did not feel it was his responsibility to report it.

Trammell also said that he understood Conroy would live on Daufuskie and commute on weekends.

He said he received a letter from Conroy early in Sept. 1969, shortly after The Citadel graduate took the island post.

"The letter indicated complete consternation with what Pat found on the island. I attributed his feelings to the fact that this was the first time he had come in contact with conditions in the public schools in such rural areas as Daufuskie."

Trammell commented: "I did not disagree with Pat's philosophy of teaching with emphasis on experimental learning. I thought he was doing exactly what should have been done. He talked with me about the trip he took the kids to Washington and I approved of it all the way. However, he never came to me with his plans for the proposed trip to Atlanta and that's where we ran into trouble."

CONROY had testified Monday that he accepted a five-day counselling post last September with a desegregation team from the University of South Carolina. He was paid $65 a day. He had discussed this with his pupils ahead of time and told them he would use the money to take them to Atlanta on a field trip.

Conroy failed to notify Mrs. Julia Johnson, the principal of the two-teacher Daufuskie school, or any other school official. Instead, he told Mrs. James Strand, a VISTA volunteer on the island and an accredited substitute teacher, of his plans and arranged with her to work for him.

When Trammell was told of Conroy's absence for the five days, he called him and told him he was discharged. The board subsequently affirmed the firing.

Trammell said: "I felt it was a complete breach of contract and I so stated in my letter to him that I felt it was grounds for immediate dismissal."

In answer to questions, Trammell said he was not surprised to learn that Daufuskie Island seventh graders could not read at even the first grade level." He said: "I'm appalled at it, of course, but it isn't peculiar to Daufuskie, it exists in other areas of Beaufort County and elsewhere in the state."

JUDGE RHODES asked about Conroy's use of the term, "personal leave" to describe his absence. Trammell said: "Under the rules existing then a teacher was allowed two days personal leave. What concerned me here, and I think this is the real heart of the matter, is that I was aware that the parents and pupils on the island wanted Conroy to teach. I wanted him to teach also, and as much as anyone. I went along with everything Pat wanted and what the parents requested. What shocked me was to discover that he was not on the island teaching, which was where he should have been. I did not know he had

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

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Trammell commented on a joyful reunion Monday in the courtroom between Conroy and two 12-year-old Daukuskie Negro pupils who testified.

He said: "If I had not been aware of the deep feeling of the people of the island for Conroy, that touching scene would have convinced me and anyone else. Still, I have to stick by the rules."

Conroy and Trammel shook hands and chatted briefly at the end of the hearing.

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Multi-Channel Newsletter

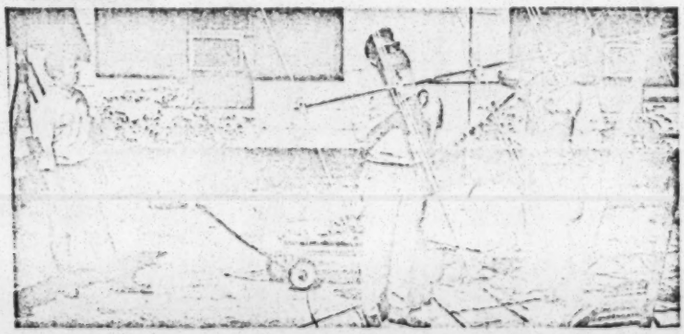
VOLUME III NUMBER 39 DECEMBER, 1970

PLACES IN SOUTH CAROLINA--DAUFUSKIE ISLAND ELEMENTARY GET ANTENNEA

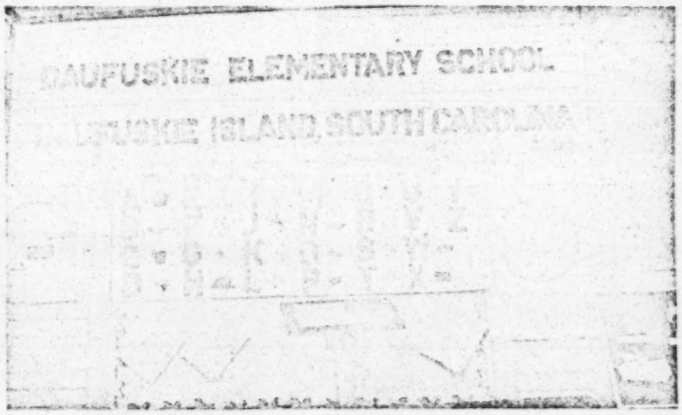
Daufuskie Island is a small 2 by 5 mile island located at the furtherest southeast point of South Carolina. A 45 minute ride from Bluffton, S.C. will take you to the island "forgotten by man."

Since increasing the power on Charleston ETV channel 7, a project was undertaken in cooperation with the Beaufort County School System to install an antennea at the two room school house located at the center of the island. Though modern conveniences are not a reality on Daufuskie Island, it cannot be said with any credability that they are a forgotten people.

The 1970 census showed a grand total of 170 people living on the island. The school children (ranging from grades 1-8) live on the island with their grandparents. Most of the young people have gone to the mainland to find work. Eleven years ago the last surviving "industry," an oyster factory, was closed due to the magnitude of pollution coming to the island from Savannah, Georgia. Oysters were no longer available and the ones that did come in were not fit to eat. The only "general store" on the island also closed some 10-15 years ago. Free boats are now supplied to the islanders (3 a week to Savannah and 2 a week to Bluffton) for shopping trips. Barges facilitate bringing to the island such large objects as several cars, one school bus, a piece of road equipment and one mobile home.



The school children are offered the same curriculum as any other child in the state of South Carolina. They stay in school from 8-3 which is a little loner than the average school child. This is because grades 1-4 and 5-8 are in the same rooms The children eat breakfast and lunch at the school and return to their homes at 3:00. Being funded by several different titles, they have been able to purchase a tv set, an overhead projector and many other types of A-V equipment. They have not previously been able to receive South Carolina ETV but have been viewing Savannah ETV channel 9.



Having four and three grades together in one room does not disturb the teaching methods as would be suspected. Each of the two teachers have 15-20 students in her classroom and therefore each child will still get the personal attention he may need during the day. The most inconvenient part of teaching could possibly be the confusion stemming from trying to keep up with books on three to four different grade levels. The rooms, however, are large enough to divide the children into their own section and keep each child working at his own pace.

Once through with the 8th grade, the children are sent to the mainland to live with their parents (in most cases) and continue their education. Most of the children that are leaving the island now never return for the obvious reason--that being the lack of industry to employ these people. It was predicted by one of the islanders that in some 15 years all of the people will be gone because the old ones will have died and not many more will have been born. Last year there were 38 children in the school and this year there are 34. The 1970-71 school year brought in only 2 new first graders. They don't know how many, if any, will be coming into the first grade next year. The past 10 years has shown a slow but steady decrease in the school enrollment.

As soon as the children file out of the school yard several of the adult citizens file in behind them for their adult education classes on Tuesdays and Thursdays for two hours. After installation of the antennea, it is hoped that these adults will be able to meet back at the school in the evening hours to watch **TV High School.** Mrs. Julia Johnson, the principal of Daufuskie Island Elementary, was very excited about the possibility of being able to use S.C. ETV in many different ways. Mrs. Johnson feels there are many more offering which

SOUTH CAROLINA EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION NETWORK
2712 MILLWOOD AVE. • COLUMBIA, S. C. 29205 •

she can use over the S.C. ETV Network that are not available to her from Georgia--one of these being the TV High School series.

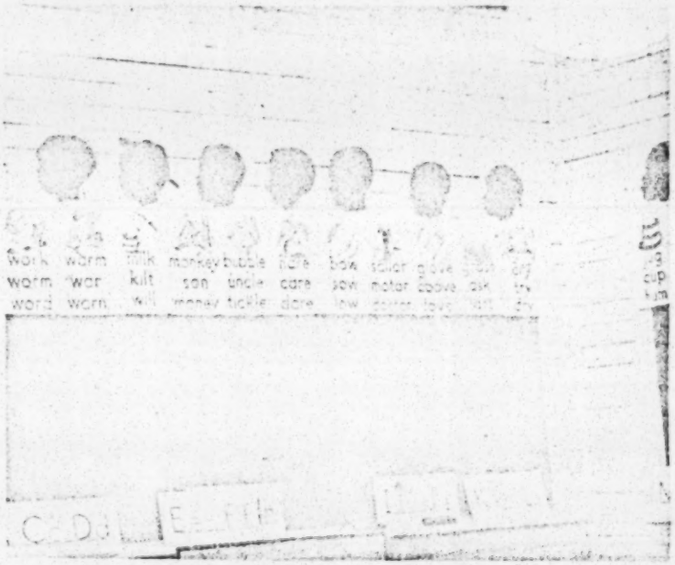
While visiting the island it only seemed proper to try to catch a little of the local flavor. Mrs. Johnson sent us out to meet Mrs. Sarah Grant the oldest and probably the most colorful surviving citizen. We saw her down on the public dock as we were leaving, trying to catch her supper. She claims to be 82 years old, but gets arounds like a spry 50. She had forgotten many of the stories of the island which were a reality and not history to her as she grew up on the island. When asked if she knew the origin of the name of the island she only replied, "I met the island here when I came." She knows very little of her own background other than the fact that her mother was brought to the island as a slave to the Fripp family many years ago--however, Mrs. Sarah knew that she was born free. She has been told that her grandparents were brought to the nearby mainland directly from Africa.

In 1913 when Mrs. Sarah was a young girl everyone was allowed to pay .25 per task of land (the amount of land one person can work in one day) to use as their own. At that time Daufuskie Island was the supplier of produce for such islands as Tybee and Hilton Head. (Research done since the trip to the island turned up the fact that these people on Daufuskie Island and Hilton Head raged an intense civil war prior to this time. Hilton Head settlers were on the side of the Whigs and Daufuskie Islanders were Torries.)

The lighthouse was built on Daufuskie Island about 1870. At this time three plantation owners lived on the island, Fripp, Stoddard and Webb. The name of the island had more than likely been established many many years before this time. Daufuskie Island is an Indian name which means Island of Blood--this was derived from the battle of bloody point where every indian on the island, with the exception of two, were massacred by the white settlers. Bloody point is on the southeast end of the island and is no longer inhabitated.

When the lighthouse was built there were 5-600 blacks living on the island and 53 registered white male voters. This would assume that at least 53 adult women lived on the island plus their children (two or three per family). With these figures, it is estimated that at least 1,000 people occupied the island at this time.

The island as it stands today is very thick with brushes which have grown up over the past half century. At that time you could see from one end of the island to the other because all of the land was plowed. Today anyone wishing to have even a small garden must stand guard 24 hours a day to keep the deer off their land.



The most astonishing factor to those of us on the trip was the educational level of the children. Though led to believe Daufuskie was very much cut away from civilization, we found these people very well adjusted and very "normally" developed scholastically. Our astonishment could only be credited to our own lack of confidence in our fellow man. They have forced themselves to "keep in touch" with the "outside" world and naturally having access to radio and television they have progressed at the same rate any other group of people on any other tract of land. They have a very distinct advantage over most in that they don't have the busy traffic and the constant ringing of telephones. The lack of telephones has not harmed these people in any way--they told us a story of a woman who had a stroke the other week and within 20 minutes she was in the hospital in Savannah, Georgia. The access of a short wave radio and the helicopters in the coast guard, give these people all the modern civilization they need. *Observations made by the editor.*

EDUCATIONAL MAGAZINE BETS SUCCESSFULLY THAT STUDENTS CAN LEARN BY WATCHING COMMERCIAL TV

Can a magazine that says commercial television programs are educational win support from teachers? The answer is yes, as shown by the fact that *Teachers Guides to Television* is starting its third year and is now on the press with its fifth issue.

Recognizing the diverse needs of teachers, the *Guides* for the Fall Semester contain lesson plans on programs ranging from Beethoven's Birthday to the Great Mojave Desert. They are flexible and may be used for many grade levels and in many subject areas.

The fall issue, released in October, contains outlines for several regularly scheduled weekend morning shows for children. Included are *Tomfoolery* (NBC), a new animated series based on selections from classics (such as Lear's nonsense verse and Lewis Carroll's alphabet) set to music; *Hot Dog* (NBC), a series on how everyday things (like baseball gloves, guitars, bicycles, etc.) are made; *In The Know* (CBS), a series of animated mini-documentaries, inserted throughout the Saturday morning schedule, on subjects such as where table salt comes from, how steel is made and how gliders fly; *Discovery* (ABC), an award-winning program taking youngsters around the U.S. and the world.

Teaching guides have also been developed from the following outstanding special programs: *Beethoven's*

The ETV Guide is an informational publication of the staff of the S.C. Educational Television Commission, 2712 Millwood Avenue, Columbia, S.C., 29205 and is published four times in January, three times in February, six times in March, four times in September, October and November, and three times in December. It is distributed free of charge as a service to the citizens of the state interested in educational television activities and programming. Second Class postage paid in Columbia, S.C.

Said one parent: "No wonder our first grader does not want to come home early as first graders are allowed to do. He begs to stay at school."

Another parent said Mrs. Stringfellow "makes my child so happy. He even dislikes Saturdays."

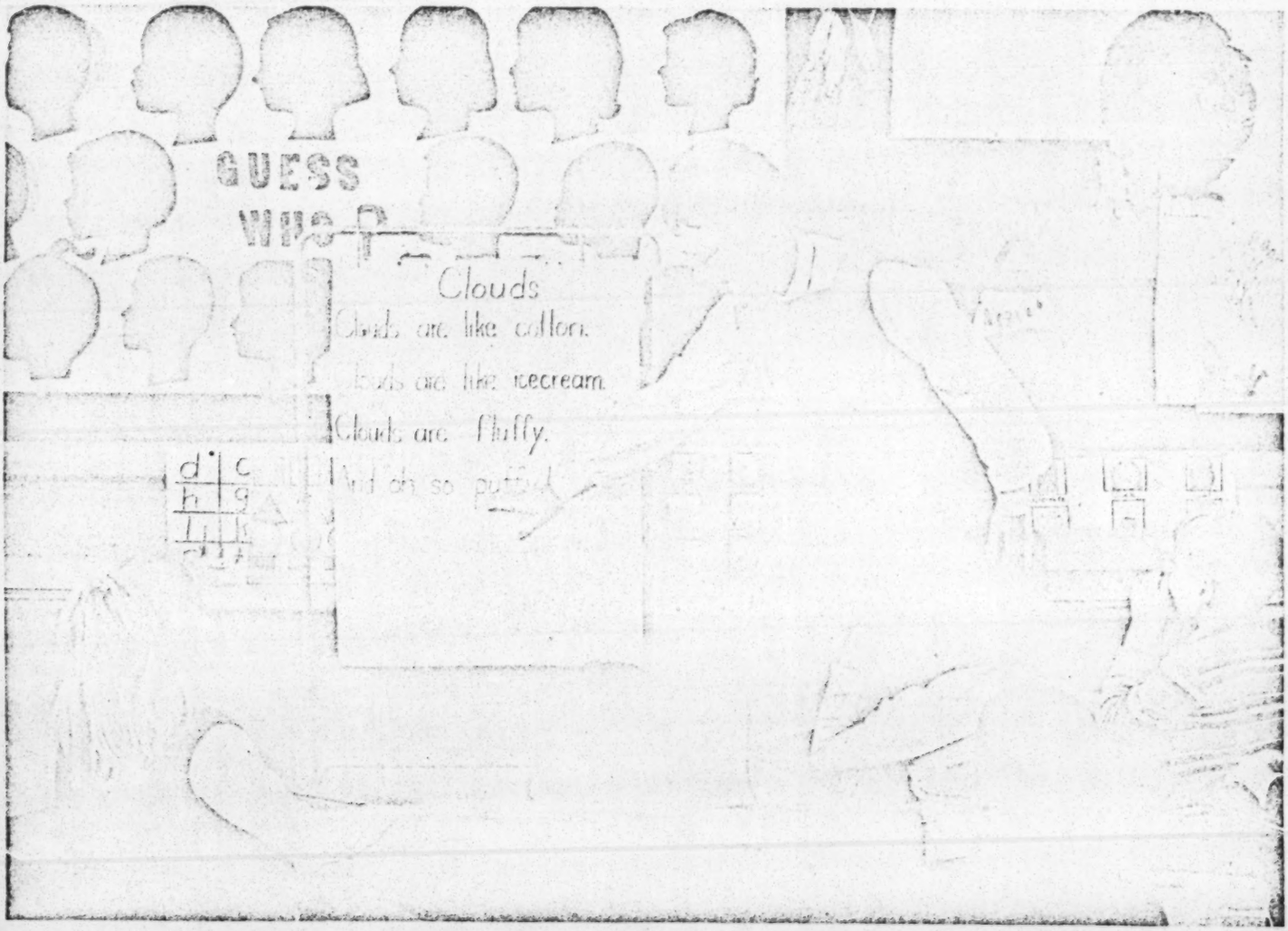
Mrs. Stringfellow is a native of Fairfield County. She began teaching at Lowrys in Chester County in 1937. Her school duties then included making fires in a wood stove and sweeping floors -- for $85 a month. Mrs. Stringfellow has also taught in Great Falls and Rock Hill.

Her husband is William R. Stringfellow, Jr. They have three daughters and a grandson.

One of South Carolina's leading educators, Winthrop College Dean of Education Jack H. Boger, has observed South Carolina's Teacher of the Year in the classroom.

"Here is a teacher who brings meaning and purpose to the lives of children who work with her," Dr. Boger said.

Mrs. Stringfellow succeeds James Knox Braboy of Dillon County School District No. 2 as South Carolina Teacher of the Year. This year's selection committee for State Teacher of the Year included Mrs. Mary A. Mace, principal of South Kilbourne Road Elementary School in Columbia and State Teacher of the Year in 1965; Dr. Amelia S. Roberts, dean of the School of Education at South Carolina State College; and George E. Dreher, director of public affairs for the South Carolina State Chamber of Commerce.



SECA INSTRUCTIONAL TELEVISION PREVIEW HELD IN SOUTH CAROLINA

The second annual Southern Educational Communications Association ITV preview weekend was held November 21 and 22 at the South Carolina ETV Network in Columbia. The program has been established to bring together the 15 member networks to combine efforts for in-school programming. Thirty-five members from the 15 states ranging from Maryland to Texas including Hawaii were present at this meeting. A total of over 50 persons were in attendance.

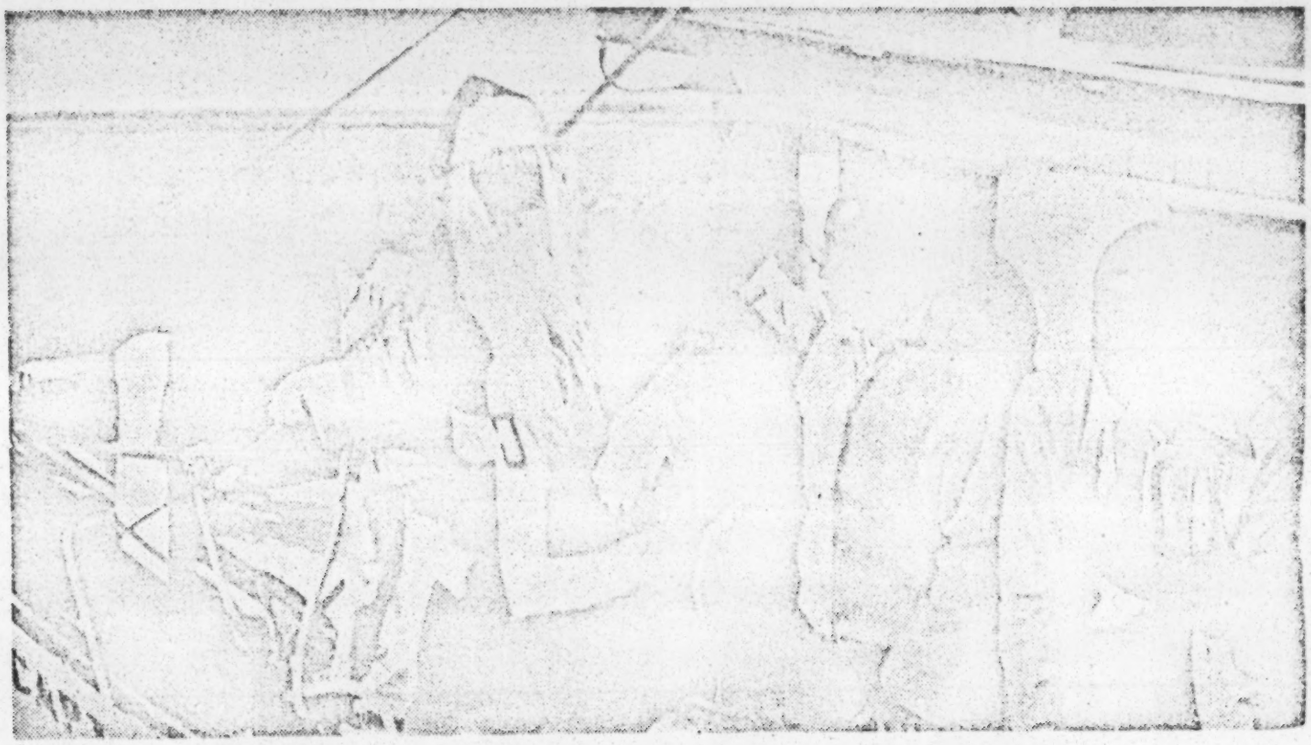
The results of this years meeting were the establishment of a regional library and the possibility of future combined effort productions. The talk of a lending library was brought up at last years screening, but was not actually established until this years meeting. Any of the 15 member networks can borrow or loan to any other network, any series which belongs to them, or any series which they wish to use in their own state. The participating stations (states) have decided to investigate the possibility of combining efforts to make major productions. Where three or four different local level series have served the purpose, combined efforts on the part of all states could make one series which would create a much more

generalized and powerful series--to be used region wide as opposed to state-wide.

Each state represented in the program was asked to submit 2 programs from any given series or any two subjects. A total of more than 36 tapes were viewed during the two day period. Subject areas covered were, Music, Language Arts, Math, Art, Languages, Literature, English, Science, Social Studies and In-service series.

Programs viewed were severely criticized by these specialists. Each participant was given an evaluation sheet for each program seen. The check list endeavored to help producing stations see themselves as others see them. Each person was asked to remember, however, that all series were produced to meet a goal in a local situation. The evaluation sheets consisted of four major divisions: Content, Visuals, Teachers and Technical Quality. Under these four divisions, several alternatives were offered.

The purpose of these ITV specialists and directors getting together is to get an objective criticism from those outside of the situation. These are the best in the field and should be able to give the most helpful criticism on subject areas. They know the needs of their own states, yet may miss in their own productions the goals they are most trying to reach.



Trawler Capt. Dave brings S anta Claus to isolated island.

No Sleigh To Daufuskie

Santa Claus Travels

By JACK LELAND
Evening Post Staff Writer

DAUFUSKIE ISLAND — What has about 80 legs, is about 16½ years old, is black and white and wears a bright red suit?

It's a bi-racial group of about 40 Middleton High School students from Charleston playing Santa Claus to Daufuskie's 50 or so kids.

Yesterday, on the eve of Christmas Eve, two weeks of gathering and wrapping more than 200 presents was culminated in a meeting of the Middleton group and the islands kids.

Outwardly it was just about the most "un-Christmassy" Christmas you ever saw.

Santa Claus not only was black but he arrived by boat — not jingle jangling through the air — and before the day was over took a ride in an ox-cart with the island's own venerable Santa — Johnny Hamilton.

There was none of the traditional canned music and snow. In fact, the lush green growth on the island and temperatures in the high 70's lent a summerlike air to the scene.

There were no neon lighted displays in front of stores because the island has no stores.

It was an unplanned, unpremeditated and almost unheard of Christmas.

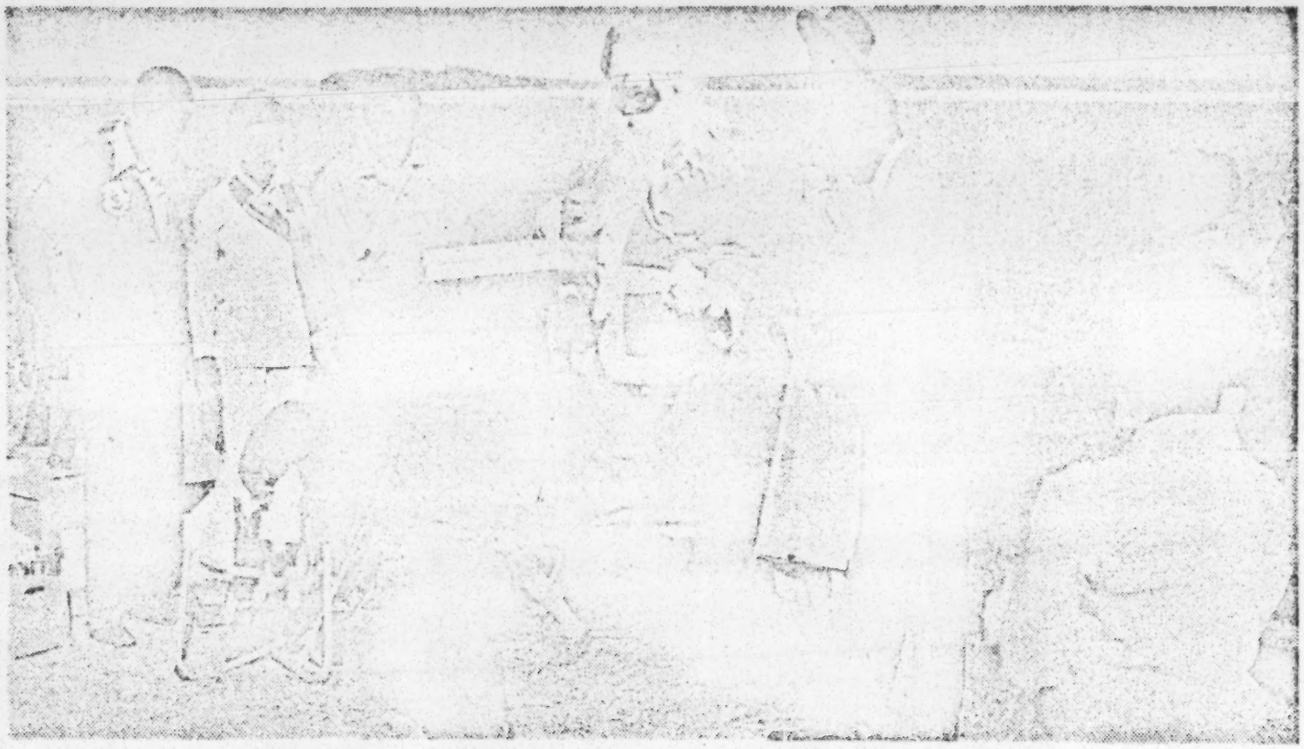
The idea evolved in an Afro-American Study Club at Middleton High after Mrs. Katrina Buksha, club sponsor, and another teacher, Marion Toatley, called attention to an Evening Post news story about Daufuskie Island.

News of the project spread throughout the school and pretty soon almost everyone was involved. A problem of storage arose as the number of presents passed the 200 mark. Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, of which Mrs. Buksha is a member, gave a large box of wrapped gifts.

Then the hard facts of life hit home. Daufuskie is not an easy place to get to. It is separated from the mainland by some 16 miles of sound, marsh and rivers. There is no regular boat service to this, the southernmost of South Carolina's inhabited barrier islands. To add to the problem, the only boat serving the island, a military surplus cabin boat, gave up the ghost and refused to run.

Efforts to get a boat from the Coast Guard and Navy came to naught as did a try for a helicopter from the Air Force.

Then a telephone call to Orion Hack, president of the Hilton Head Corp., (on the island north of Daufuskie) brought quick results. In 30 minutes Allen L. Engelhardt, a Connecticut Yankee and retired South American mining engineer, made his



Santa Claus distributes gifts to Daufuskie Island children.

s. By Trawler, Oxcart

fast cruiser available and everyone relaxed.

Just before Christmas Santa Claus suits are much in demand. After several refusals by organizations owning suits, Col. Dennis D. Nicholson of The Citadel produced one almost at the same time that Mrs. Buksha was getting one owned by the Town of Mount Pleasant. The result was the only known Santa Claus with two pairs of trousers.

Again at the last minute, the Hilton Head trawler, Capt. Dave was made available. Owned by David Jones and skippered by Capt. James Murray, it joined Mr. Engelhardt's "La Abundancia" for the run to Daufuskie. This was the same trawler that sailed 800 miles last year to Washington, D.C. to dramatize threats of pollution in the area.

Meanwhile out on the island, two University of California (Santa Cruz branch) students were rounding up the island kids in a rusty pick-up truck to meet the boat. A good many had gone to the mainland for Christmas shopping but about 30 came to the party.

Atop the high bluff overlooking Cooper River, they waited as the two boats came up from Calibogue Sound with a red suited and white bearded black Santa on the bow of the Capt. Dave.

Santa, Middleton High senior Jerry Fields, approached the shining eyed youngsters with a hearty "ho ho ho," and, all of a sudden, everyone knew that Christmas had arrived two days early.

It was a scene that jumped the centuries, crossing racial barriers that a century of freedom had not eradicated and opening avenues of communication that these young people never knew existed.

In an era when young people are too often associated with violence, drugs and rebellion, the Middleton High students found involvement" in something completely different — the face to face, hand in hand, helping of their fellow men.

The older people involved were drawn irresistibly into the scene and feelings long unremembered came to life.

There was no "speechifying." There was no need for words. And, while Santa Claus and his gifts were welcomed, the greatest welcome was for a former island teacher, Pat Conroy of Beaufort who came back for the first time in three months.

Conroy has been discharged as teacher in September when he and the school district administration had differences. He is appealing his discharge and this was his first trip to Daufuskie since Sept. 18.

He was literally swarmed over as he walked up the dock in a scene that caused world - weary grownups to get misty eyed.

When Santa completed his work, the Middleton High girls served cookies and fruit and Santa said: "Ho. Ho. Ho. It's time to go."

As the two boats headed eastward toward this modernized world of Hilton Head, the little group of blacks and their gaily colored packages soon became just a blob on the shoreline but within the hearts of those departing, something had been born.

Just as 2,000 years ago, the first Christmas message came a-borning into the world with a revolutionary idea that it is indeed more blessed to give than to receive, so at Daufuskie Island yesterday that meassage was reaffirmed.

As Tiny Tim would have said, "God Bless Us every one."

Conroy

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
C. G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK SMITH, VICE-PRESIDENT
VIVIAN W. HENDERSON, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern [illegible], Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. [illegible] 30303

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

[1-23-71]

Dear Mr. Kravit,

Your letter was received today---I opened it just as I was talking to Pat Conroy. Right now he is waiting a decision on a suit he filed to be xx reinstated as the teacher on Daufuskie. The Judge was to have ruled Jan. 1, but has not. Meanwhile, the local draft board is breathing down his nekk. He owes his local attorney, George Trask, about a thousand dollars and he does indeed need some sort of financial assistance. The Council employed him for a month to do a study on the people of Daufuskie which we hope to publish in South Today. I do wish you would contact him yourself for he can tell you far better than I the many pressures which confront him now. I have passed your letter on to Dr. Emory Via and our director, Paul Anthony who appreciate your interest and I know would be glad to help you, as would I, in anything you want to do to aid Conroy. He is a fine teacher, a fine human being and I say this as a long time reporter with a cynic's eye. Thank you for writing. Pat's address is 403 E. Hancock St., Beaufort, S.C., his home phone number, 803-524--6425.

Sincerely,

Betsy Fancher

Betsy Fancher

1-23-71 Wrote for addr cc. Send copy all writers To NAACP Legal def Fund.

See Peters, MU sou. com
Write Conroy

314/442-5216

STANLEY E. KRAVIT
217 WEST BROADWAY
APT. C-28
COLUMBIA, MISSOURI 65201

February 2, 1971

Mrs. Betsy Fancher
Associate Editor
SOUTH TODAY
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Fancher:

Enclosed is a copy of my letter to Pat Conroy. I hope some of this will pay off. I also have two suggestions.

Can you send copies of your articles to as many student newspapers as possible, particularly the campuses that have shown an inclination to take an active interest in matters of social conscience? Also, there is a newspaper that serves the Boston area students, some 60,000 plus; and while I don't have these names and addresses, I thought you might. Most papers that pick up on this will use Conroy's address and state that a fund is set up for him or that people should contact him.

Secondly, I wonder if you or your associates can open up some paid speaking opportunities to Conroy. Again, the campuses nearby would be a possibility since student associations often have funds for speakers' fees.

I will let you know if I achieve anything here.

Sincerely yours,

Stan Kravit

Stanley E. Kravit
Specialist and Instructor
Labor Education Program

SEK:nmj

Enclosure

cc: Pat Conroy

STANLEY E. KRAVIT
217 WEST BROADWAY
APT. C-28
COLUMBIA, MISSOURI 65201

T. K. Lloyd
May Kash
Sally Tate
Doyle Nichols
Jabyle Adams
Prabeth Mayes
Jerry Ireland

COLUMBIA, MO 65201
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EISENHOWER USA

Mrs. Betsy Fancher
Associate Editor
SOUTH TODAY
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

314/442-5216

STANLEY E. KRAVIT
217 WEST BROADWAY
APT. C-28
COLUMBIA, MISSOURI 65201

February 2, 1971

Mr. Pat Conroy
403 E. Hancock Street
Beaufort, South Carolina 29902

Dear Mr. Conroy:

We are subscribers to South Today and I learned of your problems from Betsy Fancher's articles. My wife and I know, from personal experience, what you are up against; and we would like very much to help you out.

Please accept the amount enclosed for your personal use on the basis that your battle is part of a larger effort toward freedom and decency in this country.

I have also done the following things and while I cannot assure any results, I hope you will benefit directly:

I wrote twice to Senator Hollings, first in reference to the first article. His first reply was a mix-up as to who he was answering. A copy of my second letter and his last reply are enclosed.

I wrote to the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defence Fund and sent copies of the articles. I hope you are being helped by the American Civil Liberties Union or some organization of this type.

This morning I spoke to representatives of the University of Missouri Students Association and student newspaper and I will try for an article and an appeal for support to the student body.

I am in the process of sending the articles to an executive of the American Teachers Association in the hope that they will print something in their national newspaper and perhaps take a direct interest in your situation.

The articles will also go to the St. Louis Post Dispatch and to Missouri's two Senators. And, I may be able to offer an article to the various labor newspapers both in Missouri and elsewhere. Finally, there are a few other contacts that may help.

I wish some of this was more immediate and more practical, but I would like to keep trying and I hope you will keep me informed.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Very truly yours,

Stanley E. Kravit
Specialist and Instructor
Labor Education Program

SEK:nmj

Enclosures

SOUTH TODAY

A Digest of Southern Affairs

ATLANTA, GA. VOL. 1, NO. 1 JULY, 1969

20¢

'Our children are spat on. Our children are called ugly names. They have been slapped, been put

in jails. Homes have been burned. All because our children wanted a dignified education. And by you having all the power invested in you and we are humble servants of this country, we ask you to do your duty."

A Special Report **by PAT WATTERS**

These words, intended for the ears of U. S. Atty. Gen. John N. Mitchell, spoken by Mrs. Marie Bracy of Wetumpka, Ala., were an eloquent summary of one part of the message brought by 30 Southerners to Washington on July 1. The other part of their message, a desperate last-minute effort to persuade the administration not to weaken its announced policy on school desegregation guidelines and enforcement in the South, was a simple statement about the gravest danger inherent in a new federal retreat.

It was not a threat. Mrs. Victoria DeLee of Dorchester County, S. C., summed it up: "We are responsible. The next group won't be."

They were, indeed, the ultra-respectable voices of local leadership of the Negro struggle in the South, and from start to finish of their demonstration, all seemed aware of the danger to the responsible approach they still believe in. How much there in Washington in encounters with government and the press did they become aware that not just their own people but all of America has lost the ability to respond to and respect their kind of approach?

They traveled to Washington in a chartered bus, these responsible Southerners, most of them Negroes, most of them acquainted in the most intimate way possible with the past failure to enforce federal school desegregation law: They were the parents of children and some of the children themselves who had tried at the first local opportunity to integrate schools, and had suffered the consequences of continued lack of real integration and continued lack of protection against intimidation and reprisal.

To see them together on their bus was like seeing some gathering of an aristocracy, their names familiar, even legend some of them, from the years of their struggle to make American law mean what it says. They were, as to be expected, calm and sure, unafraid, unfooled, and were more, were in various way models of various Southern virtues—humor, gregariousness, charm, manners, dignity.

Winifred Green, Hayes Mizell and David Jacobs of the Southern staff of the American Friends Service Committee had informed them of reports that HEW and the Justice Department planned to soften what seemed a hearteningly stern demand for real integration of schools across the South this fall. They had a ready answer when told of plans of some to go to Washington and protest. "Why yes, they called me on Saturday morning and we were ready to go Sunday morning," said Mrs. Bracy. She was accompanied by her daughter, Deborah, survivor of harassments and one jailing

To Page 7

Billy Hargis

Turn Ye Radio On!

THE RADIO message of the radical right comes through stronger in the South than anywhere else. Billy James Hargis is the big man. By Reese Cleghorn. Page 3.

ATLANTA MAGAZINE

Gov. McNair

Orangeburg

A Story of Police Panic

THE ORANGEBURG tragedy—three students killed, 27 wounded—is a case study of what can happen when "law and order" becomes a nightmare of police panic. By Jack Nelson. Page 8.

Los Angeles Times

Also Inside:

THE FREEDOM Quilting Bee of Alberta, Ala., now three years old, has brought better earnings, more dignity and New York contracts to a band of women engaged in an old folk art. Page 6.

The Birmingham News

THIS AND other co-operatives offer hope for many of the rural poor, but there are failures. Page 2.

BLACKS DRAW heavier sentences than whites. Page 2.

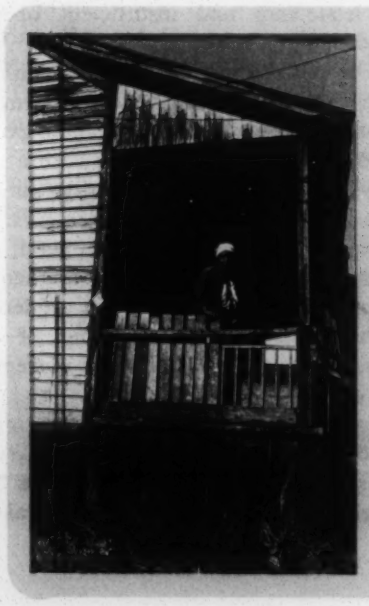
And Coming:

IN COMING issues will be reports on new efforts by businessmen to break old job discrimination barriers, as through the National Alliance of Businessmen; new black capitalism undertakings; and the plight of a neglected minority: the white poor.

Campuses In Crisis

YOUNG KELLY Alexander of the University of North Carolina wants to change "the system" but to work within it. For that, he is called "Negro" by some other black students; it is a term as derisive as "nigger." A spirit of separatism is growing among black students on Southern campuses. By Phil Gailey. Page 4.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION



A CRY FROM THE DELTA

IN THE BACK yard of one of the most powerful congressmen, Jamie L. Whitten of Mississippi, hunger and early death mock the beauty of flaming sunsets and full moons. By Robert Coles and Harry Huge. Page 5.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

What Is SOUTH TODAY?

REPORT ON REPORTS

Unfair Sentences

A clear pattern of sentence disparity between black and white offenders exists in the administration of Southern justice.

A Southern Regional Council report entitled "Race Makes the Difference" is based on research compiled in the summer of 1967 by law students working for the Council's Project on Crime and Corrections.

Seven states are examined in the report: Arkansas, Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia. Of the remaining four Southern states, Texas was not included because the large number of Mexican-Americans in the Texas population would have made clear black-white comparisons difficult. Florida was eliminated because its prison population is untypically transient. Louisiana and Mississippi officials did not respond to requests for cooperation.

The report, drawn from 1,205 cases, shows that the average sentence for black offenders for all crimes was 16.8 years; for whites, 12.1. For crimes against persons, the averages were 22.8 years for Negroes and 20.6 for whites. For crimes against property, Negro sentences averaged 7.4 years and white sentences 5.9 years.

The report also notes:

"Beyond the more obviously deplorable inequities outlined here, another even more serious consideration is raised. In a time when the cry of law and order has attained almost the level of the national motto, we would point out that true respect for law begins with the impartial administration of justice. To the individual men and women who make up the grim statistics which compose the bulk of this report, that respect has long since been lost. To a generation of youth who have seen the treatment given their elders, that respect may never begin at all."

"Race Makes the Difference" is available from the Southern Regional Council. Single copy 30¢; bulk copies 20¢.

Black Youth

A sample of 688 students from five all-black schools in Atlanta was surveyed in a study by the Southern Regional Council to determine the attitudes, values, and opinions of Negro youth in a wide range of areas.

"Black Youth in a Southern Metropolis" concludes that "the considerable social tension and sense of crisis which currently pervade American society have undoubtedly had considerable impact on the young people in our sample. . . . This survey may well have captured the sense of confusion and transition among black youth which a perusal of the popular press readily reveals as being prevalent in the nation as a whole."

Attitudes about Negro-white relations, civil rights approaches and organizations in general revealed that the average respondents did not approve of separatist, Black Power, or defeatist views, nor did a very high percentage indicate willingness to participate in a riot. "However," the study states, "an absolute majority of the respondents felt that 'if things don't get better in Atlanta, there will be riots.'"

The respondents' perceptions of their environment reflect a considerable degree of dissatisfaction. Some 34 per cent rated two-thirds of the listed neighborhood facilities and services negatively.

This low to low-middle socio-economic group tended to place high value on qualities commonly associated with middle-class status. Some 96 per cent of the students indicated that they intend to remain in high school until graduation. Some 86 per cent indicated they wished to continue their education beyond the high school level.

The number who live in female-centered domestic situations (38 per cent) was higher than might be anticipated from previous studies conducted elsewhere.

Delinquency was admitted by only a small minority of the sample, though, contradictorily, 41 per cent agreed with the statement "Sometimes you have to cheat a little to get what you want."

Though most of the students surveyed tended to support basic religious views and values, there was less agreement on statements relating to the influence and impact of the church.

"Black Youth in a Southern Metropolis" may be ordered from the Southern Regional Council. Single copy 50¢; bulk copies 40¢.

Co-ops for the Poor

Southern co-operatives, as a means of raising the economic standard of living for the poor, need to be strengthened, expanded and subsidized on a long-term basis, according to a report issued by the Southern Regional Council.

There are at least 40 "poor people's co-operative movements" in the South, but only 15 or 16 are significant efforts. About 15,000 people are involved in the Southern co-ops. Most are black.

(See the story on Alabama's Freedom Quilting Bee, one of the most successful cooperatives on page 6.)

Co-operatives, or associations formed to enable members to buy or sell to a better advantage by eliminating middlemen's profits, were examined in the report to see to what extent they have helped Southern poor people meet their basic needs.

Al Ulmer, who has served as a consultant to various co-ops, wrote the report. The immediate problems with most poor people's co-ops, he says, result from poor accounting procedures, bad management, conservative leadership and insufficient operating and development capital.

If co-ops do not help to obtain more money, decent housing, land for farms and industry, adequate food, education, political and economic power, and a measure of security, then they fail in meeting the basic needs of the poor people, Ulmer says.

"Probably no other more hopeful, more creative effort to remedy basic inequities in the South has ever been undertaken by the people who are victims of those inequities than the cooperative movement," he says.

Overwhelming problems of housing, illiteracy, lack of employment, and racism suggest that unless co-ops can be large enough and sufficiently strong to take on these immediate oppressive situations on a community-wide basis, co-ops will continue to be small, poorly understood and poorly supported.

"As yet few of the co-ops have reached the poorest of the poor, the people without land, jobs of adequate food," Ulmer says.

"Cooperatives and Poor People in the South" may be obtained from the Southern Regional Council. Single copy 30¢; bulk copies 20¢.

Delta Prisons

No permanently effective penal reform has taken place in Arkansas, Louisiana or Mississippi, where state prison farms are operated and expected to be self-supporting.

A Southern Regional Council report, entitled "The Delta Prisons: Punishment for Profit," concludes:

"The three states put together could not, out of presently available funds and facilities, provide the components of one prison which would meet minimum national standards set forth by the American Correctional Association."

The self-supporting nature of these penal institutions is cited as the major reason for the deplorable and inhumane conditions found. "The administrators are without funds and the prisoners are without hope," the report says. "There are pitifully few meaningful education or training programs."

Old and inadequate housing, dining and hospital facilities were commonly found, as were lack of mechanization, a dearth of paid personnel, and unjustifiable work quotas. It was also found that discipline is frequently maintained by brutal methods such as flogging, isolation, and, in some instances, electrical torture.

The prison facilities studied were Cumins Farm, which is the main unit of the Arkansas State Penitentiary; Angola Prison in Louisiana; and the Mississippi State Penitentiary at Parchman.

In each of these states, the report said, there were statutory requirements that all facilities, operations and artifacts be segregated, an unconstitutional practice.

"The Delta Prisons: Punishment for Profit" may be ordered from the Southern Regional Council. Single copy 30¢; bulk copies, 20¢ each.

About South Today

You may be receiving this first issue of *SOUTH TODAY* because you regularly receive mailed materials of the Southern Regional Council. Or you may be receiving it because you are on a new list of leaders in the South which the Council has compiled in an effort to broaden its contact with people of goodwill who are concerned about their region and its future.

Our circulation, at the outset, is 10,000. We hope it will be enlarged. But this is an experimental publication at this stage. In determining its usefulness and its future, we will closely watch the response of our readers. (We hope you will return the coupon on page 8, telling us what you think.)

In choosing a list of leaders in the South to receive a *SOUTH TODAY*, we have not pretended to be comprehensive. But the list includes a broad range of business, religious, professional, governmental, union and civic leadership. The leaders we have chosen are white and black, middle-class and grassroots.

The Southern Regional Council is a biracial, non-sectarian, non-profit, private organization supported by foundations and individual contributors. It was founded in 1944 by a group including the late Dr. Rufus Clement, president of Atlanta University; the late Ralph McGill, publisher of the Atlanta *Constitution;* Bishop Arthur J. Moore, of the Methodist Church; the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University; and the late Dr. Howard W. Odum, of the University of North Carolina.

It works through research, information, education and experimental field programs. A statement of purpose adopted in 1951 and in 1962 states:

"The South of the future toward which our efforts are directed is a South freed of stultifying inheritances from the past. It is a South where the measure of a man will be his ability, not his race; where a common citizenship will work in democratic understanding for the common good; where all who labor will be rewarded in proportion to their skill and achievement; where all can feel confident of personal safety and equality before the law; where segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit and will no longer be imposed; where above all, every individual will enjoy a full share of dignity and self respect, in recognition of his creation in the image of God."

For 25 years, the Council has been a believer in the power of information and in the proposition that ours will become a far better region as it turns its eyes upon itself without blinders. This belief rests, of course, upon faith in the ultimate goodwill of those, white and black, who call themselves "Southerners." The publication and distribution of *SOUTH TODAY* are based upon that premise.

SOUTH TODAY

A Digest of Southern Affairs

SOUTH TODAY is published by the Leadership Project of the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303. The Southern Regional Council, founded in 1944, is a research and information agency devoted to the attainment of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South. President: John H. Wheeler, Durham, N.C. Chairman, Executive Committee: Raymond M. Wheeler, Charlotte, N.C. Vice Presidents: Josephine Wilkins, Athens, Ga.; Paul R. Christopher, Knoxville, Tenn.; Charles G. Gomillion, Tuskegee, Ala.; Lucius H. Pitts, Birmingham, Ala. Executive Director: Paul Anthony.

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TURN YE RADIO ON!

Old Elixirs Are Selling Better Now

By Reese Cleghorn

From Atlanta Magazine

Traveling through the Deep South you still find the countryside broken here and there by a crudely painted sign that says "Sinners Will Burn in Hell" or a handsome billboard that urges one and all to "Impeach Earl Warren." But the signs are not the main message these days. To get the full treatment, you must follow the advice of that old hillbilly song whose refrain was a wild voice yelling "Turn ye radio onnnnnn, Turn ye radio onnnnnn!" In or near the small or medium-sized towns, the airwaves crackle constantly with the jeremiads of angry radio preachers and political medicine men selling the old elixirs.

In fact, there are days when, if you keep moving the finger on the dial as you travel through the South, you may listen to the messages of the far right almost without a lapse. They are often but not always fitted into the context of fundamentalist religion. Although most of the broadcasts originate elsewhere, they have become distinguishing characteristic of this region, as much so as the "Sinners Will Burn in Hell" signs. Nowhere else do the Revs. Billy James Hargis and Carl McIntyre, for instance, have such an extensive radio audience.

Hargis, who has been known to weigh in at 260 just before a bout with the devil, is the biggest man in more ways than one on this circuit. At a Hargis rally at the Sheraton Biltmore in Atlanta, a warm-up man came on first to tell about "this strange, sickening world in which we live." He told the audience that the Fair Play for Cuba Committee had been registered in Washington while Robert F. Kennedy was attorney general. This apparently was part of his evidence for his subsequent charge that Kennedy "can become an American Castro." He worked over the National Council of Churches, said "our colleges think we are out of step" because a Communist named William Z. Foster has rewritten American history, and offered a "tonight only" special subscription rate for a publication of Hargis' Christian Crusade. Then came Mr. Hargis himself, dramatically down the center aisle amid ovation. His pitch this time was race. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was an "Uncle Tom for special interests," he said at one point, and "a Pied Piper to lead the American Negro into the camp of communism," he said at another. The NAACP does not speak for Negroes, he said. ("They have never allowed a Negro to head their organization.") The country had already largely succumbed to communism, and only people like those in the Christian Crusade could lead it back to safety.

Hargis has fancied the title of "Dr. Hargis." The institution that gave him his first honorary doctorate was something called the Defender Seminary in Puerto Rico, founded by a well-known pro-Nazi, anti-Semitic evangelist named Gerald Winrod. Another doctorate came from an institution designated by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare as a "degree mill." Hargis dropped out of an Arkansas college after less than two years. But he speaks as a confident authority on many matters of worldwide import; it is difficult to imagine him without an emphatic answer to any question. He is the most important of the evangelists of the radical right, and therefore one of the most influential voices in the South.

The extremist message that pours so voluminously from these radio programs varies little with the source. The standard line has it that America's basic institutions—the schools, churches, government, press—are in the hands of Communists and fellow-travelers. From there it goes on: fanatic opposition to the United Nations, the poverty program (or any government social program), the Supreme Court, and civil rights legislation. There are proposals to alter basically the federal system, as for instance, by putting the courts under congressional control, or simply by dismantling the federal government by repealing the income tax and simultaneously barring the government from professional and business services (as the Liberty Lobby's Liberty Amendment would do).

These voices are not mere curiosities, not in the South at least. President Kennedy was to have said, in the speech he did not deliver in Dallas on November 22, 1963, that increasingly the country is hearing from "those who confuse rhetoric with reality and the plausible with the possible." They are, he said, "voices preaching doctrines wholly unrelated to reality." We cannot expect that everyone will talk sense, he said. "But we can hope that fewer people will listen to nonsense. . . ." Actually, more people now are listening to nonsense of the radical rightest variety than were listening in 1963, if Southern radio stations' offerings are any index. A recent estimate was that 7,000 programs of the radical right are heard weekly on radio and television stations across the nation, a large portion of these in the South.

Billy Hargis

Hargis' "Christian Crusade Radio Ministry," a daily program, was down to about 50 radio stations and a few television outlets when President Kennedy's speech was written. In 1964, it bounced back with more than 100 stations. In 1965, it had 237 stations in 37 states, Canada, and Mexico. In 1967, it had 208 U.S. stations, 86 of which were in the South. The Southern stations accounted for 41 per cent of Hargis' total.

Although he falls short of Hargis in total impact, the Rev. Carl McIntyre leads the field among rightist radio evangelists in the South as well as in the nation. About half the stations using his "Twentieth Century Reformation Hour" are in the Southern states. The program had 313 stations in 1962. By 1964 the number had reached 448 (with 201 of these, or 45 per cent in the South). By 1965, the number exceeded 600.

A large part of McIntyre's appeal is to those who dislike the National Council of Churches and the direction in which almost all the major Protestant denominations have been moving recently. He himself was barred from continued service as a clergyman of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. (now the United Presbyterian Church) in 1936. The church's highest governing body, the General Assembly, accused him of defaming the character of fellow Christians, causing "dissension and strife," and engendering suspicion and ill will.

The success of the extremist radio programs in the South is shown in other figures, as well. "Life Lines," a daily program supported by H. L. Hunt's petroleum and food concerns, had 500 stations in 1967, with 236 of these (47 per cent) in the South. The same year, 65 per cent of the radio stations broadcasting Clarence Manion's "Manion Forum" (101 of the 155) were in the South. The Citizens Councils Forum had 150 stations nationally, with a heavy concentration in the South. The number of stations carrying Howard Kershner's "Commentary in the News," sponsored by Christian Freedom Foundation, Inc., is currently uncertain. But in 1962, 43 of the 148 stations, or 29.1 per cent, were in Southern states. His total had risen to 362 stations in 1965, including substantial increases in the South.

Few people, of course, would dispute the right of even the most extreme propagandists to present their views. The question that arises is whether the stations which are heavy with the appeals of the rightwing radicals offer a balance of any kind or rebuttals. Under the Federal Communications Commission rules, stations must present opposing viewpoints. But the process of challenging their presentations is sometimes difficult.

So the programs of the radical right have become the common stuff of the airwaves in the South. This part of the country, obviously, is ripe for their appeal. Its old order is changing rapidly and many people, cut adrift from outlooks and status that had given them security in the past, are looking for easy explanations in a world that is increasingly baffling to them. Many of the pressures are more intense in the South; for instance, those caused by the movement from a rural to an urban life. Between 1950 and 1960, the increase in urban population for the country as a whole was 29.3 percent; in the South, it was 40.1 percent.

Some of the values that had gone with rural life do not seem to apply as well in the cities. If a man is reluctant to change, and if he sees others getting ahead with values very different from his, he may be quite ready to believe Mr. Hargis' explanation that satanic forces have taken charge. After all, what else explains it? Good people such as himself, a man may think, are being wrongly deprived of what was always rightfully theirs, and the country is going to hell.

Mr. Hargis knows what to say to that man: "The only people that I ever met in my life that I think are worth knowing are these little ol' Bible-believing Christian people who love the Lord and who love America and they're willing even in their feeble way to the best of their ability to give their lives in the defense of both. They're the only people I want to know, and they're the ones I want to hold my hand as I walk through the Valley of the Shadow of Death."

Carl McIntyre

They will have to take that walk, of course, despite the machinations of such companions of the devil as the United Nations, the American government, most of established religions, and the atheists who have taken over everywhere.

Through these messages more people are led to despise what is theirs, to distrust everything around them, and to become further convinced of their own impotence and their country's weakness. Taken on their face, these preachments suggest revolution as the only effective reply; but since they do not really urge that (except in the case of some of the para-military fringe groups), the extremists simply make people more frustrated and more alienated from their country. It is not a creative maladjustment that Mr. Hargis and his fellow super-salesmen of the far right bring about.

The old-timer who put "Sinners Will Burn in Hell" on pine trees was exercising his right to say his piece and pronounce his judgment. It was clear and simple. He had a Satan in mind, but the Satan presumably was not Washington, D.C., or the Church. He presumably used the pine tree with the permission of the owner; if he did not have that permission, the owner could pull down the sign. The "pine trees" used by Mr. Hargis and numerous competitors selling similar lines are the public airwaves, and the South seems less disturbed about that than any other part of the country. The South is, of course, used to those things. ST

Separatist Sentiment Grows -- This Time It Is Black

Southern Campuses in Crisis

By Phil Gailey

In THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

SOME white students in Morrison dormitory are befuddled when they see the small dorm room occupied by Kelley Alexander Jr., a 20-year-old black junior at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

On the concrete block walls of his room are quotes from firebrand Rap Brown, a Humphrey-Muskie bumper sticker, a quote from Warren G. Harding and a Time Magazine cover of LBJ with a penciled moustache that makes the former president resemble Adolph Hitler.

Black militants on campus call him a "Negro."

"That's their way of saying Uncle Tom," smiled Alexander, a husky young man who is the third generation of a North Carolina family active in civil rights. His father is president of the state NAACP.

Alexander is one of two black students left in the campus NAACP organization. Black students pulled out last year and formed the more militant Black Student Movement.

Alexander, who has served as state vice president of the NAACP, plans to leave the campus organization next year to devote more of his time to the Committee for the Advancement of Minority and Disadvantaged Students, an ad hoc group which is trying to "develop some motivation among disadvantaged students (blacks, Indians and poor whites) to attend a university and to legitimize state institutions as valid sources of higher education."

Alexander tries to work within the system at UNC. He admits it is sometimes frustrating.

For example, he formed a committee of moderate black students who submitted a list of concerns to the university administration. There was only a feeble response from the administration and 30 days later black militants presented their demands to the university—many of them basically the same as Alexander's suggestions, which received little publicity.

They included a scholarship program for culturally disadvantaged students, the admission of more blacks, and curriculum changes.

"The administration should have responded before the Black Student Movement made the headlines," Alexander said.

There is a growing "awareness among black students of the inequities in the system here," he said.

The other Negro member of the campus NAACP, John Parker, 17, of Kings Mountain, N.C., is the first Negro to serve in the student legislature.

Alexander and Parker are part of a movement on campus to get the administration to admit more "high risk" students. They are involved in other projects, but they seldom make the headlines.

"It's time people start considering long-range solutions as well as the short-range ones," Alexander believes. "Black people are losing sight of the fact that expediency has only led us into deeper water."

Alexander deplores the black demands for "resegregation," including black dorms and a black studies program for blacks only.

"I am of the old-fashioned school that whites need black history and culture more than blacks," he said.

Alexander said he was concerned over the growing separatist movement among blacks.

"I want to work for a world where certain principles are upheld—not a black and white world. If we can't have this, there's nothing worth living for.

"I'll tell you another thing," he added. "I'm frustrated by the white liberals who, in trying to do what they think is right, support the movement toward resegregation under the guise of black identity and consciousness.

"Militant? I'm already militant. It doesn't express itself in rhetoric. But if I fail in my lifetime to change this system, then we've had it. If there are no changes, my grandfather, and my father, and I have been proved wrong. There's nothing left then but to try the other way."

Alexander, who has been involved in civil rights sit-ins and demonstrations since he was 10, is a "Negro" (or Uncle Tom) to black militants who have lost patience with working within the system.

That is one view. At the University of South Carolina in Columbia, another black student, Tony Chitty, sees things another way.

"It was a great sin for the integrated university to bring black students into a world where they cannot relate," he says. "I came here as a freshman and tried like hell to be white. The whites never accepted me from the beginning and soon I was alienated from my black friends. Let's face it. The university doesn't relate to the black student even when he tries to be a good nigger."

The frustration and isolation of Tony Chitty is shared by other black students in predominantly white universities.

At Duke University, Chuck Hopkins, leader of the campus Afro-American Society, recently told a meeting of faculty and administration: "The black student is faced either with accepting the educational structure as it is and seeking his real self outside of it; or he can rebel at the lack of himself in the educational structure with extreme expressions of militancy; or he can attempt to have some of his own ideas and culture which are inherent in his blackness incorporated into the overall structure of the educational institution."

Blacks are increasingly becoming separatists.

On scores of college campuses across the South and the rest of the nation, black students have presented demands to college administrations. The demands are basically the same with a few local modifications—a black studies program, black dormitories, the admission of more blacks and others.

In most cases, black militants have little to do with white radicals.

At the University of North Carolina, Students for a Democratic Society leader George Vlasits said: "We have problems working with the black students originating from the old liberal idea of black and white together."

UNC radicals and black militants occasionally share a common cause, as they did in supporting a strike by cafeteria workers on the Chapel Hill campus, but there is no permanent relationship between them.

The black student, like the black citizen, is restless. There are undercurrents of anger and militancy that haven't yet surfaced. "We're not angry," said Reginald Hawkins, head of the Black Student Movement at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, "but we're not satisfied. I think most of us have covert anger that will come out when the situation arises."

There are examples of colleges where blacks have made progress—even though they describe it as "tokenism."

At Duke University, blacks will for the first time this summer be involved in recruiting Negro students. Black students have been named to a committee considering a black studies program for Duke. At nearby UNC in Chapel Hill, students can start working this fall toward a bachelor's degree in the new Afro-American Studies program.

Black students have been named to student-faculty committees at the Chapel Hill campus. "Right now we're on about every committee that has anything to do with black students," said one black student leader.

Both Duke and UNC will double their black enrollment this fall and will take in more "high risk" students. Each campus has had less than 200 black students this year.

In some cases, concessions were made after militants acted, and in others, the administration moved trying to avert turmoil.

At the University of Georgia, black students have practically no representation in university affairs, and even more serious, a perilous lack of communication exists between the administration and black students.

Out of frustration and in some cases defeat, black student movements are beginning to shift their emphasis from the campus to the community around it.

UNC black students and some white radicals supported cafeteria workers in a strike over wages. In the end, the workers, almost all black, won the support of most of the faculty and student body and a salary increase from $1.35 to $1.80 an hour. UNC administration said it did not know the workers were being deprived of overtime and pledged to pay overtime for more than 40 hours.

At Duke, UNC and the University of Florida, black campus groups are working in local ghettoes, tutoring students and taking them on field trips, and working with high school students in getting black courses in the curriculum. UNC blacks received a $4,000 grant from the student legislature to help finance their community program.

Hawkins doesn't agree that black students on northern campuses are more militant than those in Southern colleges.

"I think our movement here at UNC is comparable to what's going on up North," said Hawkins. "We don't have any black nationalist groups down here, but I think blacks on this campus are willing to do anything if they feel nothing is being done."

"One thing about the black students," admitted a University of South Carolina administrator recently. "They've made the white conscious of his total citizenship in society. The white student is beginning to see that as long as the black is not free, neither is he. It's sad that just at the time when both sides are seeing their common plight, they are growing more apart." ST

And on Black Campuses . . .

ROBERT TERRELL

In New South

At the beginning of the fall, 1968, term, a group of students (at the Atlanta University Center) formed an organization called "The Ad Hoc Committee for a Black University." . . .

Shortly after it was organized, the Ad Hoc Committee submitted a list of demands to each of the six college presidents. The list contained the following statement:

"As black students in the Atlanta University System, we strongly feel that our present situation in America dictates that certain basic changes occur in the present make-up of our institutions. We view our problems as the same ones which enslave the bodies and minds of Africans all over the world. European culture has crushed all but life from blacks from the time it appeared on African soil to this very day! Slavery ended 100 years ago! But, it is completely apparent to all of us that a more subtle form of slavery has continued to exist. The so-called 'Negro College,' with the Atlanta University system high on the list, continues to function as one of the main tools used by our oppressors to perpetuate the cruel colonization of Africans in America. In essence, our sincere desire for growth, truth, and a relevant education has been used against us."

While this statement does not reflect the complete sentiments of all students in the Center, it represents the view of many. Most students agree with its basic intent. A petition, circulated by the Ad Hoc Committee to ascertain the percentage of students supporting its goals, indicated that well over 50 per cent of the students are in sympathy with the Ad Hoc Committee. ST

A Cry from the Delta

by ROBERT COLES and HARRY HUGE

in The New Republic

photos by AL CLAYTON

IN May of 1967 six physicians—one of us was one of them—spent time in Mississippi's Delta. Dozens of homes were visited; children and their parents were given medical examinations; and the conditions of life that thousands of American citizens still must take for granted were observed and written down. In July of 1967 a committee of the U.S. Senate heard it all—the hard-to-believe medical facts that again and again had to be insisted upon; Americans go hungry every day, become malnourished, die because they didn't get enough food and the right kind of food and fall sick and never, never at all see a doctor; American children possess bloated bellies and swollen ankles, even suffer from kwashiorkor and marasmus, diseases that mark the very last stages of starvation and that are associated with countries like Biafra or cities like Calcutta.

Mississippi's two senators were given a chance to cross-examine the doctors, but declined to do so. Mississippi's governor, Paul Johnson, sent out doctors of his own, well-established and conservative ones, to make the same rounds the other doctors had, to find out whether their charges had any substance. Eventually they, too, submitted a report to the Senate, and in essence said the same thing:

"In summary, the situation as observed in Humphreys County does not appear to be markedly different from that in Leflore County. Here, also, there are persons who are under-housed, under-fed, under-educated and under-employed. Some of them lack sufficient medical care and hospital facilities, and many are virtually unemployable."

Sen. John Stennis responded with a bill aimed at feeding the nation's hungry and providing the Senate with more scientific information about who is hungry, where, and to what extent. His bill easily went through the Senate, but somehow became stalled for months in the House of Representatives where other Mississippians also wield great power, among them Mr. Jamie L. Whitten, who ranks third among the 51 members of the House Appropriations Committee and is a member of the Appropriations subcommittee for National Defense, for Public Works and most important, for Agriculture.

For 15 years Mr. Whitten has been chairman of that Agriculture subcommittee, a position that has given him a decisive say in everything the government does and does not do with and about our farms, our enormous surpluses of food and our hungry citizens. The testimony of the six physicians before the Senate and their report "Hungry Children," issued by the Southern Regional Council, may have brought national attention to conditions in Mississippi and may even have moved the state's senators, but from the very beginning those doctors had been warned of the congressional facts of life. After their survey was finished they left Mississippi for Washington, where they were told by a high official of the Agriculture Department that they, and all the hungry children they had examined, and all other hungry Americans, thousands and thousands of them, would have to reckon with Mr. Jamie L. Whitten, as indeed must the Secretary of Agriculture—whose funds come to him through the kindness of that same Mr. Whitten.

Since then Jamie L. Whitten has given some ground, but not all that much to critics of the government's various efforts to get food to extremely poor families. True, the price of food stamps went down somewhat, and the government pressured reluctant counties in various states to accept the food stamp program, all of which came about because of the Senate's hearings in 1967 and 1968, strongly pushed by Sens. Clark and Robert Kennedy, and because of the forceful comprehensive and unnerving publication put out by the Citizen's Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition in America—the board's members were drawn from business, labor, the churches and the various professions—and finally because of the CBS commentary, "Hunger in America," which for an hour without letup presented an almost unbearable spectacle of extreme want and distress among many different people (of all races and creeds) in many regions of the nation.

We recently visited Mr. Whitten's district. We had no interest in once again taking note of the state's difficulties, so often in the past used by self-righteous critics to divert themselves from some of their own problems, far nearer at hand than the Delta's. But Jamie Whitten and his good friend Congressman Tom Abernathy—their districts adjoin one another—have repeatedly demonstrated that they have every intention of ignoring needs and demands of thousands of people who live far away from Mississippi. Hungry men, women and children in Appalachia or in Texas or on Indian reservations in Arizona or in the poor sections of our large Northern cities are denied food they need because a congressman like Jamie L. Whitten can frighten federal officials and prevent the Congress from acting quickly in the face of a medical emergency, a social disaster, and not the least in this powerful and wealthy nation, a moral outrage.

Mr. Whitten's district is made up of several tiers of Mississippi's northern counties. The district's western section contains some foothills of the Appalachians, including Woodall Mountain, at 806 feet altitude, the highest point in the state. Nearby is the fine, relatively progressive city of Tupelo and, about 40 miles eastward, Oxford with Faulkner's lovely home and the University of Mississippi. Further eastward the Delta begins and with it mile after mile of farmland and, of late, pasture land.

Day after day we went through that territory, accompanied by white and black people who were born and have lived all their lives in Mr. Whitten's 2nd Congressional District. We went to Savage, Miss. We went all through Tunica County and Tallahatchie County, where Mr. Whitten was born (in the little town of Cascilla), and where he still lives (in the county seat of Charleston). We talked with children and parents in Panola County and Yalobusha County where school districts under orders to desegregate or lose federal support have earned a possible reprieve from the Nixon Administration. Later we left Mr. Whitten's district for Mr. Abernathy's.

Just outside of Savage, Miss., and just inside Tunica County we spent an afternoon with a family who see, maybe, three or four hundred dollars in the course of an entire year. They live off the road in a broken down shack of wood on the sides with a slanted, rusty tin roof on top. They have a coal stove for heat and cooking. They have no electricity, which means no refrigerator as well as no lights. They lack running water. They use a shallow, contaminated well, which is "just a mile or two off." They lack even an outhouse. Several relatives have gone North, but the word has come back that it's much better there in some ways, but no great paradise in others.

What is life like for them in Tunica County? What do they eat? How is their health? "Oh, we're getting along," we are told for a start by a tall, large-boned mother of five who speaks much too softly at first, but several hours later almost like an old fashioned orator, at last with an audience of countrymen to address. Then came the qualifications about "getting along," and an afternoon of them could have been a week of them, a year of them:

"Every morning the first thing I think about is what I can do to feed the kids. I don't have no money coming in. My husband, he works for him, and you know the bossmen around here, they'll give you some things and they won't give you others. We can use this house, it's his. He told us last year that as long as we didn't get any smart-alecky ideas in our heads, we'd be alright here; but if we did, we could go on up to Chicago where the niggers belong, and the mayor up there, he'd be taking care of us just like they do down here in Mississippi. The bossman don't give us much money, but there'll be ten dollars one week, and maybe five the next, and he gave us 20 for Christmas, I'll say that for him. He don't want us trying to vote and like that—and first I'd like to feed my kids, before I go trying to vote. . . .

"But it's no good. The kids aren't eating enough, and you'd have to be wrong in the head, pure crazy, to say they are. Sometimes we talk of leaving; but you know it's just no good up there either, we hear. They eat better, but they have had things up there

'First, I'd Like To Feed My Kids . . .'

I hear, rats as big as raccoons I hear, and they bit my sister's kid real bad. It's no kind of country to be proud of, with all this going on—the colored people still having it so bad, and the kids being sick and there's nothing you can do about it and like that. No sir, there's no doctor hereabouts for them or me or anyone like us. . . ."

"You people talk about the vote. To me what counts is if I could be able to feed us better and we'd see a little money each Saturday or even the beginning of each month, or so. My girl come home and told me we haven't been slaves since way back, according to her teacher. And I said, yes, that sounds real good. But when it gets cold, she can't go to school, because there's no shoes for her and we have to stay close to the stove. . . ."

It is possible to find out who has everything and who has nothing in Tunica County where that woman lives and which Mr. Whitten represents. Out of a population of 16,826, 79.1 per cent of it black, no less than 13,500 make less than $3,000, and 11,370 see less than $2,000 a year. Only 1,506 people receive public assistance, though—and only 6,307 have been allowed to participate in the food stamp program. The median income in the county is $1,260 per year and the infant mortality rate per 1,000 live births is 64.5, some three times the national average and utterly in keeping with figures that come out of the world's poorest, most "underdeveloped" nations. In Mr. Whitten's home county, Tallahatchie, the figures are similar: out of 24,081 residents 18,800 make less than $3,000 a year, 15,197 makes less than $2,000 a year, but only 6,710 get food stamps. Blacks make up 64 per cent of the population and 74.4

To Page 6

In Alabama, Hard Work Makes a Co-op Succeed

by CAROLYNNE SCOTT
The Birmingham News

With a fair sampling of fabric swatches from sewing baskets across the state, a number of old-timey patterns like Eight Point Star and Robbing Peter To Pay Paul, and a large measure of determination, the Freedom Quilting Bee of Alberta, Ala., began in the spring of 1966 to piece together a a reputation for itself and a living for its members.

Now celebrating its third birthday, the Bee has brought national fame to Southwest Alabama as a center of folk art, established a profitable contract with Bloomingdales of New York City, exhibited its work at the Smithsonian Institution's Folklife Festival twice, and become the subject of a doctoral dissertation. But more importantly, the quilting co-op has raised the earning power of its members from 25 cents an hour to over $1.00 per hour. It has given whole families, subsisting in the Black Belt on less than $800 annually, economic relief and hope for the future. And in the process, it has graduated to Super-Dazzle broadcloth and electric sewing machines for the piecework.

The story of the co-op goes back to one quilt flapping on a clothesline in the Black Belt. Mrs. Eugene Witherspoon, manager of the co-op, tells it this way:

Father Francis X. Walter, an Episcopal priest who directs the Selma Interreligious Project, saw the quilt and tried to talk to its maker. The old woman ran away, thinking he meant trouble. Nevertheless, Father Walter persisted in trying to interest women of the area in banding together to make some quilts, as a means of economic advancement for their families. Quilting in the Black Belt was a common practice, stretching back 140 years and usually involving family groups of four.

Mrs. Witherspoon heard of his going around and wrote him a letter indicating her interest in such a venture. He contacted her, saying it "sounded like she meant business."

In March, 1966, the first group of over 150 quilters met in the Antioch Baptist Church in Camden and got organized. Before a year was up, the Bee had made $6,000. After expenses of material, thread, supplies, etc., are put back into the co-op's till, the women get the balance. Since its founding, the Bee has increased family income for many of its members by over 50 per cent while providing a cottage industry, a job to be done at home. Others come in to work at the quilting bee office, an 80-year-old two-room-plus-dogtrot tenant house in Alberta.

Except during harvest season when some must "go to the field," there are usually eight women quilting at the Alberta office, 16 at Gee's Bend, eight at Gastonburg, and eight in Beatrice. In addition to old favorite patterns, the women sew a special line of made-to-order beauties designed by a New York artist and toy designer, Mrs. Sara Stine. These quilts, as do all the co-op's, come in baby, single, double and king sizes and, additionally, are made of Liberty of London Egyptian cotton and rich shades of velveteen.

While the co-op's early efforts went for $10 per quilt (and many lesser items like dashiki shirts, mini-dresses, sunbonnets, pot holders, aprons, still go for considerably less), the handsome special line quilts bring anywhere from $50 to $75 each. In the old favorite quilts, which range in price from $37.50 to $45, the following American quilt patterns are available: Monkey Wrench, Brick Layer, Robbing Peter to Pay Paul, Cup and Saucer, Dove in the Window, Dutchman's Puzzle, Crow Foot and Rocky Road to California.

"Quite a few like the old original patterns better," says Mrs. Witherspoon, who is always happy to show quilts already made up or to take orders for others more in keeping with the buyer's particular decor. A thriving mail-order business (Route 1, Box 72, Alberta) has evolved from the word of mouth advertising of satisfied customers, and this also keeps the co-op manager busy.

Now it looks like a new center for the co-op is just around the corner. Mrs. Witherspoon and the co-op president, Mrs. Callie Young, are looking forward to the day when the whole operation can be moved into a new $20,000 concrete block structure. This dream was brought a little closer to reality recently when the co-op members spent two frantic days preparing sample articles requested by Bloomingdales of New York City. Stanley Selengut, who has provided marketing skills and represented the co-op in the East, flew down with patterns for sample pillow shams, dust ruffles, cafe curtains and quilts. This was the culmination of his long-time work at interesting a very large store in the co-op.

If Bloomingdales is pleased with the co-op's efforts, orders will follow and another "long-haul, small hope project," as Father Walter calls it, will have paid off. The very fact of having Selengut associated with the co-op was a small hope project at first. A promoter and broker of crafts worldwide, Selengut, who has served such diverse groups as the State Department, Zuni Indians, OEO, Poor People's Corporation of Mississippi, General Learning Corporation and Holiday Magazine, offered to fly down at his own expense and see the co-op's work more than two years ago. At that time, the co-op was financially unable to take his advice, which undoubtedly would have been to recommend expansion and new products.

Much later that year (1967), it was learned that a successful cooperative enterprise, the Southern Consumers of Lafayette, La., had received a Ford Foundation grant to assist poor people's cooperatives. Contact was made with the director of that organization, Father A. J. McKnight, who looked over the Bee's operation, heard the plans of Selengut and Mrs. Stine, and gave the co-op a grant of $2,000 for management subsidy and a loan of $5,000 which could be repaid at 3 per cent interest at the rate of 10 per cent of annual profits.

The special line quilters were organized, receiving training from Mrs. Stine; and Selengut Associates began to buy fabric for the group in the New York market, in addition to representing it before prospective buyers, such as Bloomingdales.

Shortly after affiliating with Selengut, the co-op learned that Miss Jeri Richardson, a native of Mississippi and graduate of the University of Alabama now studying at Indiana University, had chosen the co-op as her topic for a doctoral dissertation in art education. Now, Father Walter and the Freedom Quilting Bee look forward to using her efforts when seeking future foundation grants.

There are still certain hurdles to overcome, such as lack of telephone service in the "rurals," inadequate storage facilities of the present location, the unending need for scraps of material, the ingrained suspicion of politicians that such co-ops are somehow subversive, and the difficulty of teaching new skills to old fingers, but chances are that the third birthday of the Bee will be anything but a sad occasion. ST

A Cry From the Delta. . .

From page 5

per cent of the population is poor. Median income for the county is $1,588. Yet only 2,367 people are on public assistance.

Counties such as those Jamie Whitten represents have sent thousands of hurt, sad, bewildered, hungry and frightened people North and West; but those counties also continue to present us with a surprisingly large number of our poor people. By and large we tend to equate "poverty" with our urban ghettos, but one government estimate has our urban poor (some 18 million) making up 55 per cent of all the nation's poor with the rural poor (over 15 million) about 45 per cent of the total. It is one thing to be poor in a big city, and another thing to be poor in, say, Mr. Whitten's congressional district.

We asked a friendly professor at the University of Mississippi whether we had any right to come in as outsiders, do our work —one of us lived in the state two years doing that work—then leave and have our say. A reply was instantly forthcoming:

"These people, the people you've seen these past days, desperately need people to speak for them. Their congressmen don't; in fact, their congressmen have worked day and night to kill dozens of programs that are aimed at the poor. Anyone with half a brain in his head knows that the only way we've come as far as we have in this state is because all those 'outside agitators' have bothered us and bothered us and bothered us, at least they did for a while.

"To be honest, I'm worried that they've forgotten us of late; and they've forgotten what a man like Whitten does, not only to keep *our* people 'in their place' but other people all over. Isn't *he* an outside agitator? Isn't *he* interfering in the lives of others, in their struggle for a decent life? But we don't hear it put that way, I'm sorry to say. . . ."

Yes, as we drove through Mr. Whitten's district we once again saw what the professor loves: the rich, alluvial earth; the quiet of a rural state; the flaming sunsets and the full moons that are a rich orange-red rather than a pale yellow, and that hang unnervingly low enough for a sharecropper to have asked us, "Why do they say it's so far to get to the moon, when it seems as though you could touch it if you went and climbed up that tree over there?" We had to leave the road to find that sharecropper, drive along those unpaved, dusty pathways that bring the visitor out of one world and into another.

The grazing cattle, the silos, the fine ranch houses, the quaint and nicely kept-up churches, the endless stretches of open land, the cotton gins and cotton wagons, the colorfully decorated grain elevators and tractor companies give way to—well, all that the statistics we have mentioned imply. It is awful, and for all the efforts of our writers, for all the studies and reportage and photographs and documentaries, there is something indescribable about the sadness and pain and stubborn willfulness and slyness and cynicism and resignation and resourcefulness and hope and bitterness that exist side-by-side in such people whose ambiguities and inconsistencies are more than matched by those to be found in America.

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Washington . . . From page 1

during her integration experience, now a college student.

The bus, hired by the Friends Service Committee, left Jackson, Miss., early in the morning on Sunday, June 29, and, picking up Mississippians and Alabamians along the way, arrived in Atlanta Sunday night. There, Georgians joined the group and they continued on the next day, picking up South Carolinians as they went, and arrived in Washington in the early hours of Tuesday morning. The bus had air-conditioning difficulties in the 90-plus heat. But after scant sleep, they were gathered at 9:30 that Tuesday morning around a table in the William Penn House, vigorous and enthusiastic, ending their strategy and devotional session with a stirring rendition of "Leaning On the Everlasting Arms." They were all pledged to non-violence and committed to going to jail if necessary.

THEY got back on their bus and drove through the rush-hour Washington traffic, passing brick tenements and flag-flying government buildings, looking out on traffic jams and sidewalks full of people, the balding young men in their dark summer suits carrying their briefcases, seeing the capitol dome up ahead. They sang a little: "Riding along/With my mind/Set on freedom/Halleluuu— Halleluuu— Hallelujah."

They unloaded in front of the big Justice Department building and behind Mrs. Sallie Hadnott of Prattville, Ala., elected on the bus ride as their spokesman, walked unnoted among government workers and tourists into the building and went up to the fifth floor ("Don't block the hall, y'all," one of the women cautioned at the elevator) and quickly, quietly, suddenly filled the outer office of Atty. Gen. Mitchell. A long-faced, lugubrious aide greeted them. They wanted to see Mr. Mitchell because of the reported "retreat of this government" on school desegregation. When he urged them to talk with "experts" in the department, they replied they had been talking with such "experts" for five years to no avail. They pulled one chair into the center of the room, placed a manila envelope marked "Attorney General Mitchell" on it, and began execution of their plan to address their grievances to the attorney general *in absentia*.

First, Mrs. Hadnott read their prepared statement, an eloquent two pages which included these words: "We have done what we were told to do by the agencies of government charged with enforcing the law: we have waited, we have endured, we have answered violence with non-violence, we

Mrs. Hadnott

have sent young children through lines of hostile, hating adults. We have done all this because we believe in the law, in the education that makes useful citizens.

"We are here now because we still believe in these things. But we wonder if our government does any more. . . ."

THEN, one by one they got up and told their stories of having been victimized by the failure of national government to enforce its own laws.

Mrs. Annye Braxton of Demopolis, Ala.: "Our children are sent to school with no protection from the federal government. They are harassed, beaten. We don't have even tokenism in Alabama . . . I appeal to you, Attorney General, to do the right thing. I am afraid of what will happen if you don't."

Mrs. Victoria DeLee of Dorchester, S.C.: "We decided not to go with this any further. My son has been beaten, has come home from school bloodied. You say you've got a law. We tried to enforce it. My house has been shot in time and time again. I have been non-violent. I have tried to be law-abiding."

Willie West of Yazoo City, Miss., a frail man capable of standing up for years to the worst of local intimidation and reprisal, choked up and cried. He said a white school official had told a white student with whom his son had fought: "You should have stomped hell out of that nigger." The other people murmured in sympathy, encouraged him to go on. He told of losing his job after he protested about the incident, of being unable to find another job or get welfare or other assistance, of his children sick and no way to get medical treatment, of his children having to stay home from school for lack of clothes to wear. "I had a job, was doing fine until the children went into the white school . . ."

By now, extra guards and what appeared to be plainclothesmen were in the halls outside the office. Numbers of newsmen had been attracted, and television lights were playing on the speakers.

Upon the scene, visibly upset, came now Jerris Leonard, assistant attorney general for civil rights. He attempted to persuade the group to leave the office and hold a discussion in an assembly room. They refused. The Rev. C. Mifflin Smith of Lancaster, S.C., drew himself up in portly, middle-class, middle-aged dignity and said to Mr. Leonard: "I will not go until I see the attorney general, and I won't be threatened. I'm no hippie."

As soon as they were certain Mr. Leonard brought no word from the attorney general, they continued their recitals to the empty chair and television cameras, ignoring intermittent pleadings that they leave. They apologized to the empty chair for the 15-minute interruption. "But then—we've been waiting 15 years." At one point, Mr. Leonard cried out to them, "This is not fair to people in here trying to work. It's not fair to us." Mrs. DeLee, whose home was burned in reprisal for civil rights activities, shouted back at him: "Mr. Leonard, do you know what *fair* is?"

'What Do We Tell Our Children Now?'

ON went the stories of the incredible failure of the national government to uphold its own laws. Donald Dickerson, a white teacher in Mobile whose contract was not renewed after he supported black student demonstrators this year, told how he had come to understand what Negroes meant when they spoke of the white power structure. Dorothy Young of Sylvester, Ga., told the shameful story of being given an indeterminate sentence (now under appeal) to a juvenile detention home for allegedly cursing a white boy among her tormenters in a barely desegregated high school.

Over and over, these Southerners referred back to the basics of their belief—the United States Constitution, the Bible. Often, too, they stressed the importance of politeness in this confrontation. When Mr. Leonard interrupted Mrs. Hadnott in one of her recitals to make "one more appeal" that they leave, she gave an impassioned answer that this was not a dictatorship, but a democracy.

Mr. Leonard, angrily trying to interrupt, the television cameras taking it all in, moved forward and put his feet up on the empty chair, apparently without thought. There were mocking cries, "You're stepping on the attorney general." Mrs. Hadnott, in the tone Negro Southerners reserve for unruly children and the feeble-minded, said quietly, "Put your foot down, please," and he did.

Finally, there came a firm offer. The attorney general would grant them a 15-minute audience at 4 o'clock in the conference room, Great Hall—if they would leave now (about noon). Otherwise he would not meet with them, and their staying would be a violation of the law. They caucused several times and finally told Mr. Leonard that they would not leave, but would end their speeches and sit silently and without disturbing the secretary in the room (still ignoring them), like any other citizens waiting to see a public servant.

In caucuses and otherwise, they had repeatedly shown the terrible mistrust, suspicion they had come to feel towards agents of their federal government. At one point, too, they spontaneously displayed to soberly listening reporters what the press had come to mean to them. Someone had proposed that only designated spokesmen give information to reporters. But the point was made that much of what they had come for was to tell their individual stories to the nation. "We know what the press has done for years," one man said. "They're not going to tell it like it is."

Finally, an hour before the 4 o'clock appointment, disconcerted Justice Department aides presented the group sitting in the reception room an ultimatum: Get out or be arrested. They held a caucus and agreed that each person should act according to his practical interests. About half remained in the room, ready for jail. Then, as they related it later, laughing, there ensued an incredible scene with Jerris Leonard telling them they were to be removed from the building, and Lee Pellerzi, assistant attorney general in charge of administration, countermanding him, telling them that it was time for the appointment and they could go on to Great Hall. There they joined the others, seated and listening solemnly to Atty. Gen. Mitchell saying, "I want to welcome y'all to the Justice Department. I understand you have a few things you want to say to me. Within the time limits we have set, I want to hear them. . . ."

He sat informally on the edge of the platform before them and listened as they began their presentation. Mr. Jacobs read the prepared statement, his voice heavy with feeling at the end where it denounced the rumored retreat and said: "What do we tell our children now? How can these superintendents and school boards who have tried, some of them under threat of loss of prestige and even, in some cases, their jobs, face now those who have been hostile to school integration and tell them that doing the right thing is no longer supported in Washington?"

Then Mrs. DeLee got up, tall, regally proud, and spoke many of the same words she had spoken to the empty chair, declaring at one point: "We don't want this burning, this killing and what not. Our Negroes are being killed. We're tired of it. We're sick of it. I've got a boy in Vietnam . . ." And Mr. West, still full of emotion but not telling this time of what the white man said to his son, spoke in a voice full of a profound respect for the occasion, the high office of the man he addressed: "You can't help what has already happened. But you can change things so it won't happen any more . . . . " He concluded: "I hope you will enforce the laws. If you don't make them, they will never move down there. I thank you for this opportunity."

Atty. Gen. Mitchell, first seated, then standing with his elbow on a lectern, had seemed to listen intently and gravely to all their earnest words. He stared into those shrewd, stubborn Southern faces speaking truth to him. A lot of Southern naivete, hope, continuing faith waited his response.

He spoke. He said he appreciated hearing the statements. He never addressed himself to their crucial request about guidelines and deadlines. He made the remarkable statement that they "would be better advised to watch what we do rather than listen to what we say" about enforcement.

Back when Mrs. DeLee was speaking, he had stared up sharply as she said: "We are so sorry, so sorry that our appearance here

John Mitchell

caused so much disturbance—the way we were treated in your office . . . threatened with arrest," and then asked the children who had suffered from real lawlessness to stand up so he could see them. Now, when he spoke almost the first thing he mentioned was the "disruption" of his office. "I suggest," he said with the tone of an aggrieved man, "the next time you want to see the attorney general, you let us know about it in advance."

All the day's events had been attended by an unusually large number of reporters—from the wire services, networks, news magazines, local papers and television and radio, Southern capitol correspondents, the New York *Times*. But in a time when rioting and revolutionary rhetoric are the commonplace of protest and pressure on governments, the peaceful and orderly demonstration of these responsible Negro Southerners (which may really have seemed intimidating to the attorney general of the United States) was not top news. They got bare mention on the networks. Mr. Mitchell's attempt to persuade Congress that day (the reason he was so long out of his office) to weaken another bastion of Southern civil rights, the Voting Rights Act, was given more prominent attention. The demonstration made page 8 of the *Star*, page 4 of the Washington *Post*. It merited a photograph but no story on page 24 of the New York *Times*. The stories in both the Atlanta *Journal* and Atlanta *Constitution* came much closer than these bigger-city papers to telling what really happened. Perhaps if there had been arrests or some unruliness or even violence from the demonstrators, they would have received more serious press attention. But as so often in the sad past, if that had happened, the real meaning of their appearance in Washington would have been even further lost. The stories of people who had suffered for a nation's irresponsible administration of law, the faith of a people yet in law, in government, in orderly process—these were the important things.

One wire service reporter was convinced that the demonstrations had postponed an announcement about the guidelines and deadline planned for that very afternoon. It came two days later. The administration would allow more excuses for failing to meet the September, 1969, integration deadline. It would rely far more on court orders (always time-consuming) than fund cutoffs for further desegregation. Most observers considered this the retreat and sellout that had been rumored, a new betrayal of all that the group of responsible Southerners had spoken out for. Administration spokesmen insisted it was not. Time would tell whether the voice of responsibility has any more relevancy at all in the land.

Orangeburg

A Tragedy of Police Panic And Official Defensiveness

By Jack Nelson In The Los Angeles Times

A defense attorney told the jury, "No matter how you view it, it was a tragedy."

And no matter how you view it, it was slaughter—so well documented by undisputed evidence that every juror had to be aware of it.

The jury in federal court (in Florence, S.C.) has acquitted nine state patrolmen who claimed self-defense in the Feb. 8, 1968, killing and wounding of Negro college students at Orangeburg, S. C. But despite the verdict, the state of South Carolina stands convicted of horrendous mistakes in dealing with unruly demonstrations. Also, the seven-day trial raised grave questions about police crowd-control methods.

The indiscriminate shooting, the use of a deadly type ammunition, the failure to fire warning shots or to use alternative methods of crowd control, and the lack of discipline in a difficult and potentially dangerous situation—all of these are critical points raised by the Orangeburg case.

It was the nation's first trial involving charges of excessive use of police power in controlling unruly campus demonstrations. The evidence it developed could well be used in a law enforcement manual as describing a bad example of crowd control.

The jury (10 whites, two blacks) was a serious-looking group that listened intently to the evidence in what obviously was a difficult case for the government to prosecute. The state had already done all it could to cover up its tragic mistakes. No inquest or grand jury investigations were held and the only arrest was that of a Negro militant who earlier had told newsmen he would be the scapegoat if trouble developed.

Moreover, the jury was well aware that Gov. Robert E. McNair had repeatedly defended every aspect of the police action as necessary to protect life and property and that a federal grand jury had refused to indict the patrolmen. The trial was held after criminal informations (warrants) were filed by the Justice Department charging that the patrolmen violated an old civil rights statute prohibiting lawmen from trying to impose summary punishment in the line of duty with the intent to deprive a victim of life or liberty without due process of law.

Former U. S. Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark, who ordered the filing of the informations last December, was aware it would be extremely difficult to obtain a conviction. He knew the patrolmen had every right to be where they were and to try to restrain the students from leaving the campus en masse and entering a town plagued earlier by student violence.

He felt deeply about the questions the case raised concerning the legal limits of police power, however, and he thought they deserved an airing in court.

In addition to publicly exonerating the patrolmen, the trial served up a scapegoat to salve the public conscience. The patrolmen had reacted to mankind's oldest instinct—self-preservation—after students whipped into a "frenzy" by Cleveland Sellers of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee had charged at them hurling epithets and missiles, their attorneys claimed.

Although there was no evidence showing Sellers was leading the students when three were killed and 27 wounded by a sustained volley of gunfire, everyone familiar with the state's official version of the case anticipated he would be blamed. Had not McNair's personal representative on the Orangeburg situation (attorney Henry Lake) publicly blamed it on Sellers?

Sellers was arrested and charged with inciting to riot and with assault with intent to murder a patrolman who was struck by a missile several minutes before the patrol opened fire. But he has not been brought to trial and the defense did not provide any evidence at the trial here linking Sellers to the attack on the patrolman, who was the only officer injured.

A defense attorney told the jury that the trial was perhaps a good thing for the patrolmen so that their names could be cleared.

In some respects each of them unquestionably was as big a scapegoat as Sellers for they were not responsible for loading their shotguns with deadly double-aught buckshot, nor were they primarily responsible for some of the other mistakes, such as inadequate training (the patrol commander testified that in riot training there had been no emphasis on indiscriminate firing into a crowd), poor discipline generally, and the failure of any patrol official to have command of the situation.

The state government exerted itself in trying to cover up its tragic blunders, and it also went all out in trying to clear the patrolmen. The top officials of the patrol and the state law enforcement division sat near the defense table while two young Justice Department attorneys from Washington, D.C., sat at the prosecution table.

Five of the patrolmen, including two lieutenants and a captain, were promoted after the shootings and the defense attorney called the jury's attention to the promotions. The state's only two Negro patrolmen—both hired since the tragedy—showed up in uniform for the last few days of the trial They fraternized with the patrolmen on trial and sat where they could be seen by the jury. One of the Negroes, who is stationed 140 miles away, stayed at the same motel as the defendants.

Here is some of the undisputed evidence the trial developed:

—In the city of Orangeburg (pop. 13,000) the night of the shootings, 450 national guardsmen and 127 state patrolmen, augmented by scores of local police and sheriff's deputies, were on duty. At the South Carolina State College campus where the shootings occurred there were 66 patrolmen, all ostensibly trained in riot control, and 45 national guardsmen, as well as a number of other officers, state and local.

—The number of students involved in the confrontation ranged from 100 to 200. Testimony by most witnesses corroborated the government's contention that there were about as many officers as students.

—The students were moving toward a line of patrolmen on an embankment at the edge of the campus and the nearest ones were still at least 75 feet away when the group was caught in a crossfire of shotguns and pistols. Some witnesses said the students had been "walking," others said, "going at a fast walk," and some used the word "charging."

—All nine defendants fired at the students, some on orders and some after hearing other patrolmen fire, according to their own statements to the FBI. One of them fired a .38 revolver six times and the others fired shotguns. Five discharged their shotguns at least twice. They fired at no particular target—just into the crowd.

—Of the three students killed and 27 injured, all but one and possibly two others were shot from the rear or side. Some were shot while lying on the ground, others while running or crawling away. Some were almost 100 yards away when hit.

—No warning shots were fired, although evidence showed that two nights earlier a crowd of students throwing rocks at passing cars fled when a single patrolman stepped from a car and fired a warning shot into the air. Nor did the patrolmen use tear gas they had on hand or try to warn the students with a loudspeaker which was on the scene.

—The shotguns were loaded with double-aught buckshot—each shot is about the size of a .32 caliber bullet—instead of the lighter and less lethal birdshot normally used in crowd-control situations.

A preponderance of evidence disputed defense contentions that the students fired upon the patrolmen first. Although some witnesses said they heard gunfire or what they thought was gunfire coming from the campus just before the police opened fire, a great majority said they heard none.

No firearms were confiscated from students and no witnesses testified to seeing a student with a weapon. None of the officers, guardsmen, policemen, firemen or newsmen, nor any of their vehicles, were struck by gunfire.

There was evidence that some of the students were hurling missiles at the patrolmen, but the overwhelming evidence was that relatively few missiles were thrown just before the shooting.

The only patrolman injured was felled by a missile—a heavy wooden railing—four to five minutes before his fellow officers, some of whom told the FBI they thought he had been shot, opened fire.

The evidence showed that no students continued to move forward after the first shots were fired, yet the overwhelming evidence was that the patrolmen continued to fire for eight or more seconds. Several witnesses said the firing lasted only a few seconds, but a television cameraman who switched on his camera after the first volley filmed 6¾ seconds of the firing.

Most witnesses said the shooting lasted 10 to 20 seconds and several students who were injured said they were hit, fell to the ground, got up to run and were hit again.

The state forces had every reason to be prepared to cope with student violence that night. They had been in Orangeburg for two days, since shortly after violence occurred outside a segregated bowling alley where students had demonstrated. Patrol and local officials, testifying to the tenseness of the situation, said some storekeepers, who feared students would carry out threats to "burn down the town," had armed themselves and were guarding their stores.

The trial showed that the patrol was ill-prepared and that it panicked. If this fact and other points raised by the Orangeburg tragedy are pondered by law-enforcement officers everywhere, the trial of the Orangeburg case could serve a broader and more important purpose than the clearing of the patrolmen.

For as Justice Atty. Charles Quaintance told the jury, "Policemen have a difficult job and they need more support, but not support to write a blank check under difficult circumstances."

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. . . . . .

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Black Votes

Gains Are Being Won, But Law Is Expiring

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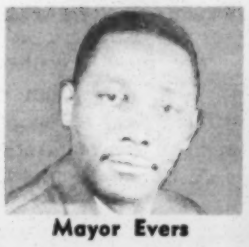
Mayor Lee


Mayor Evers

THE VOTING Rights Act of 1965, due to expire next year, has produced major change in the South. But there is uncertainty about the future of the act and of black voter registration. A Special Report for SOUTH TODAY by Marvin Wall. Page 6.

MAP SHOWS white and black registration in Southern states. Tables indicate the changes since 1960. Page 6.

CURRENT attention to the voting act recalls the bloodshed and struggle required earlier this decade to establish the right to vote in much of the South. Page 7.

Memphis

Tie Your Growth To Racial Progress, Consultants Say

MEMPHIS, still bearing the scar of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s assassination, has been told by a firm of consultants that its future can be bright. Highest on the priority list in the firm's recommendations: Bring about genuine improvement in racial relations, and look to full development of the city's black labor force. By James Chisum. Page 8.

THE COMMERCIAL APPEAL

A Banker And the Slums

Lane

FLAMBOYANT Atlanta banker Mills B. Lane has launched his own black capitalism program, with low-interest loans (and community cleanups). Page 5

Business Week

'Southern Consciousness'

"SOUTHERN consciousness" seems to be growing. I notice that now it is even being articulated by the white student radicals who make up the Southern Student Organizing Committee. They are accusing some of their cohorts in student radicalism of being "Yankees" and "scalawags;" yes, and even lamenting the burning of a Confederate flag in South Carolina. What have we here?

SSOC, or "Sock," as this earnest group is called, is a peculiarly Southern branch of the New Left. Its members see the corruption in our Way of Life, and unlike others who choose to defend it and still others who choose to "drop out," they try to do something about it. But they, like their black friends in various struggles, have the trouble Ralph Ellison wrote about in his novel *Invisible Man:* "Negro Americans are in a desperate search for identity. . . . Their whole lives have become a search for answers to the questions: Who am I? What am I? Why am I? And Where?"

So now SSOC has come to its own doctrine, a correlate of "black consciousness." It is "Southern consciousness," which presumably is both black and white. "We affirm our identity as a people who have a heritage of struggle against the powerful and unresponsive forces which have controlled our region. . . . We are proud of ourselves, our land, and our history. We are going to take it back. Liberate the South!" A declaration by the Ku Klux Klan or the Citizens Councils? No, words from a SSOC statement earlier this year.

(Since this article first appeared, SSOC has been dissolved. Its espousal of "Southern consciousness" apparently was one factor producing internal

To page 7

Business: Finding the Ghetto?

AMERICAN business is becoming much more involved in social problems, and the Nixon administration hopes for more. By Alan Otten. Page 4.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

MARSHALL Bass, a Negro colonel, quit the Army to oversee promotions and training for R. J. Reynolds' 12,000 employes. He is no "house nigger." By Jack Nelson. Page 4.

Los Angeles Times

ROGER Lewis, president of General Dynamics, states the case for business involvement. Page 5.

The Lyceum at Ole Miss

OLE MISS AGAIN

DEAN JOSHUA M. Morse had brought new distinction to the University of Mississippi School of Law. It was educating more black students, and some of its professors were helping bring legal services to the poor. Political pressures mounted. Now the dean is out, and the law school again faces academic investigation. By Ken Vinson. Page 3.

MISSISSIPPI FREELANCE

Also Inside:

THE SOUTH has made less effort than any other region to support its public schools. Page 2.

URBAN housing needs are being emphasized. But the nation's worst housing conditions are still in the rural South. Page 2.

A LIST of recent articles about Southern, racial and poverty problems. Page 2.

REPORT on reports

Rural Housing

The most prevalent bad housing conditions in the nation continue to be in the rural South, a report by the U.S. Department of Agriculture indicates.

A 10-county area studied in South Carolina has shown meager improvements since the 1960 census, despite various housing programs enacted by Congress to improve the quality of housing. Some 50 per cent of the rural homes in the study area were substandard in 1966, compared to 57 per cent in 1960 and 60 per cent in 1950.

The report indicated that the least improvement in housing conditions occurred among Negroes, who occupy most of the substandard housing in the survey area.

"Although nonwhite families represented 45 per cent of the 1966 populations, they occupied 78 per cent of the substandard dwellings," the report said. "Ninety-four per cent of the homes tenanted by nonwhites and 70 per cent of the homes owned by them were substandard."

"In contrast 48 per cent of the homes rented by white families were substandard," the report said. "But only eight per cent of those occupied by owners (white) were in this condition."

Nationwide, housing conditions in rural areas are worse than housing conditions in urban areas.

"In 1960," the report said, "about half of the substandard housing units in the United States were in rural areas even though less than 28 per cent of the occupied housing was rurally located."

Substandard homes in rural areas typically lack adequate plumbing, according to this report. "This deficiency implies a chronic threat to community to health."

"It would take about $78 million (based on 1966 costs) to correct the housing conditions in the 10-county study area alone," the report concluded. This would provide satisfactory homes for about 30,000 low-income families.

Research on the area in South Carolina, which turned up many conditions typical of rural housing nationwide, was a joint effort by Clemson University, Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State University, and the USDA's Economic Research Service.

School Support

The South made the least effort of any region to support public schools during 1967-68, reports the National Committee for Support of the Public Schools.

The NCSPS Fact Sheet also shows that the South is making less of an effort to support public education now than it did 10 years ago. Among the 11 Southern states, only Virginia has improved its national ranking. It moved from 41st in 1957-58 to 30th place in 1967-68.

The South continues to be the lowest region in ability to finance public schools. The region's average estimated current expenditure per pupil, $477, is far below the national average of $634.

"The willingness of a state to provide educational services can be measured by the amount of local and state revenues for public schools as a percentage of total personal income," the national committee suggests. Using this measure, it ranks states according to effort for education.

Except for Louisiana, all Southern states fall below the national average in effort. Nationally, state and local spending for public schools is 4.6 per cent of per-capita personal income. Georgia, North Carolina and Mississippi tied for 38th place in effort. They allocate the equivalent of 4.2 per cent of their personal income for public education.

Alabama is one of the eight states in the nation allocating less than 4 per cent. It is 48th in its ability to finance schooling and 43rd in effort. Per-pupil expenditure is $376.

Ranked seventh in effort, Louisiana leads the South by allocating 5.5 per cent of its personal income for education. South Carolina is ranked 19th in effort, Florida 30th, Arkansas and Texas 34th, and Tennessee 42nd.

The National Committee for Support of the Public Schools, in its seventh year, has 1,600 citizen leaders in education in all 50 states and the District of Columbia. Its main concern is adequate financial support for a quality education. The NCSPS office is Suite 102, 1424 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C.

NEW SOUTH, a quarterly review of Southern affairs, is published by the Southern Regional Council in February, May, August and November. Subscription: $3.00 per year. Single copies: $1.00, less in quantity or for reprints of articles.

Some Articles

A sampling of recent magazine articles relevant to the South and its problems:

CITIES

"The Role of the Business Economist in Urban Problem Solving," by Walter A. Coupre in Business Economics, May 1969, pp. 21-3.

"Tax Exempt Property: Another Crushing Burden for the Cities" by Harold B. Myers in Fortune May 1, 1969, pp. 76-9.

"The Urban Coalition, a Progress Report," by T. Keith Glennan in The Conference Board Record, May 1969, pp. 37-40.

EDUCATION

"Irony in the South: Black Schools Suffer More than White Ones in Federal Fund Cutoff," by Neil Maxwell in The Wall Street Journal, April 25, 1969, p. 1.

EMPLOYMENT

"Mr. Charlie's Town: Powerful C. A. Cannon Rules Kannapolis, N.C., But He Faces Challenge," by Neil Maxwell in The Wall Street Journal, April 29, 1969, p. 1.

"Outreach: Skills for Minority Youths," by Robert M. McGlotten and Doris Gibson Hardesty in the American Federationist, April 1969, pp. 13-18.

HOUSING

"An Assembly-line Answer to the Housing Crisis," by Walter McQuade in Fortune, May 1, 1969, pp. 99-103.

INCOME—GUARANTEED

"Guaranteed Annual Income. A Placebo or a Cure?" by Ben W. Heineman in The Conference Board Record, May 1969, pp. 26-36.

"The Economic Impact of Income Maintenance," by Gilbert W. Fitzhugh in The Conference Board Record, May 1969, pp. 26-36.

"Guaranteed Income Instead of Creaking Welfare System," by L. P. Hardwick in Finance, May 1969, pp. 42-4.

INCOME TAX

"Lightening the Tax on Low Incomes: Administration's Proposed Allowance for the Poor," in Business Week, May 17, 1969, pp. 156.

NEGROES

"He Makes the Ghetto Make Money: Black Entrepreneur James Hurt is the Driving Force Behind New Negro Owned Business in St. Louis," in Business Week, May 10, 1969, pp. 154-5.

POVERTY

"Accessories after Facts: the Poor People's Campaign Did Accomplish Something Significant," by Eric Blanchard in Christianity & Crisis, Jan. 6, 1969, pp. 332-5.

"Ethnic Power: Nationality Groups Aim to Vie With Negroes for Government Aid; They Say Display of Concern for Poor Whites Would Lessen Racial Antagonism," by Monroe W. Karmen in the Wall Street Journal, April 24, 1969, p. 1.

"Maximum Feasible Moynihan." Economist, Feb. 1, 1969, pp. 33-4.

WELFARE

"The Revolt of the Welfare Poor: Will the Result be Increased Oppression or Meaningful Change?" by Paul Younger in Christianity & Crisis, Jan. 6, 1969, pp. 329-32.

SOUTH

A Digest of Southern Affairs

SOUTH TODAY is published by the Leadership Project of the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta Ga., 30303. The Southern Regional Council, founded in 1944, is a research and information agency devoted to the attainment of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South. President: John H. Wheeler, Durham, N.C. Chairman, Executive Committee: Raymond M. Wheeler, Charlotte, N.C. Vice Presidents: Josephine Wilkins, Athens, Ga.; Paul R. Christopher, Knoxville, Tenn.; Charles G. Gomillion, Tuskegee, Ala.; Lucius H. Pitts, Birmingham, Ala. Executive Director: Paul Anthony.

Reese Cleghorn, Editor **Katherine S. Griffith, Assistant Editor**

Some of the articles used in SOUTH TODAY have been edited for length. We welcome clippings which may be of use. They should indicate the date and the publication from which they came.

About South Today

"Congratulations," wrote a Tifton, Ga., lawyer after he received the first issue of SOUTH TODAY. Then, referring to segregationist Roy Harris' weekly newspaper, he added: "You've got a fine Augusta Courier in reverse!"

"The paper is full of lies and propaganda," wrote somebody in Spartanburg, S. C., who didn't give his name.

A Charleston lawyer found our coupon's "is hogwash" too mild a comment to check and inked in: "Stinks."

Favorable opinions of SOUTH TODAY were not so colorful or entertaining. But we received more good replies than bad ones. Ten to one.

"God knows we need as much writing and information as we can get of this kind." That was the way many of them went. And: "I find the information very useful in dealing with local problems."

Readers liked the kinds of articles we are reprinting.

Francis Hayes of Hampton, Va., wrote: "My opinion is that this presents most useful information. While much that I know, still it amplifies and gives new insights into situations about which I know very little."

Another Virginian wrote: "Even though I have been aware of most of that presented, the awareness has been pretty superficial and the paper is helpful in clarifying the issues in a concise and apparently responsible way."

A large number of our favorable replies came from clergymen, though we also had good comments from many businessmen, lawyers, newspapermen, and professors.

One Florida clergyman suggested: "A tremendous number of concerned people are now shell-shocked, disillusioned and exhausted, can't think of anything else to do, and what they have done seems to have produced such meager results. That needs to be tackled in print, if at all possible, so people will want to give themselves to try again—and not opt out."

Other subjects for future issues were suggested: the negative income tax, evaluation of urban renewal programs in the South, organizing the poor for collective action, employment practices, legal services for the poor and for agricultural workers, community development corporations, results of leadership training programs, and school desegregations problems.

"You shouldn't lack for subject matter," wrote Burton B. Fagan in Arlington, Va., "Sock it to 'em."

We hope that you will continue to send us your suggestions and comments.

We have a circulation of about 10,000. Approximately half of these names are receiving Southern Regional Council publications for the first time. Your suggestions of additional names for our mailing list will be welcomed. We began with a carefully compiled list of leaders: civic, religious, business, union and professional leaders, black and white, grassroots and middle class. We shall appreciate receiving the names of other people who are in some way leaders in their communities and who would be receptive to information about basic issues and problems facing the South.

On page eight there is a coupon similar to the one in last month's issue. Clip it out, along with your own name and address beside it. If we have not yet had your evaluation, please let us have it. — *Kitty Griffith.*

The Law School at the University of Mississippi

Ole Miss Law: Another Dean, Another Way

By KEN VINSON
In Mississippi Freelance

SEVEN years ago Dean Bob Farley of the University of Mississippi Law School claimed the law was on James Meredith's side. Gov. Ross Barnett added Farley's name to his black list, and Dean Farley, once president of the Mississippi State Bar, moved on to more compatible Florida.

In July Ole Miss' current law dean, Joshua M. Morse III—the Poplarville lawyer who succeeded Dean Farley and put liberal Yankee Yale graduates on the law faculty, civil rights in the curriculum, black students on Ford Foundation scholarships and bile in the craw of State College Board Tories—became dean at Florida State. Morse will make considerably more money, and will escape the slings and arrows of outraged Mississippi segregationists.

Seventy-year-old M. M. Roberts, successful Hattiesburg lawyer and State College Board president, worked hard to put his young friend Josh Morse at the head of the Ole Miss law school. Trustee Roberts—a Ross Barnett appointee and Ole Miss law school alumnus who thinks much of constitutional law is a pinkish plot—had good cause to think that Mississippian Morse was a safe and sound replacement for the heretic Farley.

Morse's ancestors came to Mississippi early and populated the state with Establishment preachers and lawyers. Dean Morse's father once shared Poplarville law offices with the The Man Bilbo.

Morse himself lawyered for 15 years in South Mississippi courts without exhibiting tendencies subversive to the Mississippi way. He held high office in the state bar. And as a freshman law professor at Ole Miss when Gov. Barnett battled the Kennedys, Morse did not join Dean Farley and other university faculty in public protest.

But as law dean, Morse shook things up. First he strayed North and enrolled in the Yale Law School. He did a year's graduate work in "law, science, and policy," charmed Ivy League Yankees with Southernbred stories and irreverent Old Testament quotes, soaked up Yale's social gospel and picked up five Yalies for the Ole Miss Law faculty.

In 1965 the Ford Foundation pumped half a million dollars into Morse's law school. The dean told Ford: "This law school can be tremendously influential on the political thought and action of the state of Mississippi. . . . Many of the problems which plague the University of Mississippi and our state stem from a provincial outlook. Our students are accustomed to examining every question in light of its impact on Mississippi culture rather than taking a broader view."

With Ford funds Morse hired more Yalie instructors. The Morse mood created a new willingness to listen to outside opinions. Law students and faculty put Bobby Kennedy in the Ole Miss coliseum with 4,500 eager-to-listen students. Aaron Henry, Charles Evers and Fannie Lou Hamer spoke at the law school.

Thirty law professors from Harvard, Yale, Columbia and NYU spent two weeks each summer on the Ole Miss campus lecturing on constitutional law and the like. The students responded; new courses on political and civil rights, legal services for the indigent, student rights, social legislation and international law had plenty of takers.

Yale's Law Dean Louis H. Pollak, one of the visiting faculty members, said that the Ole Miss law school "is at the threshold of becoming a focus for the kind of thinking that can bring Mississippi into the 20th century." Time magazine praised the New South's law school.

Federal and private grants came to the law school to establish public defender and legal-services (Office of Economic Opportunity) programs. And for the past three years proportionately more blacks attended the Ole Miss law school than any non-Negro law school in the U.S.; two black graduates are now running for city offices in Jackson. Ebony featured the law school—with pictures yet—and M. M. Roberts wrote his fellow trustees on the college board, saying "I'm embarrassed by my law school."

Last spring the volcano that had been steaming under Morse's Yale-at-Oxford erupted. The North Mississippi OEO Legal Services Program, funded through and operated by the law school, filed a school desegregation suit in Holly Springs (which the U.S. Fifth Circuit recently decided in favor of the indigent black plaintiffs). The state bar association, the college board, the legislature, shocked at this betrayal from within, turned on the law school.

For some time legislators had been griping about ". . . socialistic, if not Communistic, doctrines at the law school;" they welcomed an excuse for blasting Morsism.

The (college) board was irritated when a law professor represented the American Association of University Professors and got Federal District Judge Claude Clayton to declare unconstitutional a state law demanding that teachers sign organizational membership affidavits. After this the college board, tired of losing in court, told the faculty that hereafter all moonlighting must be okayed by the chancellor in writing.

The state bar, even before last summer, tried to kill the law school's legal-services program. Bar commissioners passed some rules saying in effect that unless OEO legal-service programs are controlled by local lawyers, then lawyers working with legal services may be penalized.

When bar members met last June in Biloxi, they were fighting mad at the law school's legal-services program for filing the school desegregation suit. At the annual Ole Miss alumni luncheon, at which the dean traditionally speaks, Morse was told to keep his mouth closed.

Then came last summer's big crackdown on the law school. The bar and legislature leaned on the college board, which pressured Ole Miss Chancellor Porter Fortune, who in turn forced legal services out of the school. Fortune told law teachers that they would be paid only if they refrained from working in the OEO program.

Law professors Luther McDougal, Mike Trister and George Strickler ignored the chancellor's warning and were taken off the payroll on June 30.

Other dissenting law teachers were denied the general raise given in September to the rest of the University faculty. Out-of-state faculty recruiting has been curtailed; several of the current faculty are leaving. Yalie Trister, who stayed in Oxford to direct the legal-services program after it was refunded through Mary Holmes College, told Time: "The great experiment at the law school is almost dead."

. . . The American Association of Law Schools, together with the AAUP, has begun a formal investigation of complaints by Ole Miss law professors of political interference. If these organizations find violations of academic freedom, censure and loss of accreditation could result.

An important witness for the AALS-AAUP investigating committee will be State Sen. William E. Corr of Sardis. Corr testified in the Jackson Daily News that "the legislature would intervene into the administration of the Ole Miss law school only as a means of last resort." In April of last year Senator Corr presided over a closed hearing of the Senate Universities and Colleges Committee at which Dean Morse was put on the grill.

Corr was concerned about Ole Miss teachers' "informing citizens . . . of their civil rights and their constitutional rights." The transcript of the hearing reveals how much Sen. Corr wanted the law school out of legal services: "If we do (lose accreditation), let's lose it and then get it back as soon as possible." And then: "I hope no press releases are made on this or no statements made to the press."

When Dean Morse warned the Senate committee about the possible effects of

Morse

Fortune

political interference, Corr assured that "if this committee reports anything out, I don't think it will address itself directly to that (legal service) . . . there are many other ways in which we could remove you from that without ever mentioning the legal services organization. One would be to move the law school to Jackson."

Chancellor Fortune promised to help the Senate committee keep its hearing a secret. And a few weeks later Fortune, denying in federal court that pressure from the legislature or college board or bar affected his decision, cut off the law school's legal services program and its faculty participants. Most of the university community seemed to support the chancellor, reasoning that the university's appropriation from the legislature would suffer if the law school were not curbed.

Even Rebel football coaches are reportedly concerned: Parents may object to sending their athletic sons to a college that harbors such a law school.

A new law dean will soon be selected for Ole Miss. Mississippi preservers of the Old South, after striking out with Farley and Morse, will no doubt scrutinize candidates for Morse's job more closely than Birchers looking for a successor to Earl Warren. ST

The Antidote Is Bunkley . . .

After Mississippi Freelance's first article on the law school was published, a new dean was chosen. The newspaper reported:

"THE old guard got what it wanted," one Ole Miss law professor said, "an antidote to Josh Morse."

Bunkley

That antidote is J. William Bunkley, who replaced the controversial Morse as dean of the Ole Miss law school. Morse has resigned to become dean at Florida State.

Bunkley, a '46 graduate of the law school and a teacher there ever since, was nominated by Chancellor Porter Fortune and unanimously approved by the board of trustees.

Fortune's nomination of Bunkley, an undistinguished don't-rock-the-boat type, was an ill-concealed slap at the wishes of the law faculty, which had earlier ranked Bunkley fifth among five UM candidates in an advisory poll taken by Fortune. Bunkley drew five "acceptables" (including his own), 11 "unacceptables" and three abstentions.

In addition to pacifying the legislature and the board, both of which had fought Morse's attempts to pull the school out of its traditional provincialism, Bunkley's nomination elated the athletic department. Rebel coaches, concerned that the law school's reputation as an enclave of liberalism was costing them recruits, had campaigned for their man at alumni gatherings across the state.

There is, however, a slim chance the case is not over; the AAUP and at least two academic accrediting agencies had expressed interest in the deanship appointment, and Fortune's blatant disregard of the faculty's recommendations should further whet that interest. ST

Business:

Is It Now Moving In?

By ALAN OTTEN
In The Wall Street Journal

"IT is certainly among the most significant domestic developments of the last few years, right up there with Negro militancy and campus protests."

Thus does a top Nixon adviser describe the spreading social awareness of the American business community and its increasing involvement in "do-good" social schemes.

The press daily documents the trend. Major firms comb the slums for school dropouts and hard-core unemployed to hire and train. Companies undertake to restore and rebuild slum areas near their plants. Firms push hard to raise Negroes into their executive ranks. Young businessmen spend their evenings helping train new Negro entrepreneurs. Banks ease loan standards for new firms in depressed areas. Companies voluntarily install new air or water purification devices, contribute to local beautification programs.

"The change is truly dramatic," says Daniel P. Moynihan, President Nixon's assistant on urban affairs, drawing the contrast with his days in the Kennedy administration. He cites an example of business awareness: "Obviously, one of our worries is what happens to the recently hired hard-core unemployed if the economy should slow down a little. Well, when you meet with a group of businessmen, they're likely to bring up something like that before you do—they've already been thinking of ways to cushion the impact on these people."

Obviously there are many motives for this deepening desire to "do good." As has been pointed out repeatedly by government and non-government commentators, substantial profits may result when building materials firms try new housing techniques, rail equipment makers help with mass transit, book publishers and laboratory suppliers get involved in education experiments, banks and utilities help set up businesses in depressed areas. Firms operating Job Corps centers learn training techniques that can be adapted for private clients. Companies in job-training projects truly need the new workers.

Moreover, it's good public relations and good customer relations to be identified with these do-good efforts. Negro consumers can't help but feel more kindly disposed toward firms that are known to be hiring Negroes or otherwise helping the Negro community. Increasing black militancy, in fact, threatens boycotts against food chains, department stores and even manufacturers that haven't done enough. And Negro unrest can ultimately explode in rioting that burns down stores and factories.

"Businessmen used to think the poor were a problem for social workers and foundations and maybe even government," says a Cabinet member. "Today, many have come to see that unless they do something about urban decay, there may be no future for their businesses."

Selfishness, however, is by no means the whole story. More and more businessmen have come to believe, out of fairness and justice and common sense, in the need to provide jobs and decent housing for the urban poor, to make cities pleasanter places to live in, to keep our air and water clean, to make it easier to move around. Filth and riots and sit-ins may have been needed to make them see their responsibility, but see it they have.

As usual, the heads of the largest corporations have tended to take the lead—the major manufacturers, the big banks, the large utilities and retailers. They are run by a new breed—not owners but trained managers, often with past government service.

Increasingly, the road to recognition as a business statesman lies through deep involvement in social projects and pioneering solutions to social problems. "It's great to have Don Kendall heading up the National Alliance of Businessmen," a presidential aide notes. "When he calls to ask a company to lend one of its executives or to do a little more hiring among hard-core unemployed, the guy on the other end knows he's hearing from a close personal friend of the President, and he begins to see a White House dinner party in the wings for himself and his wife."

This already-deepening involvement of businessmen in social schemes underlines substantial questions about the need for tax-incentives to encourage them to do still more.

There has always been the basic issue of whether the tax system should be used this way, or whether, if the ends are good, more direct federal help shouldn't be granted. There have always been far-reaching doubts about some of the underlying assumptions of the tax incentive proposals; do we really want, for example, to encourage firms to put plants in the slums? After all, bitter zoning fights have raged for decades to prevent factories from coming into the central cities.

And now the question arises whether tax incentives can do that much more good—or whether they will not merely provide an added and unnecessary bonus for business efforts already under way. Tax incentive advocates argue it can still help a lot—that even socially minded executives must justify their action on a profit-and-loss basis to their stockholders, or that extra tax write-offs will help tip the decision for a businessman trying to make up his mind.

Despite their chief's campaign pledge last fall to apply the tax-incentive approach very widely, some Nixon men fear that, in order to tip the scale this way, the tax benefits would have to be so hefty as to make the cost to the government astronomical. Some think, for example, that four-year or five-year tax write-offs—in other words, depreciation at a fat 25 per cent or 20 per cent annual rate— would have to be allowed on new plants and equipment in slum areas before firms would undertake the high costs and high risks.

With so many businessmen already devoted to helping meet social problems, the administration might want to think extra long before adding expensive tax credits to the incentives that quite clearly exist.

(Reprinted from The Wall Street Journal, March 18, 1969.)

Black Executive:

He Makes His Own Way

By JACK NELSON
In The Los Angeles Times

WHY would a Negro Army colonel who long felt insulated from racial prejudice give up a brilliant military career and return to his native North Carolina to become a personnel executive of a company dominated by whites?

"I began thinking about the problems of other Negroes and the unequal opportunities outside the military," says Marshall Bass, "and I began wondering why I was just enjoying the insulation and doing nothing. For 24 years I never really felt that a decision was made for or against me because I was black—and honest to God, it's a good feeling."

One of Bass' main worries when he sought civilian employment was that a large company might try to exploit him, as some firms have other Negroes, and hire him as "window dressing" or as what often is called "the house nigger."

On the contrary, he found a firm that put him in charge of eliminating employment discrimination, supervising whites as well as Negroes. And, as a company spokesman said, "Let's face it, we've got some redneck employees."

Take it from Bass, it takes a firm commitment and follow-through action by top management to end discrimination in employment practices. He saw it work in the Army, then retired to March of 1968 to help make it work in the largest company in Winston-Salem—R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co.

As manager of personnel development for the firm, Bass oversees all promotion and training for about 12,000 employees, including top-level management.

Today Reynolds has one of the best records of equal employment opportunities in the nation. And that is because the firm is overcoming what a civil rights official in the Justice Department recently said was one of the main problems in discrimination by large firms—failure of top management to communicate its antibias commitment to middle and lower management levels and see that it is carried out.

Not many years ago Reynolds had only a few Negro white-collar workers. Today it has 302—an increase from 238 a year ago. Of all vacancies on salaried payrolls—clerical, technicians, professionals and executives—filled in 1968, 17.5 per cent were filled by minorities. And promotions of minorities in blue collar ranks during 1968 was 29 per cent.

"We're maintaining the same ratio in 1969 and we don't believe another major company in the United States is coming close to that, says a Reynolds spokesman. "We are forcing the issue, purely and simply, and don't mind saying so. Our policy is not so unique, it's just that we're seeing that it's implemented. Most companies stop after adopting the policy and leave it up to middle management to carry out."

"We recently selected 10 men, including four Negroes, from factory jobs and trained them to be biochemical lab technicians in the research department," reports a company official. "All are now doing excellent work in that department and frankly we had just not been able to hire this kind of employee on the outside in the quantity we needed.

"Also, our shipping docks used to be all-black but we adopted a policy of hiring everybody at the same level and the docks are fully integrated now and have some Negro foremen over whites. We honestly believe we have improved the efficiency of our shipping operation."

He said company officials at first feared there would be a white employee backlash to firm antibias policies but it turned out to be a minor problem. "One thing that negated the backlash," he said, "was that most of the rednecks tend to be older employees and we found that some of them had been passed over by promotions for one reason or another and many of them have benefitted from the training programs, too."

The spokesman said Bass has had "a tremendous impact" on the company. In addition to directing antibias personnel activities, he has brought in top Negro leaders, educators and executives to discuss discrimination problems with Reynolds' officials.

Since Bass joined the firm, it has retained a black advertising agency and has hired a Negro, D. Parke Gibson, author of "The $30 Billion Dollar a Year Negro," as a marketing consultant.

"We're moving toward what's not only morally right, but what's economically sound," says Bass.

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Banker:

One in Atlanta Goes to the Slums

From Business Week

MILLS B. Lane, Jr., president of the Citizens & Southern National Bank, Georgia's largest, is a local legend. Not only are his ties inscribed "It's a wonderful world," he also booms this message as a greeting to visitors and phone-callers. He once tethered sheep in the banking room of his main downtown branch to stimulate interest in sheep-grazing. His casual dress, ebullient personality, relentless optimism, and attention-grabbing antics insured that when he decided to involve his bank in coping with social problems, the effort would come clearly stamped with his personal style.

Last May, Lane, other bank people, assorted business friends, and students donned work clothes and moved into Vine City, a run-down Atlanta slum neighborhood, with rakes, shovels, and trucks. Before it was over, Lane's people had picked up and hauled away 300 truck loads of junked cars, beat-up washing machines, old beds, and other trash. Lane distributed garbage cans and new chain-link fencing to replace falling-down eyesores that had been torn down and taken away.

Meanwhile, similar activities were under way in six other Georgia cities—bringing to 12 the number of Georgia cities where Lane has sponsored a slum cleanup.

"Cleaning up slum neighborhoods is expected to become an annual event," says Lane, "But the most important part of our plan is what follows the clean-up."

What follows amounts to a modest-scale, private enterprise drive for slum renewal, backed up by Lane's personal commitment and the resources of his bank. It includes first-mortgage and second-mortgage loans to low-income families to buy or renovate their homes; loans to low-income entrepreneurs who want to start their own businesses; buying slum properties and converting them into housing and recreational facilities.

Lane's program got started last year with a pilot effort in Savannah, his home town. White and Negro college students led a slum cleanup drive and C&S established a Community Development Corp. to handle mortgage and business loans. Lane's bank funded the CDC with $1-million, plus a commitment for $10-million, shared in part with the Negro-owned Carver State Bank in Savannah.

In the past year, the CDC has financed 24 businesses, the purchase of 45 homes, and the renovation of 800 more, for a total investment of $1,750,000 in Savannah's slums. This year its capital is being enlarged to more than $3-million. Lane says the $10-million "will not be a ceiling. We will spend whatever is necessary to do the job."

Loans in the past year were all "high-risk." None have defaulted. "We have had to extend some of the payments for 30 days, but no one has missed a payment yet," says C&S director of Community Development Robert F. Clayton.

The CDC has also financed a grocery store bought by a Negro bread salesman from a white; a combination beauty and barber shop; a dry cleaning plant; a record and music store; and several restaurants. One of the restaurants, Jimmy Washington's Soul Foods, has done so well it is looking for space to expand.

Part of the success of the loan program so far lies in Lane's approach to the borrowers. "We teach a man how to run a business," he says. "We don't just lend him money and turn him loose."

As for home loans, the average loan runs about $9,000, with one as high as $12,200 and one as low as $1,200. None of the borrowers had ever owned a home before. "Many of these people were bankrupt at one time," says Clayton, "but they were paying more for rent than a house payment would have been, if they had been able to save enough for the down payment."

The CDC makes a second-mortgage loan to cover a down payment, then places a conventional loan through the bank for the rest of the cost. Re-payment schedules are stretched out to make the monthly payment one the family can handle.

This money, of course, counts as a deductible business expense, but figuring that the bank earned $24-million last year before taxes, the program will cost shareholders about two weeks of annual earnings.

As his Savannah Plan bore fruit, Lane started thinking early this year of expanding it. He made a color film of the Savannah program for showing to businessmen's groups in other Georgia cities and settled upon 12 cities where C&S has branches or affiliates to participate. This is Lane's "Georgia Plan"—and it includes smaller cities because he feels their problems are just scaled-down versions of big-city headaches.

Lane works as hard at his project as he once did collecting antique automobiles. Once "retired" from public speaking, he now makes frequent appearances to show his color film and talk about the Georgia Plan. He has shown the film to such groups as the Urban League, the Philadelphia National Bank, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Reserve City Bankers Assn., and Federal Reserve Board. He estimates some two-million people have seen the film. One goal is, frankly, to interest outside investors. "If the insurance industry wants to put $1-billion in the slums," asks Clayton, "why not buy a package of our low-income loans?"

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—Photo-Illustrate, Inc.

SYMBOLIC? It was black and white together when banker Lane and community organizations sponsored a cleanup in an Atlanta black ghetto.

Why:

A Corporate Leader States the Case

In Dateline

The following comments are excerpts from an article by Roger Lewis, president of General Dynamics Corp., in Dateline, a publication of the National Association of Manufacturers:

. . . The problems which face business and industry are complicated, and they are changing rapidly. Business and industry will be much more responsive to the crisis of change, and we will get much farther much faster, if we attack our social problems from a posture of enlightened individual initiative at the local level. For those of us who would like a more specific road map and would like to act in concert, there are three areas, national in scope, where urgent aggressive attention will be beneficial.

First, business has got to start acting as though it understands its capabilities and is prepared to assert leadership by making things move. . . .

Second, business must stand up and be counted a good example of community citizenship. There is no new land, new water, or new air on the face of the earth, and if this planet is to continue to be habitable and if we, the people, are to enjoy the pursuits of life, liberty and happiness, business and industry must at least see to it that our air, our water—yes—our towns and our cities are left no worse than we found them.

Third, it is absolutely necessary to get the underprivileged within the large minority groups of our population into the mainstream of American economic life without further delay. Negroes, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans and Indians have equality under law. However, large numbers in each group are denied equal economic opportunity.

What is needed is a nationwide approach to the central and controlling element of the problem—jobs. It is recognized that the cultural and educational levels of many of these people do not qualify them for jobs in business and industry.

The large number of these people will require a commitment from a large number of business leaders to attack these problems in their own businesses. It may not solve the problem, but it will set the solution in motion. It is a unique opportunity for business to demonstrate what it can do without the government and to evolve a working partnership between government and business wherein each does what it can do best in the solution of great national problems.

black votes

1965 Act Facing Test

A few weeks ago, rural and poor Greene County, Ala., witnessed a sight unlike any it had seen in its 153-year history. There was Sheriff William E. (Big Bill) Lee, white, posing for photographers with his arm draped across the shoulders of SCLC's Ralph D. Abernathy and taking a lesson in giving the "soul power salute" from Hosea Williams.

The occasion was the official counting of Greene County's votes (watched by federal observers) as control of the county passed from whites to Negroes.

When the Voting Rights Act of 1965 went into effect four years ago this month, only 452 Negroes were registered to vote in Greene County. That was less than 11 per cent of the black voting-age population of 5,001.

White names on the voting lists in Greene County, however, totaled 1,736—which was 87 more than the white voting-age population.

Then, on Aug. 6, 1965, President Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act. It was passed after a shocked nation saw Alabama white

A Special Report

By MARVIN WALL

men on horseback brutally attacking Negroes seeking the vote in Selma, and after Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., led a historic march from Selma-to-Montgomery.

In Greene County, black registration shot past white registration within a matter of months. By March of 1966, it totaled 3,781—nearly 2,000 of whom had registered with federal examiners sent in under the Voting Rights Act. In 1966, nevertheless, only one Negro was able to win election in Greene County: The Rev. Peter Kirksey, elected to the county school board.

But in a court-ordered special election just a few days ago, Negroes sought and won six posts—four on the county commission and two on the school board.

While Greene County cannot be called typical—it now is the only county in the South where Negroes control both the county governing board and school board—it illustrates the political rise of Negroes in the South under the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

In Alabama as a whole, only 23.6 per cent of the voting-age Negroes were registered before the act. This figure was more than doubled within seven months. By April of 1966, nearly half of the black adults in Alabama were registered. By the summer of 1968, the figure was 56.7 per cent.

In Mississippi, of course, the transformation has been even more dramatic Only 6.7 per cent of Mississippi's voting-age Negroes were registered to vote in August of 1965. By the summer of 1968, that figure had soared to 59.4 per cent.

In the six states wholly covered by the Voting Rights Act, registration has gone from 30.9 per cent of the black voting-age population to 57 per cent. Despite this gain, however, black registration still lags far behind white registration: 79.2 per cent of those of voting age.

Overall, black registration has nearly doubled in the six states covered—an increase of 740,000.

In 1965, just before the Voting Rights Act went into effect, the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council counted 72 black elected officials in the South. Now the total is nearly 500. In hamlets all over the South and in some of the major cities, Negroes are winning places in local government similar to those won by the black candidates in Greene County, thanks largely to the voting law. (Among them are Sheriff Lucius Amerson of Macon County, Ala., Mayor Charles Evers of Fayette, Miss., and Mayor Howard Lee of predominantly white Chapel Hill, N. C., shown on page 1.)

In short, the act has been highly successful legislation. Even some of its most vigorous foes—including Sen. Sam Ervin of North Carolina—agree to this. Some say it is one of the most successful civil rights bills of all time. Former Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark aptly called it "a bold experiment in democracy."

With such an impressive record and so much more remaining to be done toward giving Southern Negroes equal voting rights, it would stand to reason that the Voting Rights Act—or some legislation very much like it—should remain on the books until the political rights of Southern Negroes are clearly established. However, this is not the case. The future of the Voting Rights Act is by no means secure.

A bill to extend the Voting Rights Act for five more years was approved by the House Judiciary Committee on July 17 by what was described as an "overwhelming" voice vote. However, the extension still has to clear the House Rules Committee, and it faces an uncertain future on the House floor.

In the Senate, hearings on extension of the Act began in a subcommittee headed by Sen. Ervin on July 9. The outlook in the Senate Judiciary Committee is not so bright. Supporters of the extension measure figure that they can win in the Judiciary Committee by a slim one-vote margin.

But even if the bill to extend the Act clears the House and the Senate Judiciary Committee (whose chairman is Sen. James O. Eastland of Mississippi), it faces the growing likelihood of a filibuster in the Senate. Hence the urgency with less than a year left before the present Act runs out of getting early action in the House and moving an extension bill to the Senate floor.

Meanwhile, the present act's future has been clouded considerably by a series of proposals from the Nixon administration. These proposals were presented to a House subcommittee on June 26 by Atty. Gen. John N. Mitchell. Instead of simply extending the present act, the administration would:

1. Make the act's ban on literacy tests national at least until Jan. 1, 1974.
2. Eliminate residency requirements for voting in presidential elections.
3. Extend to every state the attorney general's authority to assign federal examiners and election observers to a locality.
4. Give the attorney general national power to review state election-law changes and file suits against discriminatory laws.
5. Create a presidential advisory committee to study voting discrimination and "other corrupt practices."

Atty. Gen. Mitchell reasons that the right to vote is "no longer a regional issue" and now is "a national concern." He explained to the House committee that he could not support a simple five-year extension of the Voting Rights Act because it amounts to "regional legislation."

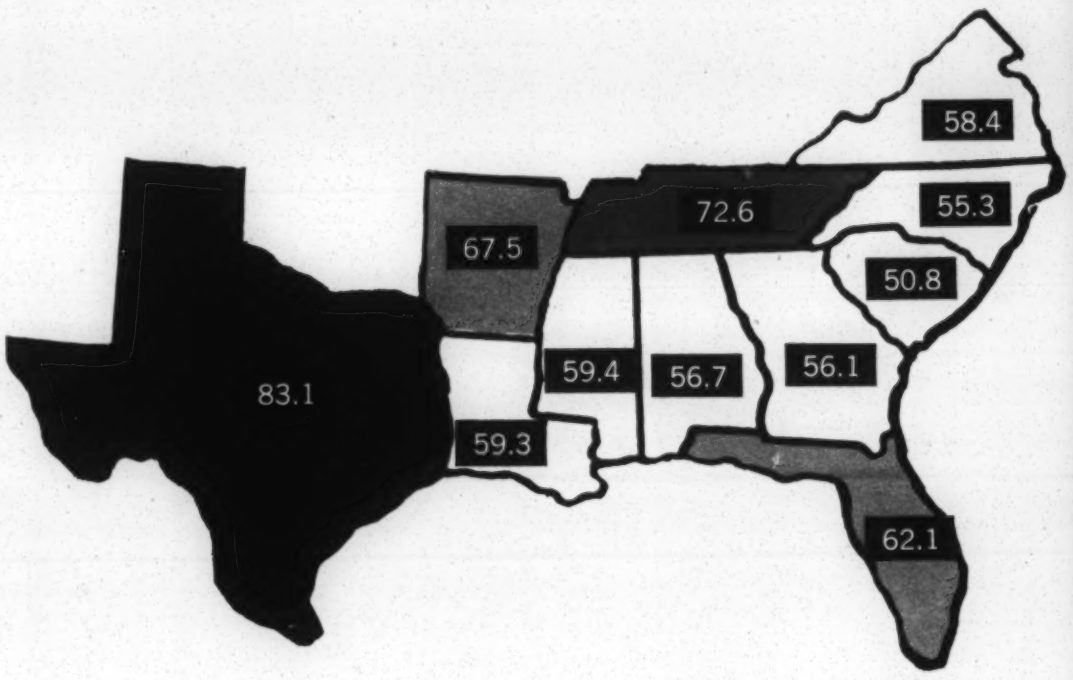
Supporters of a five-year extension immediately charged that the administration was fogging the issue. Several acknowledged that the administration legislation might have some desirable features, but quickly added that these should be considered apart from an extension of the 1965 Act. Congressman McCulloch said the administration bill "jeopardizes the chances of passage of voting rights legislation."

Southern senators did not rally around the Nixon proposals, but they at least dispensed some left-handed praise. Sen. Ervin called the administration bill "only a little less objectionable." Sen. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina commented: "If we have to have some voting rights bill, I would hope it would be the administration's."

That the administration had been undecided in its approach was signaled when Atty. Gen. Mitchell within six weeks postponed five scheduled appearances before the House subcommittee before he finally testified. This, along with the administra-

To page 7

Southern Voter Registration in the 1960s



PER CENT ELIGIBLE BLACK PEOPLE REGISTERED, 1968: 50-60% 60-70% 70-80% 80-90%

Map by Marge Manderson

The Changing Electorate in the South

		1960	1968
ALABAMA	Negro	66,009	273,000
	White	860,073	1,117,000
ARKANSAS	Negro	72,604	130,000
	White	517,897	640,000
FLORIDA	Negro	183,197	292,000
	White	1,819,342	2,195,000
GEORGIA	Negro	180,000	344,000
	White	1,020,000	1,524,000
LOUISIANA	Negro	159,033	305,000
	White	993,118	1,133,000
MISSISSIPPI	Negro	22,000	251,000
	White	478,000	691,000
NORTH CAROLINA	Negro	210,450	305,000
	White	1,861,430	1,579,000
SOUTH CAROLINA	Negro	58,122	189,000
	White	480,973	587,000
TENNESSEE	Negro	185,000	228,000
	White	1,300,000	1,448,000
TEXAS	Negro	226,818	540,000
	White	2,078,500	3,532,000
VIRGINIA	Negro	100,100	255,000
	White	866,794	1,256,000
TOTAL	Negro	1,463,333	3,112,000
	White	12,276,127	15,702,000

Figures compiled by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council

'Telling It Like It Was'

Many risks and much idealism went into the work that produced the Voting Rights Act and the registration that followed it. (Thirteen men and women were killed in the voting struggle.) Some of the voices from the field now come ringing back, reminding us of what it was all about:

"We feel that we are engaged in a psychological battle for the minds of the enslaved. Our criterion for success is not how many people we register, but how many people we can get to begin initiating decisions solely on the basis of their personal opinion."

—Charles Sherrod, from Southwest Georgia, 1962

"It is literally understood that anyone who works for a white man in Terrell County (Ga.) and registers to vote can expect to lose his job."

—Jack Chatfield, from Southwest Georgia, 1963

"The shooting and arrests and other harassments weren't enough to stop the people because they had lost enough fear to continue their efforts. Then came the firings and economic reprisals. This was the breaking point in Ruleville. We had to turn our efforts from voter registration to relocating families and finding funds to sustain people . . . ."

—A report from Ruleville, Miss., 1962

"Negroes who couldn't read and write stood in line to tell the registrar they still wanted to vote, that they didn't have the chance to go to school when they were small and anyway Mr. John Jones can't read and write either and *he votes* . . . . We were relieved at the absence of immediate violence at the courthouse, but who knows what's to come next . . . ."

—Robert Moses, from Greenwood, Miss., 1963

"Some of them had walked from as far as 20 miles to get here. . . . I asked the people if they would like to vote. Some didn't know what voting was."

—Ida Holland, from Greenwood, Miss., 1963

"Complaints on discrimination in applying the Louisiana voter registration laws and in defiance of the voting section of the new civil rights law are filed daily with the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Justice Department. No action of a strong affirmative nature is ever taken. However, we shall push on, and on, and on."

—A report from Louisiana, 1964.

(Quotations from CLIMBING JACOB'S LADDER, by Pat Watters and Reese Cleghorn. Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1967.)

Black Votes . . .

tion's broad substitute provisions, caused Rep. William F. Ryan to charge June 27 on the House floor that the attorney general was guilty of "delaying tactics" — charges which Mr. Mitchell denied in a second appearance before the House subcommittee July 1.

In any event, the element of time is important. The threat of a Senate filibuster means that steps along the legislative path must come as early as possible if Congress is to reach a decision before the act expires next August.

What would happen if the Voting Rights Act is not extended? Nothing can be predicted with certainty, but Southerners experienced in observing the region's politics can say what likely would happen.

A recent Supreme Court decision apparently would bar any Southern state from again imposing literacy tests within the immediate future, since all of these states have had, and continue to have, separate and unequal schools.

However, states and counties covered by the Act conceivably could take the steps to order complete re-registration. This would wipe all registration off the books, black and white, old registration and new.

Without the possibility of federal protection through the assignment of federal examiners to assist Negroes with registration, blacks would be at an immediate disadvantage.

For one thing, many Southern Negroes retain deep (and, often, justified) fears of going to the courthouse to register. The courthouse is where the sheriff holds sway. The courthouse also houses the courts, the tax officials, the welfare officials (virtually all of whom are white) and others who can fill a black man with dread whenever he comes to the courthouse for any reason.

Black people much prefer the convenience of registering with federal examiners. Another trip to the white-controlled courthouse is one that many blacks simply would not make. Thousands of names put on the voting lists at great risk, as well as thousands of others added under the Voting Rights Act, would be erased from the registration rolls, perhaps forever.

Contrary to the opinion evidently held by many, federal examiners have been sent to a relatively small number of counties in the states covered. Of 556 Southern counties covered by the Voting Rights Act, only 64 have been designated by the Justice Department for federal examiners.

However, the existence of the Act undoubtedly has had its effect on registrars in many of the other 492 counties. The possibility—real or imagined—that federal examiners would be assigned no doubt has influenced some of these registrars to be more careful than they would have been otherwise. If the Act expires, this influence will be lost.

Registrars then would be able to go back to "the old way" of doing things. They could go back to holding irregular and inconvenient office hours, of closing their offices without notice, and of using slow-down tactics when large numbers of Negroes come in to register. (Indeed, some of this still occurs in the South today anyway.)

All of this, coupled with the old tactics of physical and economic threats, likely would return Southern Negroes to their former position outside the political process in the South. Remedies for Negroes would return to the old, tedious, expensive and frustrating case-by-case method.

Moreover, states and localities covered by the act no longer would feel the restraining federal hand if they desired to adopt laws and election procedures designed to disfranchise Negroes. Faced with this, and the loss of a black registration base with which to enter a campaign, many of the nearly 500 black elected officials in the South would be consigned to a brief tenure.

Congressional Quarterly says the debate over the Voting Rights Act shapes up as the major congressional battle over civil rights legislation for this year. But the issue is even more drama-laden than that. Nothing less than the political future—and with it, much of the social and economic future—of Southern Negroes is at stake. ST

Consciousness . . .

From page 1

dissension and greater hostility from other student radicals.)

This kind of "Southern consciousness" is narrow and ideological, limited by a class-warfare view of the world. But there is more to SSOC's perception of the South. It sees that the South has a heritage of personalism within a folk culture (black and white), placing high value on man-to-man relations on the very personal level. And it sees that the growth of cities and industrialism threaten this heritage, much of which had its origins in Southerners' closeness to the land and the frontier.

This sudden transmutation of a very small band of Southern student radicals may not be, in itself, of much importance. But the SSOC change is, I think, an interesting evidence of a new awareness that the South has something unique to give the nation, but that this something is threatened by the impersonal forces of industrialization, machines, and urbanization.

In recent years the South's noisiest "defenders" have not been working to defend this humanistic, religious, and history-conscious uniqueness, but to defend the region's old wrongs. These defenders of the worst in us now are being slowly overcome or outlived. As the democratic ideals embodied in the Constitution have been extended daily in a region which often has resisted them, there has been a frenzy and a paranoia. But as the Constitution prevails (a development still, it seems, some distance in the future), and as the frenzy dies, it may be possible for the South to stop fighting changes that are good and start fighting changes that are not, to rediscover and nurture its special virtues rather than compulsively defend its anti-human, anti-democratic aberrations.

Let us hope there will be no further berating of "Yankees" and "scalawags." But there should be more attention to what will happen to the region's character and its worthy differences if it continues to come under the sway of industrial and business conglomerates; in fact, under the sway of bigness of all kinds that subdue what is highly personal, human, ornery, and individual, that suppress a Bible-related sense of good and evil in order to gain more efficiency and productivity, and that further remove man from nature and the land.

Suppose the South does have a distinctive culture and that its leading elements are a special awareness of evil (which often makes it violent in its guiltiness); of history (which it has always been up against); of language (which it has exalted through a great literature, great story-telling, and the election of great demagogues); of personalism (which it nurtures with little courtesies and large generosities); and of the land (which forces upon men a greater respect for time and a sense of the natural order of things). These qualities are threatened by a highly-organized sosiety whose values are shaped by machinery and the cult of productivity.

The South can go on, slipping further into this vortex, or through a greater sense of its own identity, it can attempt to preserve its uniqueness. "Southern consciousness" cannot turn back urbanization and industrialization, and no one should wish for that, since we have benefited from both. But perhaps this consciousness will survive the abuses of the region's political aberrations of the past century, abuses which often have made more thoughtful people wish to be done with "Southerness," and will emerge as something positive: a useful bulwark against the depersonalizing forces of our time. Then, maybe, you can call it "soul."

There also are "Southern consciousness" stirrings in academe. Southern universities lately have been, at best, emulators of Eastern universities. They have adopted the standards and the emphases established elsewhere (which usually have been, in fact, superior). This too, has been a form of colonization, probably with more good results than bad so far. But are Southern universities to have no uniqueness, no special role to play in relation to the worthier parts of Southerners' peculiar heritage?

Dr. Ted R. Spivey, professor of English at Georgia State College, thinks they can have. "Now, if ever, is the time for the South to step out on its own in the renewal of its educational system," he has written in a paper entitled "The Humanities in the Contemporary South," published by Georgia State. He sees "a creative upswing in the South," especially in its literature, and believes there is "not only new creativity in the arts in the South but a growing demand for humanistic education. . . ." It is time, he says, for the South to rid itself of its inferiority complex concerning education and to cease merely imitating other parts of the country.

"One important demand in the South, as elsewhere, is for a renewed emphasis on the humanities," he writes. ". . . In fact, many people in all walks of life are coming to see that in a society in which more time than ever is devoted to dealing with mechanical and other non-human aspects of life, the humanities are necessary to remind us constantly of our human condition. . . . The South traditionally has borrowed educational ideas from the North and from Europe and has not yet developed its own genius in the field of education." But, he believes, it is now prepared to develop that genius—in the humanities.

What does it have to bring to the humanities? "There is still something in many Southerners of the old childlike innocence of Huck Finn," Spivey writes, "and this innocence gives them the courage to talk of the soul and the spirit, of compassion and sacrifice. . . ." A disproportionate part of the country's greatest literature during this century has come out of the South, perhaps because of that ability "to talk of the soul and the spirit, of compassion and sacrifice." Many of the South's great names in literature, such as William Faulkner of Mississippi, Thomas Wolfe of North Carolina, and Flannery O'Connor of Georgia, have been mythic writers, pointing to the soul and spirit, to religion and metaphysics, and so they have been an influence against the prevalent materialism and cynicism of the day.

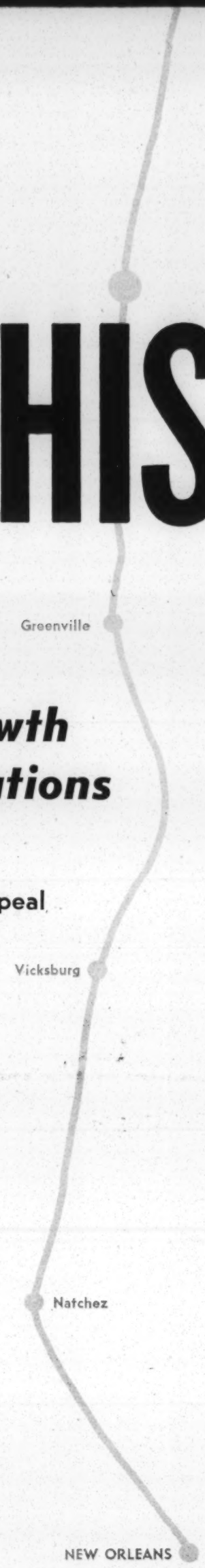
This kind of new hope for the South as a potential redeemer of the country may be, in itself, a product of the region's romanticism and idealism. But it is emerging from a surprising variety of sources: student radicals, humanities professors, business promoters of the region ("Atlanta: A New Kind of City"), theologians, observers of economic trends. They do not, of course, all have the same kind of renewal in mind; but there is a surprising confluence of opinion that the South will ultimately help change the country, this time for the better.

This new hope, characterized, for instance, much of what Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (a true product of the Biblical, history-conscious South) had to say. With the end of the old tyrannies, he thought, the South might become a redemptive force ("black and white together") against the impersonal, mechanical, amoral forces of our time.

Can the South ultimately help the country work its way out of that trap? A growing number of diverse people think that maybe, maybe, it just may. Their belief in the region is a far cry from the guilt-ridden defensiveness that produced the white-supremacist tyranny, violent deeds, violent tongues, and political backwardness that have characterized the worst of the South's recent history. ST

By REESE CLEGHORN
In Atlanta Magazine

MEMPHIS



Advisers Say Growth Tied to Race Relations

By JAMES CHISUM
In the Memphis Commercial-Appeal

Mayor Henry Loeb took it home to study during the weekend. Business executives packed it along with the suntan oil for a weekend at the lakeshore or mountains. Government officials were checking it paragraph by paragraph to find between-the-lines implications for their agencies.

The immediate reaction to the 28-page booklet released by the Memphis Area Chamber of Commerce was quiet. But the booklet, written by a member of a prestigious city-studying firm, had enough controversial declarations and recommendations to fill many future weeks and weekends with explosive debate.

Beginning with a strong positive beat, the booklet describes Memphis as a "backbone" city, one of several with a balanced and diverse economy, poised for growth.

But, it warns, such growth isn't inevitable, and if it is to come, Memphis must get busy solving its racial problems, increasing taxes, bringing in liquor-by-the-drink and accepting its responsibility to the region it serves.

"I think we can profit from qualified advice . . . All of us should welcome constructive criticism," said Mayor Loeb.

The report was written by Philip Hammer of the firm of Hammer, Greene, Siler Associates of Washington and Atlanta. It is titled "Action Line—Memphis," and sub-titled "An economic overview prepared for the Memphis Area Chamber of Commerce."

Few, at least among the city's business and governmental leaders, are likely to disagree with Mr. Hammer's view of Memphis as a "backbone" city.

"These backbone cities," he wrote, "have the capabilities of offering what is needed for urban economic expansion—manpower, land, location, business and financial services, and a well developed 'infrastructure' of public facilities. They can accommodate urban sprawl and make it work; they are not so large that they cannot be efficiently governed; they are not so small that they cannot provide the full range of needed services."

Memphis, the report says, is one of 17 cities "large enough to offer the full range of modern living services, yet small enough to provide the amenities for good living and the efficiencies of a relatively simple and uncongested economic system."

"Backbone" cities, said Mr. Hammer, are "just coming to the point where massive development can take place."

"They will be particularly attractive to new investments because they now have big-city capabilities without big-city problems."

Memphis, said Mr. Hammer, has diversity "which provides solid support for new enterprises and a built-in stability of activity levels. . . .

"At a time when many urban centers are despairing of additional growth, therefore, Memphis can welcome and promote it."

But, Mr. Hammer wrote, to take advantage of its opportunities, Memphis will need more than a promotional campaign. It must solve some hard problems, turning its efforts "toward gearing up for a much more sophisticated handling of the affairs to the metropolitan area. . . .

"Memphis, like other large urban centers in the United States, is in a period of crisis. It is a divided city and a tense city, perhaps no more divided or tense than most others, but divided and tense nonetheless.

"It has a great deal of unfinished business to do, for the most part involving problems that have been around for a long time and left unsolved. . . .

"The major block in any city is what might be called the 'traditionalist' approach, the normal predisposition of community leaders to look at today's problems in the same way that they looked at yesterday's problems and to do things today the same as yesterday.

"The fact is that things have changed and today's problems demand new approaches."

Mr. Hammer said the "most difficult problem in Memphis involves the status and aspirations of the black community."

"This," he continued, "is no longer simply a matter of 'race relations' (although effective relations between the races are indeed essential to any solution of problems).

"What is needed—and this is set forth here strictly within the context of economic development—is a coming to grips with the deficiencies that characterize the physical environment, the training and educational facilities, the economic opportunities and the public participation of the black community.

"These deficiencies are no worse in Memphis than in other major United States cities, but the comparison is irrelevant. These deficiencies exist in Memphis—in depth."

Mr. Hammer said recent steps have been taken to solve this problem, but so far they have been only a start and "concerted and continuous efforts" will be needed.

In his recommendations, Mr. Hammer said Memphis should put particular emphasis on improving its black labor force.

"Memphis should mount a strong program to provide decent housing for the black community," he said, suggesting that 5,000 new units should be made available for each of the next five years.

"Existing technical and vocational programs need expansion, particularly (but not exclusively) as they involve the black community."

He also suggested continued effort in behalf of higher education.

"There still appears to be a condescending attitude on the part of many white leaders occupying places of high responsibility in Memphis.

"It is apparently felt by some that the 'race problem' will disappear, or at least solve itself, by bringing a few black leaders into positions of participation.

"The attitude implies that the problem is one of 'race relations' when actually it primarily involves a range of basic deficiencies in what the city has made available to its black citizens.

"It will take a substantially new approach to the problems of the black as a citizen in the community if this situation is to change and greater turmoil is to be avoided in the future."

Some progress has been made, he said, but "at the top level of white leadership. . . . there still seems to be less than full appreciation of the critical seriousness of the deficiences that have to be overcome."

Mr. Hammer said an "all-out program of improvement for the black community" might be "one of the most productive moves that Memphis could make" economically. In addition to adding the blacks to the labor force, the program would have an "electrifying effect" on the rest of the nation, he said.

Mr. Hammer said flatly that Memphis "will need higher taxes and other financial outlays to underwrite and sustain a superior level of big-city services."

Finally, he recommended a major promotional campaign to attract "national" industries.

"The creation of a new national image for Memphis must have its counterpart in the creation of a new big-city image locally, and images must be built on performance." (ST)

MEMPHIS REPORTS

The Southern Regional Council has published two reports on Memphis. The more recent one, "In Memphis: One Year Later," by Pat Watters and J. Edwin Stanfield, was issued in April, jointly with the Tennessee Council on Human Relations. It relates what happened in Memphis during the first year after Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s assassination.

The report is available from SRC. Single copies 30 cents, orders of 10 or more 20 cents each.

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. . . . . .

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. . . . . .

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SOUTH TODAY

A Digest of Southern Affairs

ATLANTA, GA. VOL. I, NO. 3 SEPTEMBER, 1969

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Will Students Go To 'the Rurals'?

TALL, articulate Bill Peace has a plan: Bring the idealism of Southern college youth to useful service in the South's poorest rural counties. He is working with 10 colleges to do it. By Don McKee. Page 5.

The South and Welfare Reform

THE WELFARE reforms proposed by President Nixon probably would benefit the South more than any other region. Payments to the poor in some areas would be more than doubled. But would it all break down in Southern administration? Would the "suitable" work requirement be used to keep blacks in inferior positions? A staff analysis by Warren Pritchard. Page 4.

IVAN ALLEN OF ATLANTA

A Mayor Says: Race No. 1

MAYOR IVAN Allen Jr. of Atlanta, regarded by many as the nation's most successful big-city mayor, thinks cities must give first priority to solving problems of racial injustice and poverty. He retires soon after eight years in office. In an interview with two of the South's best reporters, he talks about his job. By Raleigh Bryans and Margaret Shannon. Page 8.

THE ATLANTA Journal and Constitution MAGAZINE

In Florida, Peonage Lives On

NEXT MONTH an annual trek to Florida begins—not tourists in cars with surf boards and beach balls, but thousands of migrant workers with their meager belongings on the tops of the cars. They will not get the same reception as the tourists. And they will enter a work system not much different from the peonage of the Middle Ages. By Robert Coles and Harry Huge. Page 6.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

Mountain Folk: Changing Now?

THIS KENTUCKIAN, and even the boy scrutinizing the corn below, have seen some change in the mountains. But Appalachia is one place in America where genuine folk life survives. It may become a basis for cooperative joint efforts against the economic, social and educational ills of the mountain country. By Colman McCarthy. Page 3.

The Washington Post

JOHNNY CASH

He Celebrates A Better South

An appreciation of the film "Johnny Cash! The Man, His World, His Music," produced by Arthur and Evelyn Barren, released by Public Broadcast Laboratory. Originally made for television, and expanded for distribution to theaters.

AT one of the high points in this unusual documentary film, the music of one of Cash's best songs, "Cisco Clifton's Filling Station," rings out, and the camera from afar focuses on and captures in slow-moving scenes a little wooden, two-pump gas station in a small Southern town. It is a rare artistic integration of music and photography. Each—the nostalgic accompaniment and Cash's voice and the photography's fond showing of the pumps and cars and the slow movements of men, dogs and children under the canopy or in the building—reinforces the other to evoke the full feel of such a filling station, the feel and flavor of the 1930's South, the small-town South.

The song itself concerns Cisco Clifton's continuing to run a filling station the way they used to be—offering genuine help to motorists, lending tools and securing parts, and providing the site for a daily checker game for old friends who come every morning and stay through the day, sitting in winter around a depot stove inside. Cisco

To Page 7

Also Inside:

SCHOOL desegregation is working much better than most Southerners had thought it would, an extensive government survey shows. Page 2.

AT GEE'S BEND, an all-black community in Southwest Alabama, two white New Yorkers came for a wedding: their own. They brought with them a very special gift for the community. By Kitty Griffith. Page 2.

A WASHINGTON columnist takes a hard look at the administration's new proposals on welfare and offers some stringent observations about America's priorities. By David Broder. Page 6.

REPORT ON REPORTS

By Claire Brown

Youth Forum

Another go-round on the problems and relevance of public education—at the high school level—took place in July under the prestigious wing of the Advanced Administrative Institute of the Harvard Graduate School of Education. Experts, public school administrators, superintendents, and of course high school students, came to Cambridge to discuss the "Youth Revolution," and the connection between the phenomenon and the schools, as Peter Schrag reported for *Saturday Review* ("Gloom at the Top," Aug. 16, 1969).

The first round went to the young folk, who tried to tell how, "at least part of the time, schools are irrelevant, stupid, and repressive. . . . teachers who can't teach, administrators who are inaccessible, and programs from another age and frame of mind. . . ." As Schrag related it:

"The students—from Black Harlem militant to Midwest racist—were expected to set out a bill of particulars for the Youth Revolution; instead they set forth a still-incoherent set of attitudes that reflect precisely the diversities for which they were chosen in the first place. If you bring together an alienated long-haired militant from the suburbs and future ROTC captains from North Carolina, you can't really expect them to agree on whether schools, courts, and policemen collude to harass students, on the imminence of revolution, or on the racial inequities in American life."

The main reaction from the administrators was a sigh of relief at the inability of the students to agree among themselves. Schrag's account continued:

"There was a lot of palaver about how the kids hadn't used Roberts *Rules of Order* . . . how their language offended nice people . . . . Before the palaver was over, the kids were on the defensive . . . . What the superintendents had done—not all, but many—was to prove that openmindedness was, like everything else, a good ploy.

"What became clear was that the schoolmen were as much as the kids—perhaps more—prisoners of the system . . . . Of all their little hypocrisies—their rhetoric about responsibility and due process, about independence and hard work—none was as great as the pretense that they could, if persuaded, do something to reform things, that they were ethically or intellectually equipped to act."

But Schrag concluded by giving the laurels to the students, and pointing out a very sore spot underlying the growing controversy about the role of the school itself:

"The kids certainly did not agree on any of the issues that might be discussed in the Youth Forum, yet they somehow shared a sixth sense—almost a scent—that only they, and no adult seemed to recognize. Instinctively they knew how grownups (and especially schoolmen) behave . . . . the grownups had no such instincts for the behavior of the kids.

"But it went—and goes—even beyond that . . . . The problems that remained inchoate in Cambridge are hardly unique to schools. At some point in the last generation the adults lost their sense of moral security—the whole nation lost it; if they are at all sensitive, the adults know they are whistling in the dark. All the things that once held the schools together—belief in equality, opportunity, independence—have been thrown into doubt as educational or social realities . . . .

"There are all sorts of notions of what the schools should be, but none of them is possible of realization under existing circumstances. Educational philosophy can have no life of its own, cannot exist without a more general idea of culture or an antecedent political theory, and without a society that practices rather than betrays its articulated convictions about peace, freedom, and independence."

Case Studies

While most of the attention, speeches, and suits have been focused on integration of primary and high school education, a quiet investigation has been under way in colleges: 100 state universities and land-grant colleges, which register about 30 per cent of the total college and university enrolment in the nation. "State Universities and Black Americans: An Inquiry into Desegregation and Equity for Negroes in 100 Public Universities" is luckily more than graphs. Published as a joint venture by the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges, the Southern Education Reporting Service and the Southern Education Foundation, the report includes lengthy case studies of five rather different universities. John Egerton analyzed data, visited the universities, and tied fact and observation into a meaningful whole.

The main shocker: In the 80 schools not all-Negro, black enrollment is 1.93 per cent among full-time undergraduates and 1.91 per cent among graduate and professional students. Black faculty members constitute less than one per cent of total faculty. Meaningful integration of higher public education is yet to come.

Egerton does not stop with this obvious conclusion, but draws his own, from his visits to Alabama, Rutgers, UCLA, Wayne State, and Indiana:

"The adjustments demanded by increased desegregation affect black and white institutions and people . . . . There is a common confusion between black and white activists, between moderate and revolutionary tactics, and between serious and contrived grievances . . . . But two conclusions are strongly suggested by the case studies in this report . . . . Black militants and radical whites in the institutions appear to have little in common, and the idea of a black monolith is a myth.

"Black agitation for institutional reform is more than skin deep . . . . By a coincidence of history, the "New Black Man" has arrived on the higher education scene at a time when other more general reforms are in the wind, and these two causes have merged to reinforce each other. But in the complex and intertwined phenomena of youthful assertion, black militancy, white radicalism, institutional convulsion, the black presence in higher education is seen by most of the university officials interviewed for this report as necessary, long overdue, and beneficial to the future health and effectiveness of higher education."

The 96-page report is available for $1.00 from the Southern Education Foundation, 811 Cypress St. N.E., Atlanta, Ga. 30308.

H. E. W. Survey

What do people really think about how school desegregation is working in the South? The conclusion drawn from interviews with 1,230 persons in 13 integrated school districts in Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, South Carolina and Tennessee is that most citizens think it is "working much better than was generally anticipated."

So reports the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, whose Atlanta office made the survey of attitudes.

Among the conclusions:

—Faculty desegregation has been successful. Most white and black are quite affirmative about this.

—On an informal and social level, desegregation works more smoothly in the elementary grades.

—White parents (rather than students or teachers) continue to be the group most critical of desegregation.

—Most people believe that the black students are receiving better educational opportunities in integrated schools.

SOUTH

A Digest of Southern Affairs

SOUTH TODAY is published by the Leadership Project of the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta Ga., 30303. The Southern Regional Council, founded in 1944, is a research and information agency devoted to the attainment of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South. President: John H. Wheeler, Durham, N.C. Chairman, Executive Committee: Raymond M. Wheeler, Charlotte, N.C. Vice Presidents: Josephine Wilkins, Athens, Ga.; Paul R. Christopher, Knoxville, Tenn.; Charles G. Gomillion, Tuskegee, Ala.; Lucius H. Pitts, Birmingham, Ala. Executive Director: Paul Anthony.

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Some of the articles used in SOUTH TODAY have been edited for length. We welcome clippings which may be of use. They should indicate the date and the publication from which they came.

By Way of: Gee's Bend

—By Kitty Griffith—

July 19th was a most remarkable day. A hip New York couple was married in Gee's Bend, an all-black town in southwest Alabama. Thirty years earlier the town had no running water, gas or electricity. On this day in July the town had champagne and a beautiful new white horse.

This was not one of those weddings staged atop a flag pole for publicity purposes. The white bride and groom, Jody Bradford and Stanley Selengut, were married in Gee's Bend because they had friends there and because both had played key roles in the success of the Freedom Quilting Bee, a sewing cooperative established in the community three and a half years ago.

Selengut, an international promoter and broker of folk art who has served the State Department, Zuni Indians and others, became the market representative for the Bee in 1967. He took the quilts to the Smithsonian, where they were twice displayed at the Folklife Festival. He also took them to the New York market, where he met the quilt buyer from Bloomingdales, Miss Jody Bradford.

This appealing love story culminated in a day with many arresting qualities. There in Gee's Bend, rich and poor, black and white, rural and urban gathered together to celebrate the marriage of two good friends.

Even though you knew it was going to be hot, this was a wedding not to be missed. Driving down with friends from Tuscaloosa in an air-conditioned car, you forgot the heat until the car stopped, the door opened, and the dry, red dust from the road filled the air.

We had arrived in Gee's Bend around 3. Thinking the ceremony was about to begin, we went immediately to the new quilt "factory," a cinder-block building, designed by a New York architect, a friend of Selengut's.

The rehearsal was in progress. The groom, in blue jeans and sandals, was talking to the black minister. The bride, in a flowered shift, was lining up her small bridesmaids, six young girls from the community.

The bare block walls of the large room were decorated for the occasion with colorful quilts. An altar was set up and it was draped with a bright green and blue quilt. Its pattern was the traditional "Wedding Band" design.

Around 4 p.m. a band arrived from Tuscaloosa and some of the younger people began dancing. It got hotter.

Up the hill from the new quilt factory stood an old, unpainted frame house with a front porch that serves as headquarters for the Bee. In the back room there were quilts made from velvet and dashikis made from African cloth. In the front room was a long table filled with food cooked by the ladies in the cooperative. It was a feast worthy of a groaning board: fried chicken, barbecued ribs, potato salad, sweet potato pie.

The wedding was to begin at six, but it was delayed at least 45 minutes. Down at the quilt factory, a local school teacher was mixing the punch. It was her special recipe, one that she used for festive occasions at school. The wedding table was set. In the middle was a homemade wedding cake

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Change in the Mountains

By COLMAN McCARTHY In The Washington Post

Photos by AL CLAYTON

Clairfield, Tenn.

Misery voyeurs, Eastern weeklies and TV camera crews still come to Appalachia to express or excite outrage at the poverty of tired, tattered and gaunt, blank-eyed mountain people; but they no longer flock in or stream in.

Clairfield is about two hours and 20 crossed-over Cumberland mountains from Knoxville, on the bottom rim of Appalachia, and the bottom of nearly everything else. It once had a population of over 20,000—as late as 15 years ago when its mountains were treasures of coal and lumber, and manpower was the only way the companies could plunder them.

But the deep mines have closed, someone beyond the mountains has gotten rich; now the coal will be strip-mined, so someone else in Pittsburgh or Charleston or New York can get rich. The stripping around Clairfield, as in all of Appalachia, is a hideous and ruthless process which the mountain people bitterly but stoically resent.

The suffering caused by lack of jobs, food, housing, teachers, lawyers and doctors is, in most ways, measurable. But the damage done to the hollow people by the stripping of their mountains will never be fully known, because it goes too deep for charts and statistics; or, as one old-timer said, "my soul is in the mountains, that's what they're stripping."

Precisely because the outward effects of poverty in Appalachia are so measurable, the region has attracted, since John Kennedy's West Virginia, large numbers of outside theorists. Many of the more serious have been willing to leave their towers for a year or two, come live in the mountains with the people and try to bring on social change that way. But because *change* is an Eastern word, many have been temperamentally ill-suited for the mountains; the pace is slow and the mountain people refuse to jump up and down in glee whenever a helpful outsider comes in saying he knows just what needs to be done. That can discourage a theorist.

The only outsiders who have come into Clairfield in recent years and stayed are Marie Cirillo and Jean Luce. In their early 30s, wary of federal big-talkers and sensitive to mountain voices, both women spent over 10 years as Catholic sisters in the Glenmary order, which serves Appalachia. Three years ago, when the order clumsily refused a group of innovative sisters freedom for new styles in rules and work, 44 out of 61 left. They formed the Federation of Communities in Service — FOCIS — which continued in Appalachia, but without pressure from bossy bishops and reverend mothers.

In the three years she has been in Clairfield, Miss Cirillo has learned that often in Appalachia the war on poverty has meant war on poor people. "It's easy to sit in Washington," she said, "and look at the problems of a place like Clairfield. Solutions pop up like toast. But what about the feelings of the people in the hollows? You just can't say, 'Here, you're poor and we want to help. We'll bring in an industry. You'll have jobs. Salaries. Then you can buy things. And live better.'

"The trouble with this approach is that many mountain people don't want to be industrialized. Because it means giving up their culture."

One solution to this has been to introduce mountain crafts into Clairfield: woodwork, quilting, stitching, pottery and other art work. Last week, much of it was assembled and put on sale in a cabin shop on an interstate highway in nearby Lake City.

One of the ideas Marie Cirillo is committed to is that eliminating poverty in Appalachia cannot be only a political or economic process; it must be a personal process. It must move forward according to the possibilities of the mountain people themselves. If bringing industry was once the main smelling salts by which a near-dead Appalachia would be revived, community organizing has replaced it.

In the hollows around Clairfield, the difficulty of organizing is that the people have little feel for it.

Sensitive to sentiments like that, and having heard them often in their 15 years in Appalachia, Marie Cirillo and Jean Luce began organizing the Clairfield community on the basis of answering the What For question. "We needed something the people could see and feel good about," said Miss Luce.

The first something was a softball league in the valley. The person behind it was Orville Petrie, 24, a local man who helps run the Clairfield Neighborhood Youth Corps. "After the games," said Petrie, "when everybody is there together, talk turns to other things in the community. We needed a septic tank built at the community center. So I mentioned it. Someone else took it up and soon a few of us got together and dug the hole in the ground. All it took was organization. The muscle was there all along."

So was the soul. The most recent example of community organizing is the Clairfield Folk Festival. Otrell Hamblin, a hollow dweller who sings with a Dylan twang, induced four local guitar players, a banjo player and a harmonicist to perform for the community. Beneath the mountains and behind the community center two Saturdays ago, the seven self-taught musicians played half-through the night to 150 people.

An immediate organizational goal in Clairfield is to get a weekly newspaper going. The FOCIS women acquired an offset machine recently from army surplus; about the same time, a young man from Clairfield returned from Job Corps with training as a printer. "We're looking around for a thousand dollars to get the paper going." said Miss Cirillo.

A second goal is the establishment of a folk school. A few months ago, Erling Duus, 29, a Vanderbilt Divinity School graduate who had taught in a Denmark folk school, acquired an abandoned cabin in Rose's Creek hollow. His folk school idea has a good chance of working.

The mountains of lower Appalachia are

one of the few places in America where the idea of *folk* is not lost—the customs, art, music, poetry that form the common life of a people. Mountain folk is a way that people go beyond just living alongside each other, as in the cities, but *with* each other.

Little of this—the softball league, the folk festival, the hoped-for newspaper—brings much money into Clairfield. Six thousand out of 19,000 people in the county are on welfare. In the hollows, the pitiful sights still exist: anemic, starving children; pensionless men, black-lunged and old-aged at 40; people made powerless by politicians who come around with smiles and dollar bills the day before election and are never seen again; families made helpless by coal companies who exploit poor people on rich lands; and always the poor spoken of by Richard Margolis, who "live under the delusion that the nation's leadership does not know they are suffering. If the leaders knew, they would do something about it, wouldn't they?"

Perhaps that is the best chance for Clairfield. A few local people, along with long-

haul outsiders like Marie Cirillo, are no longer deluded. They do not count on the nation's leadership, but are counting on themselves. The feeling is spreading through the valley that if a few people can get together to dance and sing where once there was stillness and silence, perhaps they can come together for other things—and eventually make *change* a mountain word. ST

'The Lord Can Take Us To The Moon In The Next Life...'

Clairfield, Tenn.

Driving up looping hollow roads that billow with dust the color of orange talc, you come to a knoll where you can see, far away and through a glass clearly, the hazed purple folds of the Great Smokies.

Living in scenes similar to that are Steely Huddleston, his wife of 30 years Pauline, and brother Jim. Their cabin, which beyond the mountains would be called a shack or shanty, has no running water, heat or electricity, has a six and-a-half foot ceiling, a tin-tarpaper roof above and occasionally chickens and rattlesnakes in the underpinning below. It is five miles from a road and 20 miles from a town.

HUDDLESTON

Although the Huddlestons play their portable radio mostly for mountain music, and then only in the evenings before a 9 p.m. bedtime, they knew about the moon voyage. It bothered them. At first, they were hesitant to say why—their guest might have been pro-moon—but it was easily assumed that along with many city liberals they thought the space money should be given to Appalachia, for places like Clairfield where it would do some good.

"No, I don't mind that," Steely said, "although we need money here badly. The reason I don't like men going to the moon is because that's not where men belong. The Lord doesn't want them there. Do you remember in the Old Testament when they tried to build a tower so high that it would reach heaven? Remember what happened? It fell on them. They were killed by the Lord. He didn't want them messing."

Steely's application of the story to the moon voyage is one seldom heard. Doubtlessly, it would strike many liberals as incredible that one of the poorest persons in Appalachia, who would starve if he didn't rise at dawn to tend his crops and whose material goods are either non-existent or wearing out, does not see the moon landing the way they do, as a poor display of national priorities. To Steely, it was a spiritual question. He believed that when God wanted men to inhabit other planets, rockets would not be used. "The Lord can take us to the moon or the sun in the next life, if it suits Him. But it's not for us to decide now."

The conversation drifted to other things: the apple tree struck by lightning in the spring and how the fruit is growing puny as a result; the rattler that took Steely by surprise (laughter from Jim) but which he managed to kill with a stick; the flower seeds Pauline hung in a tobacco pouch over the door to dry out; the protective Chinese goose that hisses strangers away from the sleeping hound.

On leaving the Huddlestons and thanking them for both the afternoon and the invitation to come back again, one would have liked them as allies in the debate about "national priorities." After all, they are poor and many outsiders are on their side. Nevertheless, unlike most of those outsiders who are easily crowded into liberal, moderate or conservative camps, as if life is reducible to that, the Huddlestons are not for sale, no matter the cause.

They are quiet people, who work hard at manual labor and get weary. They endure the pains of a private hell so intense that not even sharing it will give them a little relief. So they keep it to themselves, which is a way of holding onto one's integrity. That is important if you are going to live on the land, among the mountains, through the seasons, beaten down by one kind of life, but rising out of naked necessity to a greater life.

—*Colman McCarthy, The Washington Post* ST

The South And Welfare

Plan Raises Questions

A Special Report
By WARREN PRITCHARD

THE South would benefit far more than any other region from President Nixon's proposed welfare reforms, and in the poorest areas welfare families would receive at least three times as much as at present.

But many questions remain unanswered about the Nixon proposals, to say nothing of Congress' response to them. Some of the big questions:

Who will administer the welfare program proposed by the President? Will it replace other forms of family aid, such as food stamps? Will it operate on the assumption of the present system: that poor people lie about their resources and situations in order to fit qualifications of eligibility?

Will the needs of employers determine what the word "suitable" means when applied to the question of whether a welfare applicant has been willing to accept suitable employment? Will race and political activity be permitted as factors in determining eligibility? And what of the requirement for job training and work in places where there simply are no jobs?

Questions Mr. Nixon raised but didn't answer in his August speech apply particularly to the South because of the widespread view here of the proper place of poor people generally and of black people in particular.

Some things are clear, however, about the possible effects of the Nixon proposals on the 11 states of the region. For instance:

—The number of needy families participating in a program of federal assistance would increase greatly, while state legislatures would be permitted to cut their welfare allocations in half.

—The amount of federal dollars coming into the region for needy families would increase greatly, the total amounting to as much as four times what is currently coming in for the only existing family welfare program, Aid to Families With Dependent Children.

—The South's portion of the congressional welfare allocation would be brought closer to the region's share of the nation's poverty.

—Families in states where AFDC benefits are relatively high would not benefit greatly from the Nixon plan, but in some areas the increase in family income would be dramatic.

—Though the details are yet to be spelled out, the new program for the aged, the blind, and the disabled does not appear to have changed significantly from the old. The benefits are higher, but the process of determining eligibility, at best aimed at exclusion rather than inclusion, will apparently remain.

If income is to be the primary determinant of participation in the proposed "Family Assistance System," called the heart of the welfare reform, the number of Southern families getting some form of federal public assistance would expand from 340,000 to potentially 3,150,000 eligible for aid under the new plan.

The area of welfare that has come in for the most public ridicule is that which has provided for dependent children (AFDC). In spite of a din of criticism, Southern state governments would save very little money if the care of their needy children were taken over by the federal government, as the Nixon plan proposes. The reason they would save very little is that they spend so very little under the present program.

Nixon's plan calls on 20 states—those that pay their welfare families less than the proposed $1,600 a year—to allocate at least half their current family welfare budgets for the new program. Ten of the 20 are Southern states. (See chart on this page showing monthly payments.)

Nixon's plan would bring each of these up to $133.34 monthly with federal money but would require the state to contribute only 50 per cent of its current allocation if it chose not to supplement the basic $133.34.

In Georgia, for example, the legislature would be required to vote only a little more than $3 million for its needy families—those now on the rolls and those added by the less restrictive Nixon plan—a savings of about $3 million. Florida would save $3.5 million; Louisiana, $4.4 million; North Carolina, $2.8 million; and so forth. Presumably, the need for local welfare contributions (as in Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia and Tennessee) would be eliminated under the new plan.

Although AFDC has gotten the most attention and although families are the major subject of the new proposals, there are three other categories of welfare: Old Age Assistance, Aid to the Blind, and Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled. Nixon's plan does little more for them than raise the level of payments to a minimum of $65 a month, all but $7.50 of which is to be paid by the federal government.

Overall the Nixon plan would save the state of Georgia about $10 million, a significant amount in a state welfare budget that has run about $30 million.

According to the 1960 census, the 11 Southern states counted 1,079,473 families with incomes between nothing and $1,000 a year. That was 43 per cent of the nation's under-$1,000 families. Yet those same 11 states last year were getting just 15 per cent of the funds appropriated by Congress for all Aid to Families With Dependent Children. If the position of the South (in terms of its portion of these families relative to the rest of the nation) has not changed significantly since 1960, at least one billion of the dollars from the Nixon proposal should come to families in the 11 states—four times the amount of federal dollars coming into the region under AFDC.

A rural example of what the Nixon proposals *might* do:

Tunica County in the Mississippi Delta had a 1960 median family income (as many families earned more as earned less) of $1,260. That made it the poorest county in the nation. Some 1,500 of the county's 3,469 families earned less than $1,000. Almost 2,900 family incomes were under $3,999.

Based on census figures from 1960, some 2,500 families—more than three-fourths of the population of the county—would be eligible, by income, to participate to some degree in Mr. Nixon's family assistance plan, making welfare by far the biggest business in the county.

The impact would be especially dramatic on the famiiles earning less than $1,000 a year. There were 1,500 such families in 1960. The OEO contends that the number of Tunica Countians living within its definitions of poverty (now about $3,300 for a family of four) dropped by some 44 per cent between 1960 and 1966. It is likely that most of those moving out of poverty were those families closest to the poverty threshold, not those who were the poorest of the poor earning under $1,000 a year. For the sake of illustration it can be confidently assumed that there are still at least 700 families in the under-$1,000 income range. Assuming that each family averaged four members (surveys indicate poor Delta families average closer to seven members), the Nixon plan would (with $720 of income disregarded) increase by more than three fold the yearly income of most of them. Instead of the $470 the more fortunate ones who were judged eligible for welfare could expect in a year, they would have $1,600. Instead of $39 a month, they would have $133, with larger families getting more.

Still dealing in minimums, the Nixon plan applied at its most basic level—the $1,600 for a family of four with no income or income less than $720 a year—would inject more than $1,120,000 annually into the Tunica economy, counting only the poorest of the poor and estimating conservatively. That $1,120,000 would represent a significant portion of the county's taxable payroll —as much as 50 per cent of it.

A city example:

Fulton County, Ga., is urban, including most of Atlanta, largest city in the South and receiver of many migrants who have quit places like Tunica in the past two decades.

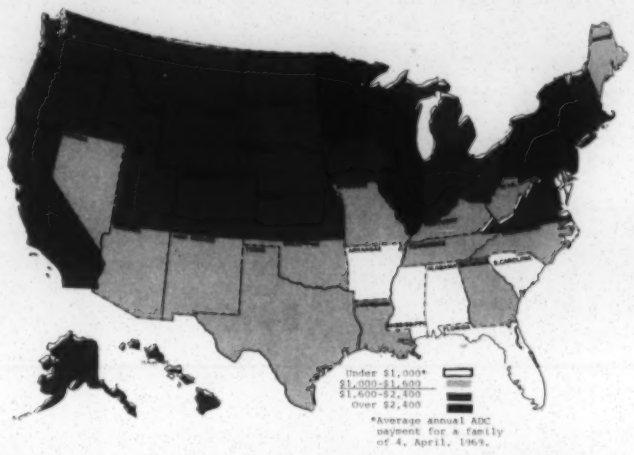
In Fulton, there are more than 40,000 families whose incomes would put them in range of some degree of participation in the Nixon plan, many more than the approximately 8,200 families now receiving public assistance. The increase in payments—from an average of just over $108 now to a minimum of $133—would not be as striking as the broad expansion of participation.

Welfare recipients in Fulton County say that though it is better than nothing, $1,600 is not enough money for a family of four. The federal government itself (the USDA) has set the cost of a minimally adequate diet for a family of four at $1,284 a year, or more than three-fourths of the proposed basic family income. (This is why critics argue for the retention of the food stamp program with the initiation of the new welfare plan.) They point out that in the ghetto rent alone for four persons averages around $70 a month. But this aspect of welfare receipients' criticisms ("It won't mean nothing for the poor.") is not all.

The recipients see a great potential for mistreatment in the Nixon plan's requirement that a person accept work or job training pre-condition to eligibility. "The truth is," one welfare mother observed, "if you are over 35, you just can't get a job."

Shifting the power to certify eligibility from the welfare agency to the employment agency will not, it is feared, isolate the process from the economic and racial demands of the surrounding community—demands that can mean simply that poor people should not be trained out of ready availability as maids, yard men and field hands. The same demands can mean that "suitable" jobs for black people are exactly those jobs they fill exclusively now—the dirtiest, the most demeaning work, for which white people usually are hired last when there are

The States' Welfare Payments



Spending for AFDC, 1968 (in Millions)

	Total	Federal		State		Local	
Ala.	$16.9	$14	(83.3%)	$2.8	(16.7%)	$ .016	(.1%)
Ark.	$10	$ 8	(80.2%)	$2	(19.8%)	None	
Fla.	$37	$29.8	(80.4%)	$7.3	(19.6%)	None	
Ga.	$35	$27.7	(78.3%)	$6.3	(17.7%)	$1.4	(4%)
La.	$40.9	$32.2	(78.6%)	$8.8	(21.4%)	None	
Miss.	$10.6	$ 8.8	(83.7%)	$1.7	(16.3%)	None	
N.C.	$39.6	$30	(76 %)	$5.6	(14.1%)	$4	(10%)
S.C.	$ 7	$ 5.8	(82.4%)	$1.2	(17.6%)	None	
Tenn.	$32.9	$25.6	(77.7%)	$5.9	(17.9%)	$1.5	$4.5%)
Tex.	$33.9	$27.6	(81.4%)	$6.3	(18.6%)	None	
Va.	$23.9	$17.5	(73 %)	$3.9	(16.3%)	$2.6	(10.7%)

Average Payment to Families Under AFDC, April, 1969

Alabama	$63.95
Arkansas	78.40
Florida	80.10
Georgia	95.00
Louisiana	103.05
Mississippi	39.35
North Carolina	113.25
South Carolina	71.60
Tennessee	102.15
Texas	85.85
Virginia	149.65

Welfare: What Kind of Priorities for America?

Behind the surprisingly favorable first reaction to President Nixon's welfare message lies a political development of the utmost significance—the agreement by the leaders of the two major political parties to a policy of gradualism in social reform.

It is a policy that would delay significant increases in the amount of aid to the victims of poverty, discrimination, malnutrition, poor education and poor health services until after new efforts have been made to improve the machinery by which that aid is delivered.

More pertinently, it is a policy that would in effect purchase future assistance to the poor, the black, the hungry and the needy by prior steps to cool the tempers, protect the sensitivities and line the pockets of the white middle-class.

This policy of social gradualism matches the political mood of the country today but it carries serious risk of future unrest. It is this risk the politicians of both parties find convenient to overlook.

It is a high-risk policy because it asks those who have least today—the smallest share in the power and profits of this society and economy—to wait while those of us who have most once again revise our plans for their future. It provides them precious little help or hope—or reason for patience.

This comment may seem strange, in the wake of a presidential message that Mr. Nixon's aides have modestly hailed as the most far-reaching social reform since the early New Deal.

The President's welfare program is important, but we should not delude ourselves as to its content. A basic choice was made—as White House officials said at the briefing on the program—between proposals that would lift benefit levels and eliminate welfare poverty and those that would make structural reforms and eliminate the "bureaucratic monstrosity" the President said the welfare system has become.

The choice was for structural reform and Mr. Nixon made useful suggestions for overhauling the welfare bureaucracy, for linking income-assistance to job-training and for making other changes aimed at reducing the long-term cost to our society of caring for its rejects.

But if the Nixon plan is accepted, only two of every five needy children would be guaranteed any increase in benefits. In 47 of the 50 states, the new federal program would still leave a welfare family living far below the nationally defined poverty line.

The welfare program decision must be seen as part of a pattern of policy, made by the Nixon administration, to be sure, but unchallenged by the leaders of the opposition Democratic party.

Gradualism has also become the order of the day in the antipoverty program, in model

By DAVID BRODER
In The Washington Post

cities and housing and, notably, in school desegregation.

The slowdown in many of these social programs has often been laid to the Vietnam war budget squeeze. But that rationalization was shattered last week when the House decided that the revenues raised by tax reform should be used, not for any social purpose, but to justify further reductions in individual income taxes.

That is the bipartisan congressional policy; that is the Nixon policy; and it is also the policy of Hubert H. Humphrey, the titular leader of the Democratic party, who declared on Sunday that his new ambition is to "speak for that Mr. America"—the white worker making between $5,000 and $15,000 a year—who is indistinguishable from the "forgotten American" to whom Mr. Nixon dedicated his 1968 campaign.

It is marvelous that everyone has become so concerned about him. But the gap between "Mr. Forgotten America" and his white suburban neighbors—in education and income and health and every other measure of well-being—and those living in the black urban ghettos has not closed. And in the ghetto, the rage, the frustration and the sense of isolation grows.

We have been warned by the Kerner Commission that "our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal."

The fact that both parties' leaders close their eyes to that warning does not alter its truth. How much time is left for gradualism? (ST)

Welfare . . . From Page 4

any black people available. The record of the Nixon administration to date in enforcing the spectrum of nondiscriminatory laws gives no comfort to those who know that someone is still going to have to do the dirty work and who know that tradition has reserved that kind of work for black hands.

The jobs black people can get most easily in Atlanta or Tunica or across the South are precisely those jobs that are not covered by minimum wage legislation. Some see the Nixon plan as a puny substitute for extending wage coverage and charge that it is in effect a subsidy for those very employers who are hardest set against having to pay minimum wages. One welfare recipient, who worked many years as a maid, said Nixon would do a lot better by poor people if he proposed that everyone who works be paid the minimum wage. Maids in Atlanta average about $8.00 a day, much higher than many small towns where a woman cannot expect much more than 35 cents an hour.

It is possible that by increasing and broadening coverage of federal minimum wage legislation as many people could be brought out of poverty as by the plan the President has proposed. There is a tacit admission in the proposal that the wage standard is inadequate, since a family head employed full-time at the minimum wage could not earn enough to disqualify his family for some part of Mr. Nixon's welfare.

Another grave shortcoming seen by people working with the present system is that programs of assistance to individuals, as opposed to families—payments for the aged, the blind, and the disabled—are not affected except for a raise in basic payments to $65 a month. The tortuous process of getting oneself certified as eligible, especially in the area of establishing disability, remains unchanged.

These are some of the questions raised by Mr. Nixon's plan, particularly as it might apply to the South. There is also a sense of irony surrounding the aspects of the plan that are clear. A welfare mother in Atlanta pointed out some of the irony, observing that it was strange the President should be so insistent that poor people work, when, she said, it is precisely the poor people who *do* work.

Simply stated, in the South the things that get lifted and the things that get moved are lifted and moved by the hands of poor people, most of them black. And middle-class people, who do *not* do the lifting, are seldom collectively accused of being guilty of laziness, shiftlessness, and bad morals, and subjected to the advice that all this could be overcome if they would just go to work. (ST)

Students:

They Could Help In Rural Areas

A thousand college students will be thrown into a rural Georgia work-study project within the next few months in an ambitious step aimed at reversing the great migration to the cities—if a tall black history professor can get the money for the program.

William H. Peace III, 33, 6-foot-5 part-time history instructor at Georgia Tech and bearded devotee of the late Muslim leader Malcolm X, has come up with an imaginative plan for dealing with urban-rural problems.

"The crisis in the cities is a misnomer," says Peace. "The real problem is the rural areas: The out-migration of unskilled, uneducated and poor who are unable to compete in the cities. We have been going about solving the problem the wrong way."

Peace's proposal would engage students at 10 colleges and universities throughout the state in working on rural problems as part of their academic study. They would enroll in a college course supervised by a professor and receive academic credits for their work.

Peace has been delving into rural problems since 1967 as director of Southern Rural Project, a limited program for helping rural poor organize, sponsored by the National Sharecroppers Fund and financed by the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity.

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Already, the 10 pilot colleges, strategically located throughout Georgia, have either agreed to participate in his proposed "Georgia Student Rural Project" or have expressed keen interest.

At Georgia Tech in Atlanta, 26 students in an architecture course have begun research for developing low-income houses for the rural poor as part of GSRP, prospectively.

Dr. Alfred Jay Bollet, chairman of the Medical College of Georgia's School of Medicine in Augusta, said staff members and medical students were enthusiastic about Peace's proposal for involving them in the project.

Peace wants to involve medical students in giving health care for the poor while the students conduct diagnostic studies to identify health problems with particular emphasis on nutritional problems, young mothers and birth defects.

His project initially would include 100 students from each of the 10 colleges. In addition to medical and engineering classes, other courses would run the gamut of college agriculture, social work. Peace says the project will allow students to gain practical knowledge—and a feeling of involvement—while contributing to solving major problems.

The GSRP courses would be taken in addition to regular studies by juniors, seniors and graduate students who wished to participate.

Peace's proposal has been submitted to a large foundation in an effort to get financing. He estimates the cost, with the colleges providing some space and supervision, at $327,000 a year. He also intends to call on major Georgia businesses and industries for help, financially and in job training and placement.

The project will be a continuing one, Peace envisions, expanding into full units of "Rural Studies" and taking equal footing with established departments, such as agriculture and engineering, at the participating colleges and universities.

William Peace

"This is the first time a number of colleges have come together in a coordinated effort to attack rural poverty," he said. "We hope to use Georgia as a model to illustrate what can be accomplished, utilizing students and the private sector working together."

In Georgia, he said, 89 of the 159 counties have median family incomes below the poverty level and another 25 "on the borderline."

"Unless conditions in these counties are improved, we can not hope to begin to stem the outmigration from the rural areas by the hundreds of thousands of people who, despite the fact that they are ill-equipped, will pack up and head for the already overcrowded cities," he said.

In his work with the federal project, Peace said, it became apparent that no government agency has the resources to put the necessary manpower into the field.

In Georgia alone, the antipoverty program spends $17.6 million a year and employs 3,000 persons, he said. "Yet, in spite of this enormous sum, poverty in Georgia has not diminished; in the rural areas it has actually increased."

But if all the 58 colleges and universities of the state took part in his project, with only 100 students from each, virtually every rural community would have access to the benefits these centers can provide, he said.

Peace, a 1961 graduate of Shaw University in North Carolina, is convinced his idea will work. It is a workable answer to student unrest, he says.

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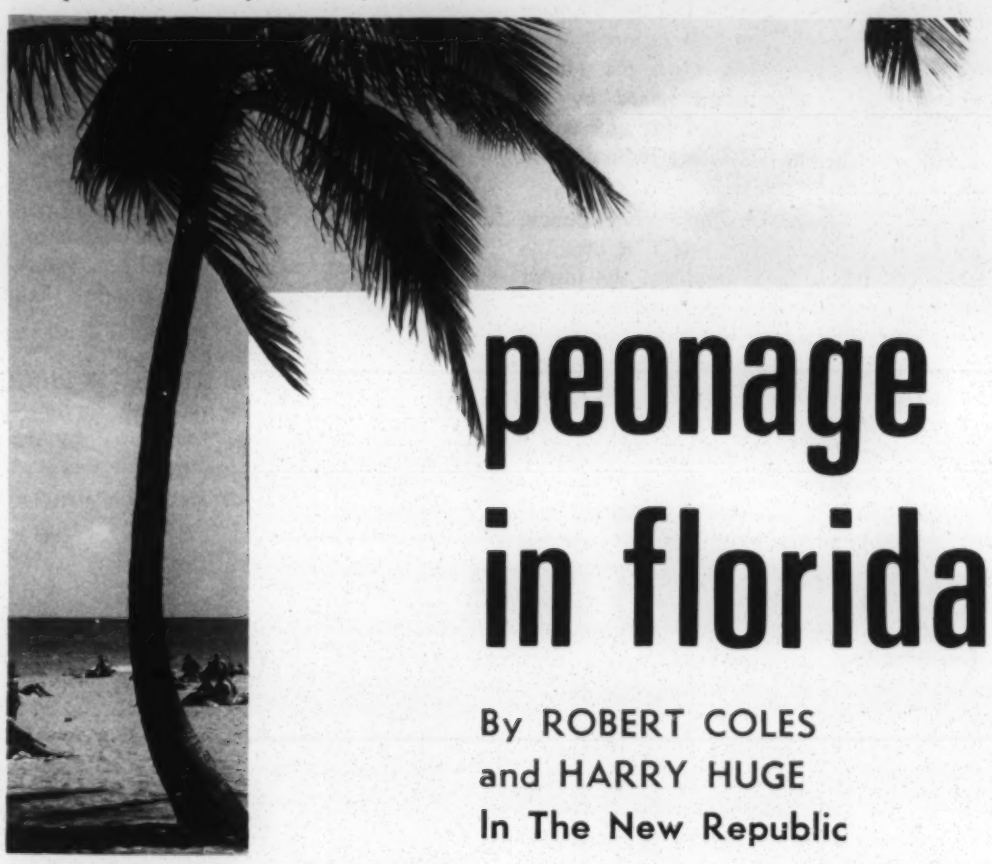
"If you look closely behind the campus happenings, the kids are saying they want to actually get involved in some of the problems they'll be facing after they leave the academic world," he said.

"Now many colleges do not have an outlet for this kind of feeling. Not only will this project be beneficial to rural people, but also to students—as well as the participating colleges."

The essence of GSRP, he said, "will be to provide economic development for rural areas," drawing on the tremendous resources of the colleges through its students and its contacts with business, industry and government. (ST)

By DON McKEE
The Associated Press
In The Chattanooga Times

'And He Told Us . . . That All Our Worries Was Over'



peonage in florida

By ROBERT COLES
and HARRY HUGE
In The New Republic

Around October, cold spells begin to reach up North and into the Midwest, and thousands of Americans remind themselves that in a nation as large as ours, spread out over so many latitudes, a willing traveller can find summer anytime. So the trek to Florida begins. The southern part of the state begins to bulge with the rich and not-so-rich, the owners of winter homes and the one-week guests who fill up thousands of hotels, motels and rooming houses.

Others also manage a return to Florida in October, though to get there they don't use jets or toll roads. Often they even shun our new and free interstate roads, and if asked why, they demur, or quickly assert their wish to move quietly, to attract nobody's attention. Yet, they do get attention. When they arrive at a state line, they may be met by the police and told to go right through, fast and with no stops at all; if they should try to pause here and there, to use a restroom or enter a restaurant, they are quickly singled out and shouted at and pushed away.

The owner of one gas station in Collier County, Florida told us who these other winter visitors are:

"They're dirty, the migrants. They'll come by, and I tell them to scram . . . . We're a first-class station, and if tourists or the regular people here drove up and saw those migrants around, they'd go somewhere else with their business, and I wouldn't blame them. You don't come from up North all the way to Collier County, only to find yourself standing next to—the likes of them."

What *are* they like? Where do they come from and how do they live, the some 100,000 migrant farmers who each year harvest Florida's vegetables and fruit, worth millions of dollars?

Actually we don't know all there is to know, because the migrants commonly slip by census-takers or local officials charged with recording births and deaths. Nomads, itinerants, wanderers, they live everywhere and nowhere. Each county of each state calls them someone else's responsibility, though in all places the terribly hard and demanding work they do is considered essential. Nor has the federal government ever seen fit to step in and say, yes they will in a sense belong to all of us, for whose benefit, after all, so much of that travelling and stopping and cutting and picking is done. On the contrary, migrant farmers are denied just about every benefit that 30 years of struggle achieved for other workers—such as the right to organize into labor unions without harassment and bargain collectively with employers, and the right to get unemployment insurance or a degree of compensation for injuries sustained at work. Most migrants can't vote, are ineligible for any kind of welfare or other advantages and services that towns or counties offer their residents.

Here is how one migrant worker talked

to us about his life as a virtual peon:

"I was 13 or 14, I think it was, and my daddy was telling us that we were in real bad trouble, because the government up in Washington was giving the bossman a lot of money, and in return he wasn't doing as much planting as before; and what he was planting, he was going to do it all by machine and he didn't need us any more to pick the crops. So, he told us we could stay there in the cabins, but that was all, and the sooner we went up to Chicago the better, he said, and my daddy was all set to go with us, but we got the message that his sister up there had died all of a sudden, and he got scared to go.

"I remember him saying that if we went up there, we'd all die like his sister, and if we stayed down on that plantation, we'd not last long, and so there wasn't anything to choose—except that one day a man came along, and he was going from door to door, he said, and signing up for work, to pick the crops he said, over in Florida. And he told us, I remember, that all our worries was over, and all we had to do was go on over there with him and the others and do what we knew to do, pick some beans and some tomatoes and like that, and it wasn't any different from working on cotton, and maybe easier, he said . . . . And would you believe it that they had these buses, four of them I recall, and they put us on them . . . .

"Believe me, sir, we wants to stop and find us a place to live, all year round, like other folks do. But if you're trying to eat, and you owe them all that money, and you have to eat while you try to get even and not be owing them, well then, you just have to go up North and come back, or else they'll have you in jail, I'll tell you that, or worse than that, much worse, they'll just go and pull the trigger, I believe some of them might, if you tried to run free of them. And I'd like to know where you could go even if they let you, and they didn't try to stop you, and they didn't call the sheriff, and they even drove you where you wanted to go. We wouldn't know where to go, because the people, they just don't want us, to use their restrooms or even buy from them. They'll tell you to 'git,' and they sure mean it, you can tell on their face by the way they looks down on you."

His story is not unusual. Thousands of sharecroppers and tenant farmers have gone North to our cities, where they frequently found no work and went on welfare. Thousands of other field hands have given their lives to constant travel and the hardest, most menial jobs, for which they are called "lazy" and "shiftless' and paid the lowest possible wages. (Only recently did farm workers come under the protection of the minimum-wage law, and their minimum wage just moved up from $1.15 to $1.30 per hour, whereas other workers are guaranteed $1.60 per hour.)

Worse, migrants like the man just quoted fall victim to a kind of peonage that seals not only their fate but that of their children. They are brought to Florida, whole families or single men or single women or groups of teen-aged children. The men who bring them are called "contractors" or "crew leaders," and are paid, say $50 a head, (their words) by growers. The frightened, confused former sharecroppers and their children are housed in camps and put to work, but soon they discover that in return for long hours on their knees out in the fields they will get very little cash. For one thing, in the course of a year there are days, even weeks, when there is no work to be had. The migrants move from one camp to another, and become part of a world few outsiders know anything about. The camps have their own stores and vendors, and are often guarded by "camp boys" who walk around with guns. Migrants are told they cannot leave unless all their debts are paid; the ledgers are tallied by the men who own and run the camps.

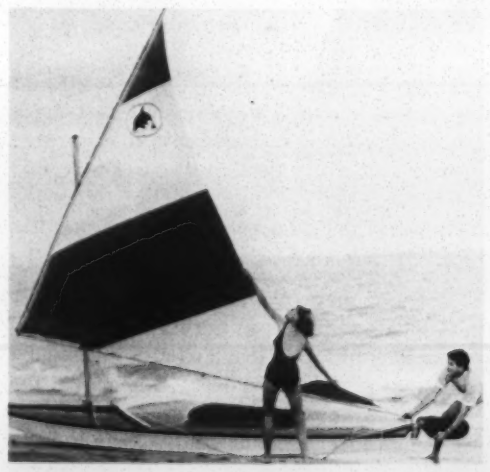
We visited the camps and the fields all through Collier County and Palm Beach County. We saw the same sites that recently shocked Sen. McGovern's Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs: broken-down shacks, some without even windows, some nothing more than enlarged outhouses without running water or heat, a few even without electricity, all of which rent for $10, $15, even $20 a *week*. The drinking water is often contaminated, taken as it is from superficial wells located near garbage-filled swamps. Children are supposed to walk a quarter of a mile or more to unspeakably inadequate outdoor privies. There are no showers, no baths, no stoves and often no refrigerators. Entire families live in one room, sleep, if lucky, on mattresses, live on soda pop and bread and grits and fat-back and cheap candy.

Yet, Collier County has no food-stamp program, no commodity food program, and no welfare program for migrants, who have been called by local officials "federal people," or "not our people." In Collier County's Immokalee, an Indian word which ironically means "my home," we saw children not only hungry and malnourished, but obviously and seriously ill, yet never seen by physicians. Born "on the road," brought up on buses and trucks, or carried from farm to farm in cars, left to themselves in the fields and, when 12 or 13, quietly put to work in the fields, they nevertheless have to be considered fortunate if they are still alive, since the infant mortality rate for such children in places like Collier County is estimated to be about five times that of other American children. The children are badly frightened and confused. They live unstable, chaotic lives and feel at loose ends, worthless, virtually dead.

Back in Immokalee we were offended, disgusted; later in Naples there was the tropical green water and the soft sand and a long, long pier where we could stand and discuss things with Michael Foster and Michael Kantor, two resourceful young lawyers who work for the South Florida Migrant Legal Services in Collier County and every day try to get housing codes enforced, and money paid to people who have bent and stooped from dawn to dusk, only to be denied their rightful earnings, or who have gone for weeks without work, without unemployment compensation, without relief payments.

What is to be done? The two lawyers told us they could only keep trying, keep pressing matters through the courts—though even that method has caused an uproar among Florida's political leaders. We said we could report on what we had seen and learned, even though we know that in past decades reports have been written and written—and the evident futility of all those words must haunt those who wrote them. Perhaps, we speculated, the only answer to the problem is one suggested by a tough, angry "community organizer"—an "outside agitator," no doubt about it, we met near Immokalee:

"Look, you people can do your lawyering and your doctoring and your writing, but a lot of good it will do these people. They're in bondage, don't you see that? They're treated like animals—in a country that's the richest, fattest country in the world. They have no constituency, that's the problem. They don't even have the kind of constituency the blacks do in Mississippi—you know, the Northern liberals, with the voting laws they've put through, and like that. These people have nothing to fall back on but the conscience of the nation, and a lot of good that's done for them. I'll tell you, there's only one way to change things here in Florida, in Collier County. Over there in Naples there's Roger Blough of United States Steel, and there's the president of Grant's department store, and there's the president of Eli Lilly, and all the rest. They have it nice here in Florida. There's no personal income tax, and there's no tax on the corporations. I'll bet if the migrants started marching down that highway 846 to Naples, and fought their way to that Gulf Shore Boulevard there—well, I'll bet the people who live there would call in those sheriffs and county commissioners, and they'd call in the politicians who do what they're told to do and say to all of them: boys, give



them a bigger slice, because we don't want any more trouble here. You hear that! And then the migrants would be a little better off and you guys, you'd praise yourselves and all your attitudes and say like you always do: democracy, it's wonderful!"

We are in no danger of the kind of middle-class self-congratulations he scornfully described—the kind that follows a successful uprising of the poor. For there's no danger the migrants will be causing anyone much trouble. They will roam the land, follow the sun and the crops, harvest our food, and go on getting just about nothing. (ST)

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Migrants:

What Makes Them Tick?

Dr. Coles, a psychiatrist, made a study of migrant farmers for the Southern Regional Council in 1965. Entitled THE MIGRANT FARMER: A PSYCHIATRIC STUDY, *it is available for 30 cents a copy or 20 cents in orders of 10 or more.*

Some excerpts from that study, pertinent to the accompanying article on Florida migrants, follow:

To view the more formally psychiatric disorders seen in migrants, we must see much of their behavior, as with all of us, as an attempt to adapt to (cope with) the particular kind of life which is theirs. There is little sense in taking middle-class social and cultural standards and transposing them to migrant families as measurements of their "normal" or "abnormal" behavior. While it is true that migrants share an American citizenship with us all, their living conditions and habits have a quality all their own.

They may drink heavily before or after work, using the cheap wine and beer they can afford to dull their senses in the face of, or in the wake of, their long hours of harvesting. They may become nasty and violent with one another, just as when children they were allowed to be toward neighbors. They often became careless and hurtful toward the homes furnished them by farmers, destroying screen doors, stopping up the central plumbing facilities of a camp. Some may call such behavior "accidental;" but many farmers are correct in sensing the barely submerged hostility and resentment at work in these people.

The migrants don't specifically "intend" to damage property, but are aware of feeling overworked and underpaid, and carry those feelings around with them fairly constantly.

Apathy, gloom, and severe depressions are seen in many migrants, and depressions severe and crippling enough to be considered psychotic.

Again and again one hears that migrants are unreliable, unkempt, lacking in thrift and tidiness. Worse, they tend to be willfully destructive of property, heavy drinkers, quarrelsome with one another, and generally a discouraging and depressing lot, unresponsive to aid, sullen before advice, ill-suited even for more money or better working and living conditions. And their employers make a sound case, not only for this, but for their own precarious position in our economy.

Such assertions and complaints lodged by many intelligent growers and hard working officials in the fields of migrant health and education are hard to dispute.

My observations, however, tend to indicate that migrants, including white migrants, have developed certain characteristic attitudes *on the basis of their work and travel habits.* The constant movement, the threat of social chaos, the cramped living and traveling, make for common problems and remarkably similar responses to them which separate to some extent *migrant* behavior from that of the rest of the poor.

What is the psychological effect of living the migrant life in a land where others seem well able to live a more settled and comfortable one? The drawings of migrant children show that they know such facts and generally tend to judge themselves in some way weaker, blemished, guilty, or at fault for their condition. There is a tendency . . . to feel not only weak and hard pressed but *responsible* for that fate. (ST)

Gee's Bend . . .

From Page 2

decorated with marshmallows. A case of champagne was iced down.

At last the Rev. Lonny Brown, a Baptist preacher from Gee's Bend, stood before the altar. The choir of ladies sang several spirituals. Selengut and his best man walked in and faced the large congregation. The groom, his moustache combed and his Edwardian suit neatly pressed, was as delighted as we all were when the bridesmaids, dressed in white and carrying zinnias from the yard, marched forward. Next came the maid of honor, a very sophisticated lady from New York who was dressed elegantly in lime green. (She was later seen bouncing a black baby in her lap on the front porch of the old house.)

And finally, the bride, dressed in white lace (but not looking at all traditional in her pants suit), walked to the front of the room.

Once begun the ceremony was short and simple. As soon as Stanley Selengut and Jody Bradford were pronounced man and wife, the whole room swept toward the champagne and cake. Flash bulbs popped. The bride and the groom were congratulated.

The heat seemed to increase with the joy. The band began to play again and the crowd began to disperse. Some stayed close to the champagne they had never tasted, but most went outside where it was cooler, or up to the house where the feast was being served.

We were still eating when they unloaded the white horse with dayglow ribbons in its mane from a U-Haul trailer. It was Selengut's wedding present to the community. A farming cooperative had recently been organized in Gee's Bend and a horse was needed to plow.

Down by the pasture fence there were children and young couples admiring this wonderful creature. It was like a scene from William Saroyan's "The Summer of the Beautiful White Horse." For Gee's Bend, this too, was the summer of the beautiful white horse.

The faces of the children and young people couldn't hide the pride, happiness and hope that they were all feeling on this very special day. The Freedom Quilting Bee, in a way, had made it all possible. It was the catalyst that brought Stanley Selengut and Jody Bradford together. It had given the community economic relief, raising the earnings of its workers from 25 cents to a dollar an hour. It and the new farming cooperative were giving the people of Gee's Bend hope for a better future. And now, like a symbol of hope and good fortune, Gee's Bend has a beautiful white horse. (ST)

Johnny Cash . . .

From Page 1

Clifton is celebrated in the song for stubbornly holding to such a filling station, such a *concept* of a filling station, in the face of changed technology and changes in his town which have left it out of the way. Cars hardly ever come by any more; when they do, he patiently directs them to the state highway.

He holds to the station even after the interstate comes through and destroys what little base there is for such a filling station, selling only regular gas and sitting on a little-used road. Cisco Clifton has to work nights to support it, says the song at its end, but every morning he opens the station, and the checker game continues. And when rarely a car does chance in, there's a friendly word and genuine helpfulness waiting.

The song is a poignant and respectful rendition of the urge in the South to cling stubbornly to ways of life that are obsolete in the technology and efficiency of modern America. It acknowledges that devotion in the South to values that are irrelevent to and beyond high-powered, high-speed, mechanistic utility. And what is so good to see throughout the film about Cash is, for once, acknowledgment of the good there is in

'Country,' Like Jazz, Is the People's Music

By PAT WATTERS

some of those ways of life the South keeps wanting to preserve, that not all of the old values white Southerners cherish are tainted by racism.

The remarkable achievement of the film is that it portrays Southerners—mostly white ones because the music is mostly a phenomenon of the white culture—in their good light, treating them with respect and dignity and appreciation. One need only consider the tasteless and essentially cruel stereotyping of Southerners, both black and white, throughout the history of American entertainment's portrayal of them, or even the many failures of conscientious and competent artists in efforts to render the South and Southerners fairly, to realize how rare this film's accomplishment is. I can think of no other motion picture that has done what it has, and only a few books—Agee's *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men,* and even more genuinely, McCullars' *A Death In the Family;* or Wolfe at his best, and Eudora Welty. Faulkner had such a hold on the universal and epic qualities of Southerners that most often their smaller virtues and charms are lost. It is the general run of undistinguished, undepraved, and, often, sadly, underprivileged Southerners, the kind of people who most respond to Cash's music, country music, that the film captures with fidelity and quiet beauty.

Politeness and quiet pleasure in other people and in nature, the dignified beauty of women on whom a rough life has left its marks, sly humor—these are among the virtues that come through. Scene after scene comes to mind: the joy of people whom Cash visits back in the cotton-plantation town where he grew up to see him again—not welcoming him as a celebrity, but as the old home boy they remember from the past; the love Cash himself shows for this Arkansas home country of his, seeing it not as the sordid place of exploitation most Americans feel a plantation town to be, but saying of its little row of stores what a "pretty place" it is; the words of his wife, June Carter, similarly saying over and over what a fine house for those old days the little bungalow where he lived had been; the crowd's seeking his autograph after a performance, quiet and polite and genuinely responding to him as a person, not clamoring in the usual frenzy of celebrity-worship in such scenes outside the South ("Thank you," they said clutching their autographed programs, and "Thank *you,*" he replied, meaning it.)

The love of the music—by performers and audience alike—is a touching theme throughout the film.

The South produced this music, just as it produced that greater, more innovative contribution to world culture, Negro jazz. And what seems almost as remarkable, almost as great an achievement, is that the South has been able with both musics—country and jazz—to hold onto honesty and authenticity in them, to resist their being degraded and cheapened. That mindless will of much American popular culture to debase music, movies, books and art has somehow not been able to destroy country music and jazz. This is the achievement, first, of the audiences. For jazz, these audiences include much of Negro America, with its strong roots in Southern culture; and for country music, the audiences are still mainly white Southerners. It is like Cisco Clifton and his filling station; they have stubbornly clung to a way of life, a preference in music that they know is better than the weak and tinny, soul-less stuff proffered them by the Hollywood, television, Madison Avenue kind of mentality.

The achievement is also partly that of the performers—generations of jazzmen, black and white, and country musicians like Cash. That rare respect shown in the Cash film for the humanity of the South was not superimposed, but was simply an artistic reflection of country music's respect for its audiences, of Cash's attitudes toward the people for whom he sings, and of the basic assumptions of country music itself. It celebrates the human condition. The music does not romanticize or glamorize it, but speaks plainly about its basics: birth and death and love and love thwarted, working and supporting a family, traveling, playing, enjoying; but sickness also, and heartbreak and tragedy. (Jazz stays with the same basic themes. It tells of them in terms of the emotions, whereas country music tends merely to describe; jazz is psychological, country music is sociological.)

The South has for so long held to hopeless, lost causes, to ruinous ways of life like racism, that it comes as a shock, a greatly moving, pleasurable one to a Southerner, to see in such a film as this the strong evidence of good, too, that the South, in its unwillingness to change with every wind, can proffer to the nation. The two musics, jazz and country, come together in the psychedelic rock music that so entrances, now, the young of the world—this Southern music (and they say we are culturally deprived down here), close to and faithful to the ordinary run of Southern humanity. Young people all over the world move now in the ancient drama of trying, out of their best instincts to build themselves into a constructive force. But they also show themselves to be heirs to destruction, capable of massacre and the building of prisons. Surely their good instincts will be nurtured by these two good Southern musics so full of respect for the human condition, these assertions of human values over totalitarian ones. Maybe they will make the world, those young people, a place fit for Cisco Clifton's filling station. (ST)

Mr. Watters, information director for the Southern Regional Council, is on leave of absence under a Rockefeller Foundation writing grant.

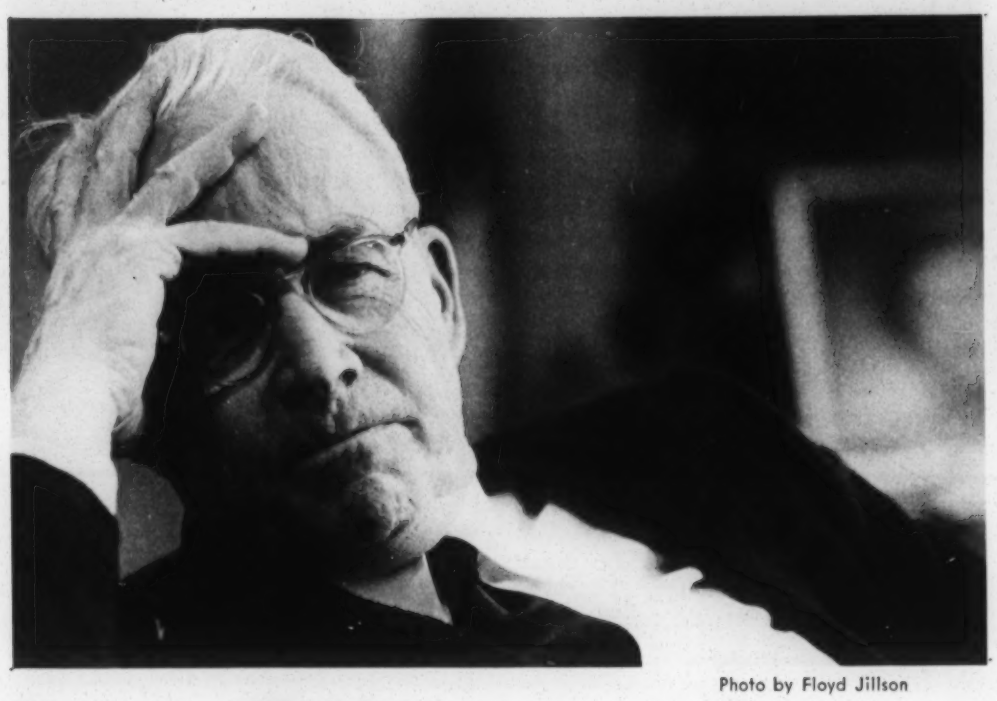

Photo by Floyd Jillson

Ivan Allen

Status of Blacks Is No. 1 Challenge

Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. of Atlanta will retire at the end of this year after eight years in office. He has attained an international reputation, largely because of his efforts in the fields of civil rights and poverty. Many municipal observers believe he has been the most successful big-city mayor in America.

Following are excerpts from an interview of Mayor Allen by Raleigh Bryans and Margaret Shannon which appeared in The Atlanta Journal-Constitution Magazine.

Q When you announced you weren't going to run again, you said that the No. 1 problem of Atlanta is the status of the Negro citizen.

A. The race problem.

Q. Do you rate this above expansion of the city limits?

A. Sure.

Q. Do you think, as some people seem to, that annexation would "take care" of the problem, so to speak?

A. That would relieve one of many problems, which is the takeover of the city by the poor that are moving in here. That's not wholly a race issue, although it's mostly Negro people. It's also poor white.

It's not healthy to have your established people moved out merely to accommodate new people who have no roots, no background or anything else. All this has got to be provided for them.

The problem of race is a problem of nearly every city in America, but obviously the magnitude of it is so much greater in Atlanta than nearly anywhere else except Washington, D.C., because you've got 45 or 46 per cent Negro population; 125,000 of them have moved in here in the last 10 or 12 years.

Q. Could a Negro mayor run Atlanta effectively now?

A. If he's qualified with experience and training—yes, he could run Atlanta.

Q. Even though the balance of population has not yet tipped?

A. Well, let's put it this way: He would have problems that I don't have. The stringency of his problems would be greater than what I'm confronted with because there's that much racial prejudice left in the picture.

Q. Is it your opinion that the Negro community at this time would prefer to maintain the old alliance of Negroes with white moderates and elect a white mayor this year?

A. I think there's every indication of that.

Q. Since you announced you are not going to run again, you've said you could speak with greater candor and complete freedom without people saying you're seeking the Negro vote.

A. Or the white vote.

Q. How much has this kind of charge inhibited you from saying what you wanted to say in the past?

A. I don't think that I've been inhibited by that. I was merely explaining that, in kind of a reverse position, whatever I said or did could not now be charged to politics. It couldn't be discounted for that reason. It was bound to have a greater ring of sincerity in it than it had hithertofore.

Q. Once you became mayor, did you do many things because you understood the racial problem better?

A. Yes, I think as I became more deeply involved in the plight of the Negro citizen, I tended to become more dogmatic in my approach to get things done to relieve that condition. I think this is characteristic of nearly every person that moved into the civil rights arena.

Once you got into it, you were pushed by two things to becoming more deeply involved. One, you saw the grievous need of the Negro citizen for equal rights. But you were also pushed into it by the almost ridiculous and bitter criticism of the racists that came into the thing. Their denouncement of almost every liberal I've seen, or nearly anyone that goes into public office, sooner or later has tended to increase the efforts of those who have liberal views.

Q. You once told me that the problems of the Negro, or civil rights problems, occupied almost 60 per cent of your time.

A. Way over half my time in my first term was involved in civil rights up until the passage of the civil rights bill in 1964.

Q. You appeared before the Senate Commerce Committee in Washington in 1963 in support of the public accommodations bill. President Kennedy called you and asked you to make that statement, didn't he?

A. He sent Morris Abram to see me first. (Abram, now president of Brandeis University, is a former Atlanta lawyer.)

Q. And then President Kennedy called you later? What did he tell you?

A. Asked me to support it. He said he couldn't pass it.

Q. He needed some Southern support?

A. Of course, he never did pass it. It passed as a result of his death.

Q. Had you made up your mind by the time he called you?

A. No, I was lingering in doubt.

Q. There were occasions when you proceeded to take a step when you were in advance of public opinion, as when you testified for the public accommodations section. You encountered some backlash from that, did you not?

A. Oh, yes. I came home to the most bitter denunciation on the part of the business community in Atlanta. This was the only time in my seven years that I had a substantial break with the business community.

Q. Are there divisions within the business community on the racial problem?

A. I would say the business community runs the gamut of public opinion.

Q. Do you detect some who are more inclined to push progressive things?

A. There's no question about that. But I couldn't separate them. The type of business they had had no influence. When you look at the segments of the civil rights issue —school integration, public accommodations, employment, voting rights and now open housing—by far the most successful one in the field of desegregation has been public accommodations. Far more successful than school desegregation.

Q. What is the root of the problem of race? Is it white racism, as President Johnson's Commission on Civil Disorders said?

A. There's far more than that. It's also dissatisfaction on the part of the Negro for what he has been subjected to and denied, and what he has been subjected to and denied is where it creates the conflict with the white community. The white community basically looks upon most Negro citizens as not yet fully acceptable, economically, socially, any other way. And you're not going to get all of this straightened out until you raise the level of the Negro citizen to where he's thoroughly acceptable.

Q. Would you be specific about ways to raise the level?

A. I know of no basic ways except what we're pursuing now. Education, improved educational facilities, better housing to accommodate him on a sound level and some real job opportunities.

Q. The Atlanta Board of Education has just been subjected to some criticism recently that it's not doing enough to try to raise the educational level of Negroes. Has this foot-dragging, if there has been any, been a handicap to your administration?

A. Let me answer that this way: I think the school board, particularly superintendent of schools (John W.) Letson, has made a very deep, sincere, honest, big effort to improve conditions in the schools and to integrate the school system satisfactorily. The magnitude of the job and the problems that are inherent in it are almost overwhelming.

Of the five civil rights steps I've mentioned, I think we've had less success in school integration than in any other one except fair housing, which we're just into since the first of the year. When I look at the actual picture in the schools today, I simply don't have any idea how the school board is going to solve the dilemma.

I don't know that Letson can move fast enough to cope with that problem. School average daily attendance figures have already jumped up way over 60 per cent Negro.

Q. If open housing should work, would that help resolve the problem of the school system?

A. Certainly it would help a great deal. But when you get to the open housing field, as a general statement there hasn't been a single neighborhood in America satisfactorily integrated up to the present time. So we're taking on one terrible task.

I think neighborhoods can be satisfactorily integrated if the normal factors of society related to economics are permitted to react in a reasonable way. There are many neighborhoods in Atlanta in which a Negro family of comparable standards could buy and move in tomorrow without the white man running again. If we try to move them in large quantities, by legislative means or by governmental power, I don't think it's going to succeed at all.

Q. How much harder has your job as mayor been because Lester Maddox is governor?

A. Although he has gotten in the way on a local sales tax—had someone else been governor, we might have been able to pass that—his general demeanor and attitude have been favorable toward the city. What I'm saying may sound strange coming from me, but our relationship as far as the operation of the city is concerned has been pleasant.

Q. Weren't there a few occasions when you were nervous lest he interfere?

A. Yes, because he didn't have an established record of handling racial problems, and there was always the hazard in the early days of his administration—well, we didn't know what action he would take. But in general his response to racial crisis that we've been through while he's been in office is that he has recognized the ability of the city to cope with them and has stood aside. He certainly did not intervene during the King funeral (Martin Luther King Jr.). He had his own actions. ST

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'A Piece Of the Action'

It was a brisk, sunny day in Roanoke, Ala., and everybody, from Fats Domino to Richard Nixon, had "a piece of the action," as President Nixon himself has said everyone in this country should have. Dignitaries (most of them black) had flown down from Washington on an Air Force jet and then had been whisked to Roanoke by friendly Alabama state troopers, who obligingly inquired whether they would like to travel "fiftyish" or "sixtyish." Scores of other public and private bureaucrats had driven in from regional offices in Atlanta and state offices in Montgomery. The townspeople themselves had turned out to swell the audience honoring J. A. Terry to approximately 600.

"The Roanoke Area Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Market Developers Cordially Invite You to an Awards Luncheon Honoring Mr. J. A. Terry and Terry Manufacturing Company," the engraved invitation said. A press release suggested this probably would be the first time an all-white chamber of commerce in the South had honored a black businessman.

Until six years ago Mr. Terry, a man of slight build and gentle demeanor, had done upholstering for the people of Roanoke and Randolph County, in the Appalachian foothills of east central Alabama. He and his wife, Velma, worked in a small shop with a couple of helpers. In 1963 Mr. Terry decided to gamble his savings and to use his continuing income from upholstering to start a small manufacturing operation. He obtained five sewing machines and began to train operators. (Nobody from Washington was even within sight.) Soon Mr. Terry negotiated a loan from a banker in nearby Wadley, Leon Phillips, brother of the mayor of Roanoke, J. B. Phillips. That enabled him to start expansion. (Still no excitement in Washington or nearby corporate offices.) Later he had another loan, from a Roanoke bank, and one from the Small Business Administration. (Enter Washington.)

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South's Taxes Hit Poor Hardest

The South—with more poverty than any other section of the country—is bound to a system of taxation that places a disproportionate burden on poor and middle-income citizens.

This is the major finding of a study released this month by the Southern Regional Council. The report is by Dr. Eva Galambos, an Atlanta research consultant specializing in fiscal problems.

In an introduction to the report, Paul Anthony, executive director of SRC, notes that the study "grew out of a conviction that state and local governments were not adequately equipped because of outmoded tax structures to deal with a host of unmet public needs." Among other programs which suffer from insufficient financing in the South, Anthony named public education, mental and penal institutions and public assistance.

Dr. Galambos notes that ability to pay is the most widely accepted standard for achieving tax equity. This is the criterion on which federal income taxes are based. In the language of tax experts, if tax rates increase with income the system is called *progressive* as opposed to *regressive*. Sales taxes are regressive in that their impact decreases as income rises.

All Southern states' major sources of revenue are examined in the report, including (1) general and specific sales taxes (2) personal and corporate income taxes (3) licenses and (4) property taxes.

Sales taxes, which hit the poor harder than any other major source of tax revenue, represent 58.1 per cent of state taxes nationally. In the Southern states this figure ranges from a low of 46.8 per cent in Virginia to 77.9 per cent in Mississippi. (The figures include both general

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SOUTH TODAY

A Digest of Southern Affairs

ATLANTA, GA. VOL. 1, NO. 5 NOVEMBER, 1969

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Rural Poverty And Farm Bias

THE U.S. DEPARTMENT of Agriculture remains the federal government's worst practitioner of racial discrimination. No Negro has yet become a county agent in the South. And after this fall's selections, only two Negroes serve among 4,100 regular county ASCS committeemen in the region. A SOUTH TODAY report by Kitty Griffith. Page 4.

"A LOT OF LAW is being broken in Alabama with the federal government accessory before and after the fact," Paul Good wrote in a report on farm discrimination. His conclusions still stand. Page 4.

SOME BLACK FARMERS and others are finding a way out through cooperatives. Oyster and shrimp fishermen in South Carolina and vegetable farmers in Alabama are engaged in—what, black capitalism or black socialism? By Hank Leifermann. Page 5.

ALSO: Who makes the money? An analysis of income in America. Page 6.

MACHINES HUM AT THE TERRY PLANT IN ROANOKE

The Congressman And the Dragon

"I FEEL LIKE a drunk who converted himself and joined the church and hasn't drunk in years—and yet people still say he's a drunk," says Calvin F. Craig, former Georgia Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan. Mr. Craig now works alongside Negroes in Atlanta's Model Cities program. Former Congressman Charles L. Weltner, once a public enemy of Mr. Craig's, writes about him and tells why he sees hope that others may change, too. Page. 3.

REPORT ON REPORTS

By Claire Brown

Morton Inger's monograph *Politics and Reality in an American City* is a thoughtful analysis of the causes of the 1960 New Orleans school desegregation crisis. The first part of the book is a thorough detailing of events: even if you already know the full story of the 1960 breakdown of civilization in New Orleans, it is still informative reading. The second part deals with normal political action as a cure for urban madness.

The New Orleans crisis centered not around the school desegregation order but around the school board, and its desire to remain apolitical. Once the court ordered the schools to desegregate, the school board set up an elaborate bureaucratic apparatus, "the machine," to handle transfer requests. As Inger says, "To the board members, it seemed that they were doing nothing more than deciding a question 'on its merits,' i.e., without political considerations, and that is what they were recruited and elected to do. In developing its desegregation plan, the board was truly 'out of politics.'"

Because the board was "out of politics," it did not attempt to build effective community support; nor did it secure the backing of the business establishment, the mayor or the police force. It relied on an "objective, scientific, non-political machine" which had no validity, moral weight, or favors due it outside the board offices. And the rest of the community, especially the more emotional part, turned its back on the board and the machine and proceeded to do in the school desegregation plan, the public peace, and the tourism-based economy of the city for that year and several to come.

At this point, Inger discusses the successful desegregation of Atlanta schools, and points out the political realities that made it so: the mayor's strong stand, the community leaders' support of the mayor, the public involvement *before* a court decision; and the existence of a business community determined not to lose image or receipts. All of these were the result of the normal political process in Atlanta.

"But the absence of politics in New Orleans had greatly weakened the city. The resulting timidity of the city's mayor led in turn to the passivity of the business leaders. In the absence of local political leadership, control . . . was given over to the state legislature, the governor, and to private and semi-private decision makers such as Leander Perez and the street mobs. Since reform had been one of the causes of the destruction of politics in New Orleans, it should not surprise us to learn that when an old-fashioned but modern politician like Victor Schiro became mayor, he was able to control desegregation and ensure that it would be accomplished peacefully. Like Schiro, Atlanta's Mayor (William B.) Hartsfield was no race liberal, but he was a politician. Both mayors saw the *political* necessity for peaceful school desegregation."

Inger points a warning finger at other good folk concerned with political reform:

"The problems which called the reform movement into existence were real and pressing—the corruption, the abuse of patronage, and the decline of the school system were intolerable. But the mere removal of corrupt politics is not enough. It must be replaced by something which can at least cope with the problems corruption was coping with . . . .

"We cannot come to grips with the problems of our social life without organizing to build constituencies, without mobilizing and utilizing community support, without, in short, making use of political power. Above all, these problems cannot be dealt with by technical expertise, by exclusive concern for efficient mechanisms, or by scientific administration. *The policies of our institutions, not the honesty of the men who govern them, must be our primary concern.* Thus, if we are to reform our school systems, we must be concerned with policy questions: Whom shall we educate? What shall we educate them for? . . . Technical matters (of *how*) are not only less important than policy issues, but, as we have seen with the case of New Orleans, an exclusive concern with them can be destructive of the very institution reform was intended to save."

This report is available for 25 cents from the publisher, the Center for Urban Education, 105 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10016.

A solution to another kind of city problem was introduced in Little Rock. *Nation's Cities,* the magazine of the National League of Cities, said in its July issue:

"This is the age of portability.

"In Little Rock, Ark., for instance, a portable park has been completed as a practical and eye-pleasing solution to the ugliness of a temporary parking lot in a downtown urban renewal project. Complete with trees, grass, and benches, the park can easily be picked up and moved to another location."

Housing Guide to Equal Opportunity was prepared by George Schermer and Arthur J. Levin for the Potomac Institute and is available from the institute, 1501 Eighteenth St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 20036, for $1.00. A good program development guide, it contains well-researched and workable methods for those "who wish to go beyond minimum requirements to accelerate the inclusion of Negroes and other minority groups into predominantly white residential areas."

After investigating cooperatives, condominiums, privately owned or rental neighborhoods and developments, high-rise and garden style, the writers found: "Stable patterns of racial integration in housing developments and neighborhoods do not just happen. They are the result of commitment, clearly established policy, imaginative and thorough planning, and competent management—all elements which go far beyond the requirements of the law . . . . Integration is only rarely induced by a fair housing law alone or achieved without special intent."

The racial mix in the projects studied ranged from a token number of nonwhites in basically white subdivisions to a diminishing number of whites in projects which, avowedly integrated, were becoming largely Negro. The difference between maintenance and erosion of integration seems to depend on physical conveniences, superior schooling and, most important, community involvement on the part of the tenants matched by commitment on the part of management.

"Persons who would prefer integration and those who would prefer segregation tend to place physical considerations and convenience *ahead* of their racial preferences. Convenience of location, quality, price, and safety, in that order, are the major factors in attracting white families to racially inclusive center city developments . . . . In the suburbs, physical factors are less relevant to integration than affirmative marketing and community relations . . . .

"Quality of public education is of critical importance . . . . Good schools are a pivotal factor in attracting and keeping white families . . . in racially inclusive developments *ahead* of all other physical considerations . . . .

"All the significant examples of stable, racially inclusive, quality developments are found where management or resident organization has a clearly defined, conscious policy of maintaining occupancy standards and racial balance, and a well developed system of resident involvement in community activities and problem solving . . . . Affirmative programs to promote racial inclusiveness over a large area contribute to the development of a broad base of community support which generates a favorable climate for integration and helps to prevent panic sales that result in resegregation . . . . Neighborhood organizations play a key role in community integration and stablilization. However . . . they must strive for full participation of both races in leadership as well as membership and share mutually acceptable goals."

The report is firmly grounded in realities. As it concludes in a section for real estate developers: "Commitment to racial inclusiveness is not inimical to profit-making enterprise."

SOUTH TODAY **A Digest of Southern Affairs**

SOUTH TODAY is published by the Leadership Project of the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta Ga., 30303. The Southern Regional Council, founded in 1944, is a research and information agency devoted to the attainment of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South. President: John H. Wheeler, Durham, N.C. Chairman, Executive Committee: Raymond M. Wheeler, Charlotte, N.C. Vice Presidents: Josephine Wilkins, Athens, Ga.; Paul R. Christopher, Knoxville, Tenn.; Charles G. Gomillion, Tuskegee, Ala.; Lucius H. Pitts, Birmingham, Ala. Executive Director: Paul Anthony.

Reese Cleghorn, Editor **Katherine S. Griffith, Assistant Editor**

Some of the articles used in SOUTH TODAY have been edited for length. We welcome clippings which may be of use. They should indicate the date and the publication from which they came.

About South Today

When SOUTH TODAY began publication in July, we asked for it. In the first two issues, we printed a coupon requesting comments. Since most of the 10,000 people to whom we sent the initial issues had not previously received publications of the Southern Regional Council and assuredly were not expecting this one, some indication of their reaction was important for our planning.

The results were little short of overwhelming. Largely in response to the first two issues, we received 347 messages in the mail about SOUTH TODAY. About half were coupons and about half letters and cards. We had solicited negative comments by placing the words "is hogwash" and "serves no purpose" on the published coupons. Only 20 replies were negative.

Perhaps the most affirmative response was the suggestion from scores of readers that we send SOUTH TODAY to others. The names thus added to our mailing list number more than 500.

We think, then, that SOUTH TODAY is here to stay awhile. It will continue to be principally a digest of newspaper and magazine articles, although we hope to provide as many special reports of our own as possible. (Our report in the October issue on segregated private schools was quoted extensively by newspapers throughout the South and, nationally, by the Associated Press, United Press International, U. S. News and World Report, Time and the Wall Street Journal, and other publications now are moving to utilize its contents.)

When we assembled our original mailing list, we attempted to make it a list of leaders in the South. It obviously could not be comprehensive; it was a sampling, but a carefully chosen one.

We made no attempt to choose geographically, except to see that all Southern states were well represented. We therefore were curious when we began to take a look at some specific towns in the South to see who is receiving SOUTH TODAY. You may be interested, too. Here are some random examples:

Cleveland, Tenn: Nine copies, going to two ministers, a bank president, a chamber of commerce president, the head of the local anti-poverty agency, the director of an industry association, the president of a major corporation and two libraries.

Florence, Ala.: Nine copies, going to a bank president, a chamber of commerce president, two ministers, a public relations manager, a bar association leader, a library, the head of a local anti-poverty agency and a college professor.

Meridian, Miss: Eight copies, going to a bank president, two libraries, a voter registration leader, a Catholic leader, a bar association leader, a community development program leader and a minister.

Sumter, S. C.: Ten copies, going to an NAACP president, a voter registration director, a minister, four anti-poverty officials, a student newspaper and two libraries.

We continue to welcome your comments on what we are doing, as well as your suggestions about what we should do.

My Friend Calvin

By CHARLES LONGSTREET WELTNER
In Atlanta Magazine

Back when he was Grand Dragon and I was a congressman, there was a sustained period when Calvin Craig and I, like Saul of old, were muttering threats against each other. I was trying to have him, and the whole Klan, investigated; and he was trying to have me, and all Democrats like me, purged from public office. We both succeeded, in a fashion.

But Calvin has come to be a friend of mine. That may appear somewhat unusual, in view of our difference of opinion. Yet it's true.

The first time I actually saw Calvin was on October 28, 1965, in the Caucus Room of the Cannon House Office Building. That was the beginning of "Georgia Time" with the Un-American Activities Committee investigation of the Ku Klux Klan. . . .

When I walked into the hearing room that day, I saw Margaret Shannon, then Washington reporter for the Atlanta *Journal,* engaged in conversation with Calvin. . . . With purposeful tread she approached me and asked, "Have you ever met Calvin Craig?" I said I hadn't, and she pushed him over to me. I leaned forward over the bench and stuck out my hand.

"How're you?"

"Fine, how're you?"

Calvin is a big, handsome man, with frank eyes and a perpetual smile. He said something about going out to Watts and looking around. "Were you on Klan business?" Margaret asked. Came the quick answer, "You want me to start taking the Fifth before the hearing begins?"

Well, Calvin didn't tell us much—only his name, Calvin F. Craig . . .

The next time I saw Calvin was in 1968, when he had resigned as Grand Dragon, resigned from the Klan, and was running for sheriff of Fulton County. The Jaycees had sponsored a mammoth rally at a southwest shopping center—mammoth because of the number of candidates, not the number of voters. The speaking was inside, in the Community Room. A lectern was provided with one of those awful portable public address systems. Calvin's time came, and he moved up to the microphone. "Ladies and gentlemen, I am . . . ." His heavy voice came through with squeaks and squawks. He backed away, looked critically at the instrument and tried again. "You'll have to excuse me if I can't make this thing work," he offered. "I'm used to talking outdoors." That was about the only bright comment from all candidates, from justice of the peace to U.S. senator. . . .

Because neither Calvin nor I won last year, we are both back at our old jobs. I wondered about a man like Calvin. Seeing him and hearing him, I wondered how he got that way, and where he's going. And I wonder how many more, like him, can change a little along the way. . . .

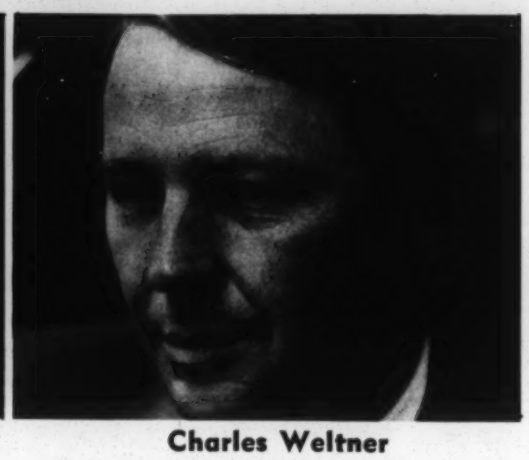
He tells that story:

"I joined the Klan in 1960. I went to one public meeting, at Stone Mountain, before I actually went into the Klan. At that time, it was the U.S. Klans. Eldon Edwards, from College Park, was the Imperial Wizard. My mother was involved with the Ladies Auxiliary. In other words, she was already a member of the Ladies Auxiliary before I joined. And she had talked with us about it. My wife put in her application, I put in mine. My wife was 'called' approximately two months before I joined in March, and was assigned to N. B. Forrest Klavern in Atlanta, meeting on Lee Street at that time, over Brewer's Drug Store, at Oakland City.

"I didn't know a soul who was in there, not even the Cyclops. The ritual was real impressive . . . real impressive. I enjoyed it. Enjoyed it very much.

"Back then, I thought mainly I wanted to join he Klan because I've always been the type person to like adventure. Another thing was the Negro question, or you might say threat, which we all seen back then. . . .

Calvin Craig



Charles Weltner

"That was still U.S. Klans then. Then Bobby Shelton and Edwards wasn't getting along. He (Shelton) was setting up his own Klan, the Alabama Knights, because Edwards was putting him out of the U.S. Klans. For three or four months after (Bill) Davidson was elected, there was a lot of dissension being led by E. E. George, creating turmoil, to try to get Davidson to relinquish his post.

"So there was a meeting held by the Imperial Body at Marietta Street and Northside Drive. Davidson resigned that night and I resigned that night, all because Mrs. Edwards was making claims against the U.S. Klan for work Edwards had done: the Kloran, by-laws of the Klan, and all that he had written up. Then we started to get in touch with all the units throughout the Empire to come into a new Klan—and that's when we formed the United Klans of America. That would have been in 1963, about June. We pulled in all but one unit in the State of Georgia. There must have been about 65 or 70 units, all-told. I held the same office in the UKA (Grand Dragon for the Realm of Georgia). We reorganized under a different name, sort of getting rid of the Edwards dispute. . . ."

The new Grand Dragon began then to extend Klan activities into new areas, competing, oddly enough, with the League of Women Voters and the NAACP. Craig claims 10,857 new voters as the result of a registration drive formulated and carried out by the Klan. But that was not without internal repercussion.

"When I started the voter registration . . . I thought that this would be a good image for the Klan, that a lot of these people would realize that Klanspeople are not as bad as the public image. I thought maybe that this would bring the Klan closer to the people and in some phases that you could reindoctrinate the Klan on some issues and maybe the public would accept some issues of the Klan. I got a small amount of support from the Klan on this, but a lot of the Klansmen felt that this was a waste of time, that wasn't what we needed. They felt we needed to ride the roads, burn crosses, and all that kinda stuff.

"And then I got involved in the Model Cities program. Then I got more opposition from some Klanspeople. Since I was getting this opposition, I went ahead and submitted my resignation as of May. I felt it only fair that a new man should have the opportunity to be advised on the functions of the Klan and to be active in the Klan in a leading capacity."

Craig's resignation, as Dragon and Klansman, was widely noted. Many observers obviously felt that it was something other than a genuine desire to move toward a more moderate position on public issues. The Klan, now Dragonless, did not express itself publicly. Doubtless, those remaining within the order were even more suspicious of their leader's motives than outsiders, and his almost immediate announcement as a candidate for sheriff did nothing to reassure them.

"A lot of them felt that I had sold out —betrayed them—but I didn't feel that way. I felt that this really was the chance that we needed; that this was the chance I had been trying to get for years and years: an opportunity to sit at the table, and to learn what *are* the problems; what *do* the black people want.

"My wife was glad I was out of it. She feels the Klan was wrong in the way they felt about my quitting. I wish every Klansman had the opportunity to sit at a conference table and learn the ills of both poor black people and poor white people.

"Some of my friends in the Klan supported me for sheriff; some didn't. A very small percent, very small, took an active part in my campaign. A lot of them felt I had betrayed them because I made the statement I would have put on Negro deputies, and I would have. I would have made sure they had a voice in the sheriff's office. I don't think I received a dime from any person connected with Klan."

As is frequently the case, the public figure who changes his mind draws the ire of friend and foe alike, and Calvin experienced what many other have. Realizing that he is fully accepted by no one, he states it:

"I feel like a drunk who converted himself and joined the church and hasn't drunk in years—and yet people still say he's a drunk. People are still suspicious of my motives. It's just the nature of people themselves. Then, a lot of people misinterpreted my position on law and order. I feel that law and order is not bringing in state troopers and tanks, and National Guard. Law and order is basically keeping the streets safe so any citizen can walk the streets without being molested by black people or white people. A lot of people felt when I said stand up for law and order that I would do everything I could to hurt and harm the black people."

There is no doubt that the impetus for the Klan movement is what Calvin called the "Negro threat." Now that he has laid aside his robe, offered himself for public scrutiny by offering himself for public office, what does he really feel? What does he think about black people? About civil rights? What is the responsibility of government in the realm of poverty?

"You've got to have change with progress. I know a lot of people who have quit the Klan. They felt they were fighting a losing battle. The basis for the whole thing today is to give underprivileged people a better place to live, better jobs, better educational facilities—the whole thing. People I know of who've quit the Klan realize that also. You can see the change in what they would have said a few years ago. . . .

"In a lot of cases the blacks have got a crummy deal. A spotlight is being focused on a lot of the ills of the community, but it's not curing the ills of the community. There are a lot of changes that need to be made for the black people that they can't help themselves. The white people are going to have to help them. For instance, instead of these low-rent projects, they ought to reclaim some of this land and build individual houses in there, selling them on a rental-purchase plan. This would help the black community. It would give them the incentive that they are buying something, they will soon have home ownership. . . .

"People, including myself, who were so opposed to so many things, today realize that 90 per cent of the ideas 10 years ago were not as bad as we thought.

"A man operating a business should have some rights. But we have to accept the fact that all men have a right to go into a restaurant and eat; go into a hotel and spend the night. A lot of the rights guaranteed by the Civil Rights Act have helped a lot of people.

"I spent a lot of time resisting those changes. I think I was wrong."

Calvin Craig is in many ways the most representative man in the public eye of Atlanta: 41 years old, white, married, father of two children, educated to the tenth grade, income of about $8,000 a year. He is the statistical average of the million-plus who make up the metropolitan area. Doubtless he spoke the fears and apprehensions of the mass of white people earlier in the decade, and was moved by those fears to take the step of Klan membership.

I like to hope that his latter career, also, is representative. With a little time and a little experience, the terrors of the new equality were proved to be but painted devils. Reality intervened, and Craig began to see the similarity of the burdens of the poor—black and white. Laying aside the older forms of resistance, he now became convinced of the necessity for conciliation. The conference table is his talisman, capable of resolving tension and strife, in the streets, on campus, or in Southeast Asia.

Calvin has come at last to believe in the worth of men, and in their basic honesty and capacity for fairness. On that belief he has staked a great deal. Bearing up under the taunts of his former colleagues and the doubts of others, he was not afraid to move.

Unless he is followed by many, many more whose circumstances and outlook he reflected, there is little likelihood that we can find a better life down South. His example is the substance of things still hoped for, and the evidence of things yet unseen.

U.S.D.A.:

It Remains Government's Worst Rights Offender

A Staff Report by Kitty Griffith

Crop quotas are to many Southern farmers, as to farmers everywhere in the country, a matter of economic life and death. Each September farmers elect their local communities' Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS) committees, which in turn elect county ASCS committees. The county ASCS committees determine individual crop allotments and administer farm programs totaling $3.5 billion nationally during the current fiscal year.

Since the committee system was initiated in 1933, only two Negroes have been elected to county-level ASCS committees in the South, which today have 4,100 members. The first, Otis Pinkard of Macon County, Ala. was elected last year for a three-year term.

Since then there has been much talk that major breakthroughs were at hand in this patently discriminatory pattern. It was hoped that progress could be made through the election process. Some observers thought 1969 would be a year of break-through.

The 1969 ASCS elections now have come and gone. On the county level only one new Negro committeeman was elected: William S. Payne of Marshall County, Miss. That means that black representation has risen to slightly more than one-twentieth of one per cent on the county committees in a region where Negroes are 13 per cent of the farm owners (and 20 per cent or higher in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina).

On the community level, Negroes lost ground. Of 30,000 alternate and regular community ASCS positions in the South, only 380 were filled by blacks in elections this year, down from 418 in 1968. All the slippage was accounted for in the election of alternate committeemen. For 2,648 such positions, only 285 Negroes were elected, 44 fewer than last year. Six more Negroes won regular community ASCS seats in the September election, raising the total to 89 in the region. Only regular community committeemen vote in the county convention to elect county committees and decide on county policy. The alternates have no decision-making role.

The slight increase in the number of regular community committeemen did not produce a black majority among community committeemen in any Southern county, though in 256 counties blacks are more than 50 per cent of the rural population. In Macon County, Ala., where the black farming population is 72.5 per cent, Negroes lost the majority among community committeemen which they had gained last year. Consequently, Mr. Pinkard, who had been elected chairman of the county committee last year because of the black majority among community committeemen, was demoted to vice chairman.

The selection of a Negro for the ASCS committee of Marshall County, Miss., came as something of a surprise. Mr. Payne was elected at a county meeting of community ASCS committee members, most of whom were white. Marshall County, in the Delta, has a farm-operator population 68.9 per cent black, but only two Negroes were elected this year to serve on the community ASCS committees there.

The lack of representation of blacks on ASCS committees is only one of the continuing examples of discrimination in federal agricultural programs. The Department of Agriculture repeatedly has been found guilty of discriminating against Negroes in employment practices and in the administration of its programs.

The Agriculture Department's most notorious offender in the area of civil rights is the Cooperative State Extension Service, a joint federal-state-local effort, which counsels farmers in new techniques, operates home demonstration projects and sponsors 4-H Club programs. Traditionally in the South, the chief male and female extension positions are held by whites. Also traditional are black agents (always called "associate agents" or "assistant agents") in extension work who have been limited to serving other blacks. Even now there are no blacks serving as chief county-level extension officials, though in Virginia there are two Negroes with district authority. Southwide, there are approximately 840 black extension workers, all of whom deal almost exclusively with blacks.

Blacks employed by the Extension Service tend to have lower-level jobs than whites, though often they have higher academic qualifications than whites who out-rank them and who make higher salaries than their black counter-parts. In addition, blacks often have heavier work loads in areas with large black populations.

In April the Justice Department criticized the Agriculture Department for not fully providing its services to blacks. In attempting to overcome these charges, Agriculture Secretary Clifford M. Hardin issued an order in September to all agency heads giving them until March 31, 1970, to comply fully with civil rights laws.

Hardin's memorandum, dated Sept. 23, stated three objectives:

"Correct programs in which practices bar integration and thus allow or lead to participation on a segregated basis. . . .

"Correct programs that have been conducted in ways that permit economic barriers or social inhibitions to limit participation of certain racial, color or nationality groups. . . .

"Correct programs in which service to specific racial, color or nationality groups is inferior because of the failure of department employes or cooperators to work across racial lines. . . ."

Secretary Hardin's orders to USDA agencies are encouraging, but next March will prove whether his orders are effective.

The Farmers Home Administration, which lends money at low interest to farmers for current operations, farm expansion, home building and improvement, and provides economic opportunity loans for the poorest farmers, has done more than any other branch of the Agriculture Department to correct racial inequities.

Although 320 blacks are serving on county FHA committees in the South this year, a memorandum issued by the FHA to all state directors in September said: "We are concerned about the fact that minority groups constitute only seven per cent of our county committeemen total. Our appointment record in this respect can and must improve."

In order to improve minority representation on county committees, the FHA suggested that counties with a minority group constituting 50 per cent or more of the rural farm-operator population to appoint at least two members from that minority group to serve on the three-man FHA committee. In the South this means that Negroes will soon be in control of many local FHA committees.

The Department of Agriculture has been a long-time offender in the field of civil rights. Attacks frequently have been leveled against the department for laxity in seeing that farm programs, emergency loans, rural housing and employment were provided equally to minority groups. Within the department, some hopeful signs of change are seen, but only time will tell whether written orders will be enforced and carried out in the South.

The fact that Negroes have not had any control over ASCS and other agricultural program decisions as well as the fact that there is continued discrimination in program services undoubtedly influences the continuing migration of blacks from rural areas. Increased political activity by blacks obviously is a way in which black farmers can achieve a stronger voice in the administration of farm programs. But equally obvious is the fact that until the U.S. Department of Agriculture moves forcefully to end patterns enforced by decades of dominance by Southern white supremacists, black Southern farmers will be denied equal protection under the law.

Farmers:

'The Genesis of a Chicago Riot May Be Traced to a Cotton Field'

By Paul Good

Paul Good wrote this report as part of a publication entitled CYCLE TO NOWHERE, published by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. The full report is available from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

MOST Alabama blacks learn to be poor on the land. The rural landscape in the Black Belt today is barren of hope for Negroes as it always has been.

Apologists for white supremacy and government officials derelict in their duty to assist impartially all farmers have a conscience-easing rationale for today's desperate conditions. They blame them on farm mechanization and other technological improvements that have combined with a shift away from cotton to cripple small cotton farmers in general and black ones in particular.

. . . Undeniably mechanization *is* a large factor in forcing blacks out of the farm economy and worsening their poverty. But blacks were poor before the first mechanical cotton picker lumbered onto an Alabama field in the early 40's and the only thing different about the old shacks they lived in then is that today they are 25 years older.

The Agriculture Department reports that 98 per cent of Negro farms in the area are inadequate. It does not report that segregated and inferior service from Alabama agencies of the department has played an historic role in this inadequacy, a role that is little improved in 1968. The 1965 Civil Rights Commission report on *Equal Opportunity in Farm Programs* concluded:

"The Commission's analysis of four major USDA programs has clearly indicated that the department has generally failed to assume responsibility for assuring equal opportunity and equal treatment to all those entitled to benefit from its programs. Instead, the prevailing practice has been to follow local patterns of racial segregation and discrimination in providing assistance paid for by federal funds . . . As the group most depressed economically, most deprived educationally and most oppressed socially, Negroes have been consistently denied access to many services, provided with inferior services when served, and segregated in federally financed agriculture programs whose very task was to raise their standard of living."

Some improvements were ordered from Washington, a few orders were implemented but staff investigators for the hearing (found):

"In 1968, three years after the commission's report and four years after this nation committed itself to nondiscrimination in federally assisted programs, there has been no significant change in agricultural programs in Alabama."

This means that a lot of law is being broken in Alabama with the federal government accessory before and after the fact. Many Negroes feel that behind the lawlessness is a systematic effort by white Alabamians to force politically renascent Negroes out of the state by making life on the land untenable. Whether or not this is the intent, the effect of their behavior is apparent.

Black population in the 16-county (Black Belt) area has dropped by 25 per cent in the last 25 years. Thousands have been evicted from tenant farms to drift like flotsam, washing up in Northern ghettos or in Alabama urban centers where the menial jobs are colored black. Rev. William Branch, a civil rights leader and the first black congressional aspirant from Greene County since Reconstruction, saw nearly 100 families turned out overnight, stunned and penniless in a state that would not help them to shelter infants in arms while the federal government looked the other way.

Others who had lived with the knowledge they could not prosper in Alabama chose to emigrate when it became increasingly doubtful that they could even survive. A hard core remains, men like 66-year-old Hosea Guice, who still plows with two mules in Macon County and has no desire to uproot and go North.

"I am happy on the land," he says, "On my country home. I love it, maybe because I don't know any better but I am happy on my country home."

His country is 80 per cent black. Negroes are grossly under-represented on all farm committees and federal farm agencies, whether the composition is elective or appointive. For example, only one of three FHA county committeemen is black. No Negro serves on the three-man county agriculture committee (based on elections by county farmers under Agriculture Department regulations) which is empowered to tell farmers how much cotton they may plant and which decides how much federal payment they should receive when they voluntarily cut their planting to reduce the nation's cotton surplus.

Guice spoke out for civil rights and his own personal rights decades ago when most black Alabamians only whispered of such things. He praises federal programs as "very helpful" and suggests that black farmers who fail are somehow remiss. At the same time, he has had to fight to get correct payments from the county committee administering Agriculture Department money.

"You see, there's only so much federal money allotted to Macon County," he explains. "If they cut down the Negroes, they can raise the whites."

The nation at large has been unaware of this private and governmental pressure that Negro farmers simply call "the squeeze." It is a complicated story and urban America's interest in farms understandably begins and ends with supermarket prices. But the poverty cycle dispossessing Southern black men fills Northern and Western slums with the smouldering cynicism of despair, with long memories of white oppression on one-mule farms and the genesis of a Chicago riot may be traced to a Black Belt cotton field.

Agriculture is big business in Alabama. Gross farm income in 1967 was $700 mil-

Co-ops:

'No Man Is Free Until He Makes His Living'

By Hank Leifermann in Atlanta Magazine

If you have never heard of Bill Harrison the revolutionist, listen to this conversation from a while back as Harrison, two of his associates, and a writer drove down Alabama 14 from Selma to Eutaw on a pitch-black Alabama evening, not another car in sight.

Harrison is talking about co-ops, farmer co-operatives, for black people. Like the Grange in the Midwest and the Rural Electrification Administration. "The sole thing in the mind of the white man down here is to drive black folks out," he says. The thirty-five-year-old native Alabama college graduate continues. "There must be some way that black folks can stay in the South and make a living if they want to. The black population exceeds the white in many places. The whites force the black man out, and what does he do? He goes North, looking for a job. He can't find one; he gets frustrated; he burns down the city; or his children and grandchildren do. Never will a man be free until he can make his own living."

Harrison does not wear Movement overalls, blue denim shirts or jeans. He's got on a brown tweed sport coat, grey slacks, chukka boots, glasses, and holds a pipe. John Kenneth Galbraith on the farm. His revolution is the co-op movement, and his subjects are America's most conservative citizens—the middle-aged, rural, Southern black farmer. These people rarely joined the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. on the barricade. Selma's march came and went and they didn't move. Stokely Carmichael and the original Black Panther party left them cold. Now, because of Harrison and about six score men and women like him, and because of the co-op plan, they are all revolutionists.

In Alabama there are vegetable farmers. On the South Carolina coast they are oyster and shrimp fishermen. Their economic movement may be—if successful—the most significant happening in Dixie since Richard Russell and Mendel Rivers took over the defense establishment and brought home the bacon. It could produce a new group in the nation's middle class: the black, rural Southern farmer and fisherman.

Harrison is the president of the Southwest Alabama Farmers' Cooperative Association, Inc., called SWAFCA. It is one of *forty* such co-ops in the Deep South. SWAFCA works out of Selma and serves the southwest corner of Alabama. There are 2,000 Negro family members in SWAFCA's ten counties.

"What's a co-op? Our definitions are a little different from the Agriculture Department's. It's an instrument or organ that will bring about social, political and economic changes," Harrison says from the back seat. He makes no bones about it. White folks in southwest Alabama should never forget that SWAFCA is not just a farm co-op, but also a political base, openly and rapidly working at making their votes count.

The co-op movement is the other side of the coin from black capitalism. Richard M. Nixon wants black capitalism. Bill Harrison wants co-ops. Ralph Abernathy calls it black socialism. There are more than 12,000 Negro families in Southern co-ops today, according to the Office of Economic Opportunity. Their movement began in 1961 with the Southern Consumers in Lafayette, Louisiana. But only in the past two years, primarily with seed money in grants and loans from OEO, the Farmers' Home Administration, and private foundations, have the co-ops taken root and spread.

In Marks, Mississippi, there is the Freedomcraft Candy Co-operative. In Alberta, Alabama, there is the Freedom Quilting Bee. Negro shrimpers at Frogmore, on the South Carolina coast, formed a co-op to cut operating costs and pool their catch for larger, higher paying markets. . . .

Harrison's economic philosophy, although he's an integrationist and not a separatist, closely matches that of Eldridge Cleaver, the San Francisco Black Panther who fled to Cuba. Cleaver in an interview with *Look* Magazine's Bill Hedgepeth: "The Black Power reaction that set in with Stokely was a necessary development. But, we're beyond the articulation of Black Power as a goal. I think we are getting into creating mechanisms through which power for black people can be achieved. The basis of political power in this country is money. I think a Yankee Doodle Dandy form of socialism is what we need to take the wealth away from a few and make it the property of all."

Socialism and capitalism? They seem nothing more than words, words, words. Today there are subsidies to the shipping industry from the federal government, to the airlines, to railroads, to truck in the form of highways, to defense plants—and that "cost plus 10 per cent" deal on the defense contracts. Cost Plus Ten Per Cent! Banks advertise—they brag—about savings certificates that give 5 or 6 per cent. . . .

It's hard to disagree with Harrison's contention that if major corporations in the nation faced the kind of constant press and governmental scrutiny that SWAFCA and its fellow co-ops do, Detroit would be turning out smoke-free, accident-proof cars that seldom need repairing, never become obsolete and retail for a thousand dollars.

The General Accounting Office, Congress' investigative audit arm, made an audit of SWAFCA's books at the insistence of the Alabama press and three Alabama congressmen. For eleven months, March to January, the fact that SWAFCA was under investigation—and that something might, just might be wrong (Communists, maybe, or hardened criminals), got great public attention. Most reporters in Alabama never could say "SWAFCA". They said, "the controversial SWAFCA." The parallel would be saying "the controversial Lockheed" every time a couple million more gets tacked on a contract. The GAO audit found SWAFCA's accounting procedures inadequate. The co-op books were a mess. GAO had some harsh things to say about the political leanings of some former and present SWAFCA staffers, and turned these tidbits over to the FBI. But, as it turned out, the political criticism came from the Alabama congressmen.

Why all the fuss about a bunch of black farmers getting together to farm? One, according to Harrison, some white food brokers were cut out and losing money. Two, the black man who makes a living on his farm isn't likely to sell his vote. A short primer on co-ops and farmers:

Big farmers make big money. One good year can produce enough cash to weather several bad ones. A co-op operates on the same principle. The members pool their money, acreage allotments, equipment and labor to buy in large quantity at lower, bulk-rate prices on fertilizer, seeds, machinery and the technical advice of soil, seed and plant experts. Bigger and better crops find bigger and better markets. Instead of selling to the local grocery or taking rock-bottom prices from local food brokers, the co-op members go out-of-state to supermarket chains and major food producers. This year, for example, SWAFCA turned out cucumbers, okra, peas, sweet potatoes, squash, snap beans, butterbeans, turnips, collards, mustard greens and onions. . . .

Racism and poverty are far from gone in places such as southwest Alabama, rural Mississippi and coastal South Carolina. In SWAFCA's area, the schools, hospitals and business districts in the Saturday-go-to-market towns like Selma, Eutaw, Greensboro, Fort Deposit and Demopolis are still segregated. In SWAFCA's ten counties, however, blacks outnumber whites. In four of the counties 75 per cent or more of the population is black. Voter registration can change the segregated life-style in these towns. But, Harrison says, black votes can and are bought by white politicians. Buying a vote from a hungry sharecropper, and trying to buy one from a man secure in his own farm are far different things. Nearly all of white Alabama's politicians, from governor to probate judge, white farmer to white social worker, are fully aware of that fact. It has cost SWAFCA a lot.

The late Lurleen Wallace, who tried to veto SWAFCA grants from OEO when she was governor of Alabama, once claimed that, "There is abundant evidence available which shows the link between this group (SWAFCA) and the violent black power organization, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNICK), whose leaders called for the assassination of me, my husband and my child here in Montgomery on June 13, 1967." She referred to a quote attributed to Stokely Carmichael earlier that same month saying, "any time they give a black man a gun and tell him to shoot his enemy, and he don't shoot Lurleen and George and little Junior, he's a fool." Carmichael has about as much in common—and to do with—SWAFCA, especially SWAFCA's members, who are turned off by Carmichael more than most white people are—as do the Wallaces. . . .

All of this culminated in the Alabama legislature passing a joint resolution about SWAFCA saying that any federal money given it would "finance the lawless Black Panther movement designed to overthrow the government of this country and particularly the government of Southern states."

There is little Harrison and most other Negroes in the South would like more than seeing most of Dixie's legislatures dismissed. No doubt a few Southern congressmen would not be missed by them. But there is a vast difference between armed insurrection and voting them out.

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lion with Government agricultural agencies spending nearly $200 million in the state. Ninety million came from direct USDA payments in the form of price subsidies and soil diversion checks, that is, money paid to farmers *not* to plant surplus crops like cotton and corn or to plant only controlled acreage of such crops. Large farmers get an unproportionate lion's share of these payments, while small, poor farmers get the leavings.

Cotton no longer is king in the Black Belt but it remains a somewhat discredited prince. Poultry, livestock, and cotton are the big moneymakers, in that order, reversing the order of the 30's. The Department of Agriculture increasingly transfers cotton allotments from the Black Belt to southwestern states where assembly-line, corporation farms produce more dependable yields that simplify domestic and international marketing of a better-grade cotton. What all this means is that cotton farming in the Black Belt is slowly but inevitably succumbing to complex market pressures with federal planning speeding up the process.

As this development became apparent over the years, white Alabama farmers were receiving federal financing and technical training that enabled them to break free of the one-crop cotton economy and diversify into poultry, livestock, and specialty crops. But as the decades of change in the 30's, 40's, and 50's passed, Negroes were left behind. Today, 80 per cent of Alabama black farmers are still yoked to cotton on small, economically unfeasible farms while only 32 per cent of whites remain cotton farmers, under universally better conditions. Only 4 per cent of Negroes are in livestock, less than 1 per cent in poultry

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SOME FACTS ABOUT RURAL POVERTY

Some key facts about rural poverty, as determined by the President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty in 1967:

—About 30 per cent of the nation's population lives in rural areas, but 40 per cent of the nation's poor do.

—One in four people living in rural areas is classified as poor. The total is 14 million. Most are white. But a higher percentage of blacks in rural areas (three out of five) are poor, and most of these are in the South's Black Belt.

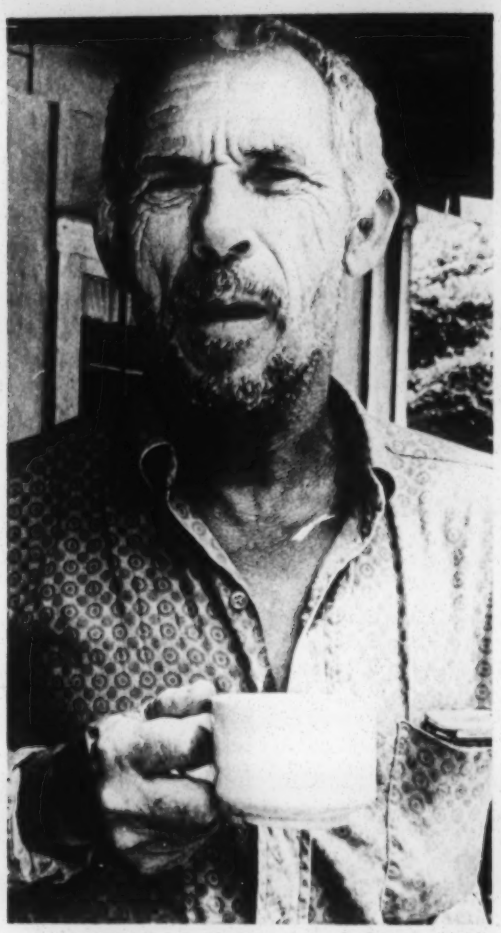
—The unemployment rate in rural areas is about 18 per cent.

—Between 1950 and 1965 new machines and new methods increased farm output by 45 per cent and reduced farm employment 45 per cent. Farm employment is expected to again decline 45 per cent by 1980.

who makes the money?

Poorest 20 Per Cent Get Only 5 Per Cent

By ARNOLD KANTOR
In The AFL-CIO Federationist



Possibly some 21st Century historian will look back at the economic and social scene of the 1960s and call it the time when man finally discovered that what was true of the whole was not necessarily true of the parts.

In a book published in 1958, Harvard Professor J. Kenneth Galbraith heralded America as the "affluent society." Yet exactly a decade after Galbraith's popular "The Affluent Society," another best seller —"The Rich and the Super-Rich"—reached the book stands. In that book the author claimed, "It would be difficult in the 1960s for a large majority of Americans to show fewer significant possessions if the country had long labored under a grasping dictatorship." And, at the same time, says author Ferdinand Lundberg, "a relative handful of Americans are extravagantly endowed like princes in the Arabian Nights tales."

Certainly the situation is not nearly as bleak as Lundberg seems to imply. But the notion of general affluence also obscures many disquieting elements. For America's overall blanket of increasing well-being has some dramatic differences in the degree of warmth and comfort it affords different people.

As Lundberg's title indicates, the United States does have its rich and its super-rich. And it does have its poor. But a closer study reveals that the old adage of the rich getting richer and the poor getting poorer isn't quite the case.

What is really happening is that the rich are getting richer and the poor are moving up—slowly. And there are real problems in the middle, for those who are neither rich nor poor.

The most recent complete survey, made in 1967 when the median income was $8,000, shows that 35 per cent of America's families could boast an income of over $10,000, almost a fourth received incomes of over $12,000.

On closer look the view is not quite as rosy. For example:

——Though median family income in 1967 was $8,000, the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics says it took $9,076 to provide a "moderate" standard of living for an urban family of four. A budget perhaps more in line with the popular conception of American affluence would, according to the BLS, require $13,050 per year for the same family.

——17.3 million families (one-third of the nation's total) enjoyed 1967 incomes of $10,000 or over. But, for three out of four of these families, it took two or more breadwinners to achieve this income.

——For families relying on only one earner, the chance of being among the over-$10,000 group was only one-in-four.

——Only one-in-six Negro families achieved the $10,000-and-over bracket, and nine out of every ten of these families had two or more wage earners.

——A white family's chances of being above the government's poverty-income line was ten-to-one whereas one in three Negro families was poor.

Thus averages provide a useful first look at what's going on, but they do not tell the whole story on such critically important goals as balanced economic growth and eliminating the paradox of poverty amidst plenty.

The most telling anomalies is the notion of overall well-being come from the U.S. Census Bureau family-income survey. For example, 40 per cent of the nation's families received only 17.6 of the total personal income in 1967. The poorest 20 per cent received only 5.4 per cent of the income pie.

At the upper end of the scale, 20 per cent of the nation's families received 41.2 per cent of the total income, leaving only 59 per cent for the remaining 80 per cent of the nation's households.

The problems of poverty can be considered generally as concern for those who are at the bottom of the income distribution ladder. As already noted, one-fifth of the nation's families received only one-twentieth of the nation's income. These families received 1967 incomes of less than $4,000 and most of them were existing on incomes below the government's poverty income threshold.

Improvements—and rather marked improvements—have occurred. From over 40 million persons below the government-defined poverty level in 1960, or about 22 per cent of the total population, the number declined in 1968 to an estimated 25.4 million, or about 13 per cent of the population. Despite this dramatic improvement, a sizable poor segment remains, as does an additional group of near-poor.

Income distribution is an emotion-charged phrase and a generally unfashionable topic. Confining the discussion to the extremes—those at the very top and those at the very bottom—does not, however, stir too much controversy. Not many will question the propriety of private and public efforts to alleviate the circumstance of those who can spend only 75¢ a day or less for food. And it is fairly safe to claim that the increasing concentration of vast amounts of wealth and economic power in the hands of an elite few is a dangerous trend.

Something else emerges from statistics of the census takers and other analysts—something workers and their families have known for quite some time.

We are winning some of the battles in the fight to eliminate poverty, though this war has hardly begun. We have also reached a point where greater emphasis must be placed on the needs, the problems, and the inequities that are chipping away at the living standards of those who find themselves in the middle. It is in this area that battle lines are becoming more tightly drawn.

In its simplest terms it is quite clear that the dollars needed to eliminate poverty —at least as a statistic—are available.

To help the man in the middle, the situation is far more complicated. The notion of fair shares digs deeply into questions of wages, salaries, profits, dividends, rents, interest payments and the like. Altering the distribution of income between these groups requires a mix of private and government policies including collective bargaining, skill and job upgrading, monetary policy, and public spending.

What is clear is that there is a squeeze.

The average non-supervisory worker in private employment in May 1969 earned $113.55. At the same time the Labor Department reports that it requires well over $175 per week to maintain a four person family in urban areas at merely a moderate standard of living, with few luxuries. And the buying power of the weekly take-home pay of the average non-supervisory employee in 1969 was somewhat less than in 1965.

In contrast, corporate profits, after taxes, were up over 6 per cent in the first half of 1969 compared to the same period of the previous year and almost 12 per cent greater than in 1965. In the first 6 months of 1969 dividend payments to stockholders were 6 per cent greater than in the January-June period of 1968 and 21 per cent above 1965.

The New York Times in May of this year reported that "the average remuneration of top executives is up 9 per cent." A 9 per cent gain in remuneration for most top business executives amounts to more than the average non-supervisory worker earns in an entire year. Business Week of June 7, 1969, said "most top bankers drew more than $200,000" in 1968. And tax gimmicks reduce the income tax rate on portions of such compensation of many top business officials.

The amount of income that a nation can produce determines the levels of living possible for its citizens.

This amount of income may be widely distributed throughout the population, providing the highest possible standard of living for the greatest number of people. Or, it may be concentrated in the hands of a few, creating societies of palaces or castles for a fortunate minority while the great majority of the population lives in huts or hovels. In the United States, wealth and income are widely distributed, but a substantial amount is concentrated in a tiny segment of the population.

In addition an appropriate balance must be struck between the amounts of income set aside for the future and that which can be distributed and consumed in the present.

The question of what is the perfect, or even appropriate, level of equality or inequality of distribution of income has never been answered and probably never will. . . .

The real question, however, is not whether income and wealth should be distributed equally, but how much inequality is appropriate and consistent with our economic and social goals. In a free society, this issue is one of continuing importance.

In the public sector, significantly, many of the more forward-looking programs of the 1960s grew out of the recognition that substantial differences exist in the ways in which the affluent society provides for many Americans. The Area Redevelopment Act of 1961 recognized that many areas and regions of the U.S. are not participating in the general prosperity. The Manpower Development and Training Act stemmed from the awareness that rapid technological change was a necessary ingredient to economic growth and improved living standards but the benefits and the burdens of new technology would not automatically be shared equitably. Job vacancies and considerable unemployment existed at the same time.

By and large this same question of fair shares lies at the core of the present demands of the nation's citizens for a fair, equitable and just tax structure. Government spending programs do much to alleviate the imbalances in income distribution since low and moderate income groups rely relatively heavily on the facilities and services provided by the public sector.

But, unfortunately, the unfairness in our present tax systems—federal, state and local —run counter to the goals of many public spending programs. According to the President's Economic Advisers the nation's tax structure redistributes income "away from the poor." At the same time those of modest and middle incomes are bearing a disproportionately high share of the tax burden, while those with wealth and ability to pay escape their fair share. Hopefully, many of these inequities will be reversed as the present federal tax reform bill works its way through the legislative process.

Thus, though few would attempt to an swer specifically what an appropriate target should be, the facts on income and wealth—particularly that the distribution has either been stable or moving toward greater inequality—are cause for alarm. These facts should play a larger role in affecting the decisions which are shaping the course of the nation.

From Page 1

and selective sales taxes.) Other state figures include: Georgia, 68.8 per cent; Tennessee, 71.4 per cent; Alabama, 70.1 per cent; Florida, 75.0 per cent; North Carolina, 57.2 per cent; South Carolina, 64.9 per cent; and Arkansas, 65.3 per cent.

"It is ironic," Dr. Galambos observes, "that the lowest income states make the greatest use of those taxes which weigh most heavily on the poor."

Dr. Galambos concludes that it frequently is desirable from the consumer's viewpoint for equipment and materials that are used in production of consumer goods to be exempt from the sales tax. Such would be the case where, for instance, a 3 per cent sales tax is paid on the price of a dozen eggs. "If the poultryman were required to pay 3 per cent on the feed for his hens, he would likely pass this extra cost on to the consumer, who would then pay 3 per cent plus a hidden tax on his dozen eggs." Exemptions on services such as those provided by beauty and barber shops, however, accentuate the regressivity of the sales tax. Generally, upper income groups spend more on such services than people in lower income brackets.

Sales taxes seem to be on the increase. Two state legislatures raised their general sales tax rates in 1969: South Carolina, from 3 to 4 per cent, and Texas, from 3 per cent to 3.25 per cent. Both states also increased the selective sales tax on cigarettes. South Carolina brought its rate up from 5 to 6 cents per package; Texas from 11 cents to 15.5 cents per package. Proposals to increase the sales tax rate have been suggested for North Carolina and Georgia legislatures in 1970.

Since there seems to be no way entirely to abandon sales taxes, Dr. Galambos suggests the use of tax credits to make such taxes somewhat more bearable to the extremely poor. "For instance," she says, "Colorado permits each person a $7.00 credit against family state income and a $7.00 rebate per person where no income tax is owed . . . In Iowa the credit and rebate are progressively higher as family income is lower."

Nationwide, states with income taxes derive 22.4 per cent of their revenue from income taxes. In the South only Virginia, with 30.3 per cent, exceeds this national average. Tennessee receives only 1.8 per cent of its financing from income taxes; Mississippi, 3.4 per cent; Louisiana, 5.2 per cent; Arkansas, 11.0 per cent; Georgia, 15.1 per cent; South Carolina, 15.8 per cent; Alabama, 12.0 per cent; and North Carolina, 22.4 per cent.

State income tax rates are not nearly as progressive as federal. Though some non-Southern states have income tax rates ranging as high as 14 per cent at the highest income bracket, no Southern state has a rate exceeding 7 per cent. "To determine progressiveness of an income tax, one must not only examine rates, but also the income bracket at which progression stops," Dr. Galambos adds. In Alabama and Mississippi progression ceases at the $5,000 income level. In Georgia, North Carolina and South Carolina the cut-off point is $10,000. In Virginia it is $20,000; Arkansas, $25,000; and

Sales Taxes, Which Hit the Poor, Again Are Increasing in the South

A STAFF SUMMARY By BOB ANDERSON

Louisiana, $50,000. In Tennessee there is no state income tax except on interest and dividends.

Dr. Galambos is critical of local personal income taxes as they most often are applied. In effect, they are "payroll taxes." She says:

"Under a typical municipal payroll tax, the wages and salaries of employed individuals and the net profits of unincorporated businesses are taxed at a flat rate (often 1 per cent.) This covers all earnings of the typical wage earner, who usually has no income other than his salary. The payroll tax does not touch interest, rent or dividends. Thus a payroll tax, which often masquerades as an ability-to-pay tax, may end up to be as regressive as a sales tax."

To illustrate her point, she brings out the fact that typically a wage earner spends one fourth of his salary on rent. "There is no sales tax on rents. Thus while the one per cent sales tax may apply to three fourths of his income, the 1 per cent payroll tax would apply to his total salary." A genuine local income tax, she asserts, would use a comprehensive tax base, including interest, dividends, and capital gains.

Corporate income taxes in the Southern states yield approximately the same percentage of total state revenue as in non-Southern states. Nationally the figure in 1967 averaged 7 per cent of state tax collections. Among the Southern states the yield from corporate income taxes is lowest in Louisiana (5.6 percent) and Mississippi (5.5 percent). It is highest in North Carolina (11.1 percent) and South Carolina (11 per cent.) Texas and Florida have no corporate income tax.

In addition to levies on corporate income, the states derive revenue from businesses through taxes on insurance, public utilities gross receipts, alcohol and amusements, as well as through occupational license taxes and "severance" taxes on the extraction of natural resources. (Severance taxes are of major significance only in Louisiana and Texas, which raise 31.2 per cent and 16.8 per cent respectively of their state revenues from this source.) Due largely to its severance tax, Louisiana leads the Southern states in total revenue derived from all business sources—45.1 per cent—nearly triple the national average of 17.0 percent.

Of the Southern states, Florida receives the smallest portion of revenue from business sources (only 9.7 per cent.) After Florida, in terms of how small a portion of total revenue is derived from business sources, come Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas, Virginia, South Carolina, Tennessee, North Carolina, Texas and Louisiana.

The rationale for a lighter tax load on businesses, Dr. Galambos observes, has been to attract new industry to the South. "Although there is no unanimity on the importance of business taxes as an influence on plant locations, most economists conclude that tax differentials are outweighed by other considerations in plant location decisions."

Where states actually do grant property tax moratoriums to new industries, the report notes, "the burden of providing schools for the additional children brought into a community as a result of a new plant falls on traditional tax sources." Usually this means increased taxes on homeowners and previously established businesses. In 1965 Alabama's "new industry exemption" was estimated to have cost state and local governments from $500,000 to $1,000,000.

Although its role as a state tax source is slight, the property tax in 1967 made up 66 per cent of all revenue obtained by local governments. By any barometer, according to Dr. Galambos, property taxes in the Southern states are low when compared to those in other states.

Nationally the per capita property tax in the average state in 1967 was $132.81. All the Southern states are well below this figure. Arkansas is highest with $113.23; Alabama is lowest, at $34.12. Such a result is probably not surprising in view of the fact that income in the Southern states is generally lower than elsewhere in the nation. But the study also compares property taxes in relation to income. The national average is $45.27 in property tax per $1,000 of personal income. The average exceeds $40 in only two Southern states—Virginia and Florida. It is lowest in Alabama: $16.65.

Property taxes are generally regarded as regressive because the value of a home constitutes a lower percentage of higher incomes than of lower incomes. (See the accompanying table on the relationship between home values and family income.)

The Southern states' greatest failure in property taxation lies in their unequal assessment practice, according to Dr. Galambos. Tennessee, she observes, actually has amended its constitution in order to allow for the assessment of different kinds of property at varying ratios ranging from 20 per cent on farm property to 45 per cent on utility property. Other Southern states have not gone this far, but "all the states, in effect, grant a property tax subsidy to farm and vacant land owners through unrealistically low valuations by assessors."

Low farm income is the customary plea for lower farm assessments, but the fact is, Dr. Galambos declares, that such assessment practices actually provide tax shields for wealthy land owners, who are thus allowed to shift local tax burdens back upon the state. "States usually respond to the need for more revenue by raising sales taxes."

One solution to the assessment problem, the author thinks, might be state training and supervision of assessors and reorganization of small assessment district into areas large enough to afford qualified professional assessors.

Homestead exemptions, she thinks, "instead of allevating regressivity of the property tax, accentuate it." One fact of life is that "lower income groups are more likely to be tenants than homeowners. On rental property there is no homestead exemption. In the absence of a glut of housing on the market, the landlord shifts the property tax to the tenant in the form of higher rent. The tenant ends up paying the property tax, without the benefit of the homestead exemption, while the home owner, who is likely to earn a higher income, in effect enjoys an exemption which the law does not grant him. Moreover, the property owner is allowed to deduct his tax on the property from income to reduce his income tax liability."

Local governments in the South derive revenue from charges and fees for services far in excess of the national 23.5 per cent average. In Alabama 42.9 per cent of local government financing comes from this source. Local governments in Georgia are next with an average of 40.6, followed by Arkansas (39.7), Mississippi (39.4), South Carolina (37.7), Florida (36.0), North Carolina (35.6), Louisiana (31.1), Texas (29.4) and Virginia (21.9).

The dependence of local governments upon this source of taxation, Dr. Galambos thinks, is due to "the failure of most Southern states to permit local governments to levy taxes sufficient to obtain needed revenues. It is also an indication of the inadequate sharing of state taxes derived from other sources."

The Council's 24-page study does not offer specific legislative remedies. Rather, it is presented with the hope of stimulating discussion of issues vital to the economy of the region. Its concerns are two-fold: tax equity for the sake of simple justice and as a means to make the South a more livable region for all.

"The Tax Structure of the Southern States: An Analysis," by Dr. Eva Galambos, may be ordered from the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth St., Atlanta, Ga., 30303. Single copies are 50¢ each; bulk rate, 40¢ each.

Sales Taxes, Southern States, 1967

	General Sales Tax			*Selective Sales Taxes*		
	Per Cap.	*Per $1000 Income*	*As % of State Taxes*	*Per Cap.*	*Per $1000 Income*	*As % of State Taxes*
	1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*
U. S. (all states avg.)	$45.28	$15.46	27.9	$48.97	$16.62	$30.2
Alabama	48.25	23.55	35.4	47.42	23.14	34.7
Arkansas	45.02	22.55	31.2	49.17	24.63	34.1
Florida	50.18	19.52	34.3	59.56	23.17	40.7
Georgia	53.60	22.86	36.2	48.19	20.55	32.55
Louisiana	39.89	17.73	21.2	49.58	22.03	26.28
Mississippi	54.83	31.00	41.8	47.26	26.72	36.04
North Carolina	40.71	17.81	24.0	47.21	20.96	28.22
South Carolina	43.72	21.43	28.8	55.04	26.98	36.20
Tennessee	48.47	21.88	36.6	46.01	20.77	34.76
Texas	23.86	9.50	19.4	51.52	20.50	41.93
Virginia	19.21	7.48	13.7	46.34	18.05	33.08

Incomes and House Values

A 1967 study of Florida taxes by the U.S. Department of Commerce makes the following estimates of income-housing value relationships.

Family Income	Ratio of Value of Home to Family Income	Value of House
$ 1,475	6.10	$ 9,000
3,053	3.08	9,400
4,443	2.32	10,300
5,757	2.02	11,600
7,141	1.72	12,300
8,806	1.56	13,700
11,542	1.39	16,000
16,092	1.31	21,000
35,941	1.25	45,000

what happens if white businessmen honor a negro ? everybody from fats domino to richard nixon gets 'a piece of the action,' that's what

by REESE CLEGHORN

J. A. Terry watches as William Phillips cuts more than 250 plies of sleeves in one motion.

From Page 1

Mr. Terry's company now has more than 60 employees. They produce women's dresses (colorful prints, white uniforms and dashikis) which have an annual wholesale value of more than a million dollars. Although the operation is small by any manufacturing standard, it makes Mr. Terry one of the nation's black leaders in manufacturing, a field not many Negroes have moved into at the entrepreneurial level.

The social value is obvious. Most of the women on the machines were formerly unemployed, on welfare or earning perhaps $15 a week as domestic help. Now they earn an average of about $75 a week, and local merchants have been stirred by the fact that the weekly Terry payroll is almost $5,000 and growing. Mr. Terry slyly drove home that message when at one time he paid his employees on Tuesdays, when no other county payrolls were met. When the Terry workers started going to town on Tuesdays to buy, some of the stores responded happily by staying open later for them. Cash registers in Roanoke have always been thoroughly integrated.

Earlier this year the National Association of Market Developers, a predominantly Negro band of businessmen, chose Mr. Terry as "Black Businessman of the Year." The Roanoke Area Chamber of Commerce and the local officialdom decided to join the NAMD in sponsoring a local dinner on Oct. 29 for Mr. Terry. It had all the makings of a good thing for Mr. Terry, for the NAMD, for Roanoke, for Randolph County, for Alabama, and, as it turned out, for a good many others as well.

The broom sedge was swaying in a gentle breeze, pickup trucks were passing with loads of baled hay and a jet trail was slowly dissolving against a crystal-clear blue sky when the visitors began to arrive at the Terry plant, a neat brick and concrete-block building on the outskirts of town. The crowd of businessmen, politicians, friends of the Terrys from other places, government people and photographers was in a "dinner-on-the-grounds" mood.

"Nice to meet you, SUH," a local black man said to a white visitor, and a smiling local legislator told someone it was "a mighty nice turnout today." The crowd signed the guest book, managed by a bright-eyed school girl (black), and moved on to look at the dashikis on mannequins (white) and the sewing machines humming at the hands of women (black) who were wearing their Sunday best for the occasion.

In such great American dramas, everyone has an allotted role. Mr. Terry played his role as honoree very well, indeed, as flashbulbs popped and strangers muttered their names and reached for his hand. He apparently played it, in fact, the way he plays himself every day; he was deeply appreciative, he was genuinely interested, he was full of quiet dignity. Mayor Phillips played his role well, too, posing with Mr. Terry and welcoming visitors. H. D. Dodson was good in his role. He was the commercial photographer for the occasion. H. D. Dodson, who also is black, had just been elected an Atlanta alderman by an electorate of a quarter-million people. But at testimonial dinners everyone freely enters into the conspiracy, and Mr. Dodson's role in Roanoke was not that of the leading black elected official present but that of a commercial photographer, and so he scurried about asking Roanoke's city councilmen and other local pols to stand still for a moment with Mr. Terry while he stooped to find the right angle and recorded these historic moments.

The dinner itself was held shortly afterward in Roanoke's National Guard Armory. Terry Manufacturing Co.'s black employees filled one long table. Other tables were checker-boards of black and white. Some sections were mostly white, with local folk expectant and friendly, but looking slightly awkward in these strange circumstances. The long head table was a panoply of second-level and third-level Washington bureaucracy, come to bask in Mr. Terry's success and to extoll maximum feasible black capitalism, which one might think the Nixon administration invented.

Mrs. Velma Terry checks collars made by Mrs. W. M. Houston.

The Rev. William L. Dean, pastor of Roanoke's First Baptist Church, invoked the presence of God. ("We thank Thee for this man and his corporation . . . . as we venture into the marketplaces of life . . . . bless this program . . . .") Stell Benefield, judge of Probate Court, Randolph County, spoke of how Mr. Terry had had "a faith in himself" and how success had come from "the family working as a unit." Mayor Phillips said they were all there to show the state, the nation and the world how they felt about one of their leading citizens, and then he struck a note that seemed clarion in its simple honesty and humility: "We are not proud of many of the things done to our black people. But we are honestly trying to make a better life for all our citizens, black and white."

Judge Benefield, a tall, gray man in horn-rimmed glasses, returned to tell everyone about Roanoke (population 6,000) and Randolph County (population 20,000, 25 per cent black). They were, he said, making mighty strides against pollution, and soon they would have the purest water in the Southeast. There were strides, too, in improving the sewerage systems. There were plenty of schools of higher learning nearby, and rainfall was 54 inches a year.

The main speaker, black, was Robert J. Brown, special assistant to the President of the United States, in gray pin-stripe with stiff, white handkerchief. He was there to tell people that this administration does not believe in grandiose words and promises, but if they watch they will see the thing that counts: results. Negroes must build an economic base, he said, and that was what Mr. Terry was doing. He reminded everyone that the President himself had said that black people must be given "a piece of the action."

Finally it was Mr. Terry's turn. He came through soft and clear. "I'm sure you know that I don't know what to say at a time like this," he said. He knew how to work, but that was different. He had had no idea so many people would "turn away from their work" to honor him. He was ready to go on working. Mr. Terry is a man who likes to work, and he seems at home with people who like to talk about working.

He received the various awards, local, state and national, and he asked his employes to stand for applause. By this time the audience was well along with the fried chicken and Cokes. Fats Domino Fried Chicken, Inc., of New Orleans had provided the chicken boxes, it was noted, and the Coca-Colas were courtesy of the Anniston Coca-Coca Bottling Co. and Coca-Cola USA. The president of Fats Domino and representatives of Coca-Cola were introduced. All those connected with Roanoke and Randoph County's governments, the National Association of Market Developers, the state government, various nearby colleges and not a few black organizations were introduced. It was announced that Scripto had provided the pens that would be passed out at the press table, and that a representative of J. C. Penney's was on hand.

"Well, Roanoke is now on the map," a hefty black man from Birmingham said as the dinner broke up. A black Roanoke policeman and white state troopers helped with the traffic. A well-coiffeured white lady, resplendent in mink hat and mink stole, walked toward her car carrying a box of Fats Domino's fried chicken. On a car radio, an ebullient announcer was using a saying lifted from the old civil rights movement in his commercial for a used-car firm. "They tell it like it is!" he said. America works best when everybody gets a piece of the action.

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SOUTH TODAY

A Digest of Southern Affairs

ATLANTA, GA. VOL. I, NO. 6 DECEMBER, 1969

Dabbs: 'The Past Is Now'

Tragedy, Loneliness Are South's Theme

The following is from James McBride Dabbs' introduction to his new book, CIVIL RIGHTS IN RECENT SOUTHERN FICTION, a commentary on the work of about three dozen Southern writers.

It is easy to discuss contemporary events, though difficult to keep the discussion objective. It is not easy to be so removed from them as to see

20¢

them in their eternal outlines, pictures of things as they abidingly are; yet this is what the poet—and the fiction writer—tries to do. Not many such writers are therefore tempted to use the hot material of today; they tend to let time cool things down to the point where they can be handled dispassionately. We need not expect, therefore, to find a great number of writers using the materials of the recent civil rights movement.

It is hard to say just when civil rights for the Negro became a movement. All depends upon how you define movement. The Supreme Court decision of 1954 against segregation was a climax. In 1948 President Harry Truman's executive order had made segregation unlawful in the armed forces, and the earlier report of his Commission on Civil Rights, in 1947, was a landmark. I think it was this

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PASS CHRISTIAN, Miss.—Earl B. Mathews escaped, but 23 died in an apartment building here. Many people remain homeless. (Wide World Photo)

Camille:

Neglect of People In Its Aftermath Creates a Scandal

VICTIMS OF the hurricane have been neglected and exploited. Homeless, jobless and often without basic means of keeping themselves intact, those hit hardest have found grossly insufficient response from the federal government and private agencies. A *SOUTH TODAY* report by James N. Wood Jr. Page 7.

"IT'S JUST the normal greed," a cafe proprietor told Calvin Trillin of the *NEW YORKER*. Page 6.

Black Veterans

IN BIRMINGHAM, reporters talk to returning Negro veterans. Will they be able to find places in the mainstream or become vocal and perhaps violent outsiders? By Barbara Thomas and Peggy Roberson in the Birmingham News. Page 3.

White Queens

SOME SOUTHERN high schools are having racial difficulties over—guess what—the selection of homecoming queens and cheerleaders. In North Carolina, students have proposed their own solutions to ease such tensions. By Claire Brown. Page 2.

A City Planner Returns to Waugh

(Where?)

A CITY PLANNER who works in Atlanta returns to his hometown of Waugh, Ala., for a family gathering. (You know where Waugh is. Near Mount Meigs.) He reminisces about Waugh, and ruminates about how the Waughs relate to the Atlantas, the Nashvilles and the Charlottes. By Arthur C. Campbell. Page 2.

Below: Mr. Dabbs lives in this house, built by his grandfather, on Rip Raps plantation in South Carolina.

The South and The Nation

By PAT WATTERS

WERE THE WHITE South through George Wallace and the black South through Martin Luther King Jr. telling the nation, strangely, something of the same thing?

In a sweeping, essay-like approach, Pat Watters has written of the South and its folkways, sins and virtues in a compelling book entitled *THE SOUTH AND THE NATION*, to be published on Jan. 30 by Pantheon. *SOUTH TODAY* presents a part of the book, dealing with white and black churches, on Page 8.

Mr. Watters, information director of the Southern Regional Council, is co-author, with Reese Cleghorn, of CLIMBING JACOB'S LADDER, which Harcourt, Brace & World will release in paperback in the spring.

REPORT ON REPORTS

By Claire Brown

Some 300 black students at Valdosta, Ga., High School were suspended (and later reinstated) after their walkout protesting the handling of the selection of a homecoming queen: a white girl who won over two black candidates. Disputes over the selection of cheerleaders and beauty queens sometimes have created racial divisions in other schools across the South that now are heavily integrated. Can it be that the biggest problems of school integration will have to do with such seeming trivia?

In North Carolina, a body of students and adults has come up with ground rules for handling such potentially divisive matters, as well as for handling matters of other kinds that often cause student unrest and conflict.

Student Involvement: A Bridge to Total Education is a compilation of recommendations and good ideas about those facets of a high school education that are currently sore spots. The first section of the report consists of the students' recommendations to school administrators.

"Allow teens to formulate and organize emergency committees with the powers to investigate and derive solutions to problems of unrest. By thus placing a larger burden of responsibility on the students, greater awareness of student capability and responsibility is engendered within the student populace. . . .

"Despite all justifications raised otherwise, tell the entire truth about any and all incidents, for rumors are found to be a major stumbling block to unity and communication within the high school. . . .

"Support students when they are right. . . .

"The principal should establish and disseminate to all students the grounds on which a student will be disciplined, suspended, or expelled. . . .

"The Student Council should become a student government, capable of making final decisions on many student policies. . . . Certainly matters such as hall monitors and school dress codes are areas which students could and should deal with, while disciplinary action should be ultimately decided by the administrator. . . ."

Special recommendations in hyper-sensitive areas deal with cheerleaders and cheers, beauty queens and graduation marshals. The thinking is straightforward: "Cheerleader selection has been and will continue to be a potential trouble spot in high school. Selection procedures must be fair to all students. . . . Cheerleaders should be *selected*, not elected. . . by ability, not popularity. . . . The judging panel should be made up of impartial people, preferably from outside the school staff. The panel should represent fairly all races and cultural groups. . . ."

The report is available from A. Craig Phillips, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Education Building, Raleigh, N. C. 27602.

The industrious U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Southeastern Regional Office, has some paradoxical news. Southeastern nonfarm employment continues to expand. The September, 1969, total was almost a quarter of a million jobs greater than that of a year earlier, according to the bureau's Nov. 12 report.

But—according to the bureau's Oct. 24 report—in a period of economic growth, some urban residents are experiencing serious employment problems. This is the major finding of the USDL Urban Employment Survey, a comprehensive interview study lasting 12 months, and covering Atlanta, Chicago, Detroit, Houston, Los Angeles and New York. The primary focus of the survey was the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) target areas, those central city areas in which U.S. manpower training programs have been combined for concentrated impact.

In Atlanta's CEP area, total unemployment averaged 8.6 per cent, compared to 5.2 per cent for the city as a whole. Total CEP-area unemployment was 9.4 per cent for all Negroes and 5.3 per cent for all whites. Young people of both sexes and races, between the ages of 16 and 19, had an unemployment rate of 28.6 per cent in the CEP area; the Negro rate in this group was 29.4 per cent. In the city as a whole, the same group had 25.3 per cent unemployment, with 32.0 per cent of citywide Negro youth out of work as compared to 18.0 per cent of citywide white youth.

For the city at large, unemployment for all men 20 and older was 1.6 per cent; for the CEP area, the same group had a total of 2.9 per cent, with Negro men unemployed at a rate of 3.0 per cent and whites at 2.6 per cent. Another unpleasant surprise: women 20 years and older had 5.1 per cent unemployment citywide. In the CEP area, the same group had 9.5 per cent unemployment, with a 10.0 per cent rate among Negroes and a 6.9 per cent rate among whites.

What does it all add up to? In the CEP area, more than three times as great a percentage of Negro women were unemployed as were Negro men. Almost 10 times as great a percentage of CEP-area Negro youth were unemployed as were Negro men. In this same neighborhood, almost three times as great a percentage of white women were unemployed as were white men. And there, in the CEP area, almost twice as many people were unemployed, proportionately, as all other people in the rest of the city.

It may safely be assumed that not much has changed in the CEP area from October to December. The greatest unemployment and underemployment exists in what is delicately called "urban poverty areas." These are the areas in which the Department of Labor has concentrated its employment and training programs. Are the programs unworkable? Or, is it that once people are trained for jobs, they find that jobs do not exist or that employers are not willing to hire them, anyway? While "Southeastern nonfarm employment continues to expand," urban unemployment continues to expand also, especially among young people and women. What can be done?

An added note: In her column of Oct. 27, 1969, nationally syndicated Sylvia Porter quotes a Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta study which predicts what unemployment rates among various groups will be if the national unemployment rate should rise to over 4.5 per cent. The current jobless rate nationally is between 4.0 and 4.5 per cent, and the bank's predictions are based on the unemployment rate of 7 per cent reached during the 1960-61 recession.

According to the study and Miss Porter, if the national unemployment rate were 4.5 per cent or even slightly higher, "the unemployment rate for Negroes would soar to about 8.5 per cent while the white unemployment rate would remain under 4 per cent. . . . The rate for Negro women would be over 9 per cent—versus about 5 per cent for white women. The unemployment rate for Negro men alone would be about 8 per cent—versus about 3.5 per cent for white men."

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics report cited above, those predicted rates of Negro unemployment have already been reached (and sometimes surpassed) in some urban areas. This happened at a time when the national jobless rate was offically 3.5, not 4.5, per cent.

SOUTH TODAY A Digest of Southern Affairs

SOUTH TODAY is published by the Leadership Project of the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta Ga., 30303. The Southern Regional Council, founded in 1944, is a research and information agency devoted to the attainment of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South. President: John H. Wheeler, Durham, N.C. Chairman, Executive Committee: Raymond M. Wheeler, Charlotte, N.C. Vice Presidents: Josephine Wilkins, Athens, Ga.; Paul R. Christopher, Knoxville, Tenn.; Charles G. Gomillion, Tuskegee, Ala.; Lucius H. Pitts, Birmingham, Ala. Executive Director: Paul Anthony.

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Some of the articles used in SOUTH TODAY have been edited for length. We welcome clippings which may be of use. They should indicate the date and the publication from which they came.

By Way of: Waugh

By ARTHUR CAMPBELL

As Interstate 85 makes its way east of Montgomery, through expensive cotton fields of several large white-owned farms, it almost has the same right-of-way as the old Jefferson Davis highway. Twelve miles east of Montgomery, I-85 gently curves around the village of Mount Meigs. Two miles further east it curves slightly around the village of Waugh.

When I was growing up in those parts, no one was ever quite sure where Mount Meigs ended and Waugh began. Older people of both communities said Minnows Creek was the dividing line. Minnows Creek starts somewhere in the hills of the Cecil prairies, meanders through a thickly wooded area about midway between Mount Meigs and Waugh, flows under I-85, makes its way through the settlement of Hickory Bend and finally empties into the Alabama River.

Thanksgiving was an occasion for a visit to Waugh to see the folks back home: family and friends alike. My eight brothers and I had gathered from afar to visit with our parents on the farm.

But Thanksgiving for the residents of Waugh is not just a turkey dinner at home with family folks. It is also, for a black family, a time to attend the annual "turkey day classic"—a football game between Alabama State College and Tuskegee Institute. On Thanksgiving, many of the local folk can be found at the events in Montgomery.

The day after Thanksgiving afforded more time to wander around the community. In Waugh, I am a member of the family. In Atlanta, where I work, I am a city planner. Wandering around the community, I found that Waugh now brings out the planner in me.

A leisurely walk along County Road 5 revealed many changes in the surrounding country. Even old County 5, once a graveled road that got quite muddy and messy during heavy rains, now has an asphalt topping.

In the very heart of Waugh, a subdivision—a suburb, really, of Montgomery—has been built on land that once belonged to Judge Scott. The judge was at one time the community's most prominent citizen. I was pleased to see the subdivision on the judge's old property, for I vividly recall envisioning—quite a few years ago—a subdivision's being built there. Unbelieveable as it seems, Waugh even has a second subdivision. Both are black. (Is Waugh furthering the cause of "dual housing systems"?)

All the development (Just imagine! a laundromat, a beauty salon, two new subdivisions and two new gas stations), makes me realize Waugh is being urbanized — even over-urbanized. Can Waugh cope with over-urbanization? Over-urbanization in *Waugh?*

Waugh, of course, is not part of the urban problem. It could be, in fact, part of the urban solution, if the Waughs of the South, still sentimentally home for hundreds of thousands of people white and black, can be made economically healthy.

Black Vets

A Place Now In America's Mainstream?

By Barbara Thomas And Peggy Roberson

In the Birmingham News

Is the nation, Alabama, and Birmingham prepared for a growing number of returning Vietnam veterans?

More specifically, will the black veteran be able to find a place in the mainstream of society, or is he destined to be a vocal, perhaps violent outsider?

About 600 ex-servicemen have been returning to Alabama every month. About half of these—white men—will face the usual problems of readjustment, seldom easy.

The other half—black men—will be leaving the democracy of the foxhole for a world where it is still statistically more difficult for a Negro to get a job, an education, a house.

Not that race relations in service life has been completely smooth. Stateside fracases have been widely reported, and returning soldiers say once out of the battle zone, social separatism is the rule.

But there are growing indications that a newly-reinforced black pride may collide head-on with white resentment over Negro demands.

Since World War II, the armed forces probably have been more integrated than anywhere else in American society. And military life does nothing to preserve a subservient attitude.

Hostility, whether from bitterness over an unpopular war or from racial divisiveness, does not abate when the veterans come home.

Bill Echols, 22, a quiet former chaplain's assistant, noticed this bitterness in many of "the brothers" he met in Vietnam.

"I've heard many of them say, 'If anybody doesn't look at me right when I get home, I'm going to kill 'em.' "

Echols, a Carver High School graduate with two years at Clark College in Atlanta, said, "I have a certain amount of hostility myself."

Echols said he is motivated to channel his hostility through Christianity, "to help."

"But take another guy," he added. "He's not motivated."

John Rogers knows the problems black veterans have in finding their niche in civilian life.

A former Air Force captain, Rogers works with the Birmingham Opportunities Industrialization Center (BOIC) and spends much of his time trying to find jobs for black veterans. About 75 per cent of the unemployed men he sees are vets, he said. . . .

Rogers has bought a home in a formerly white neighborhood for his wife and three young children. "There are 'for sale' signs sprouting all around," he said.

His white neighbors don't talk to him, he said, but they brought his puppy home when he strayed across the property line and got into a fight.

Rogers recently gathered a group of black veterans in his office for a bull session on problems and attitudes they met in civilian life.

Many of their comments were mirrored in two recent studies by James M. Fendrich and Michael A. Pearson, Florida State University professors, seeking to learn if black veterans are making it and to find causes of alienation.

The FSU professors concluded that veterans could play an important role in racial conflicts in the future unless there are significant changes to open up opportunities in employment and education. They said more intense efforts are needed from local agencies helping vets coming back from military duty.

"The assistance has to be more than a partial effort, if the expected outcome is to do more than heighten frustration," the professors said. . . .

The FSU team interviewed 199 black vets, carefully selected to present a cross-section of the ex-soldier population.

The Birmingham vets echoed sentiments in the Florida survey, without knowing it existed.

For example:

Fendrich-Pearson: ". . . these men come home after fighting for America and democracy abroad and expect equal treatment at home." . . .

James Don Rico Anderson, a staff member of Neighborhood Youth Corps whose whose father retired as an Army colonel after 31 years of service and who is himself a veteran of Korea and Vietnam: "He's used to better treatment in the service. Then he comes home and someone calls him 'boy' and that makes him mad. He can't accept this social situation in Birmingham—or anywhere—and he doesn't want to wait around until the situation changes."

Fendrich-Pearson: "These men could reasonably hope for greater improvements; however, they have become frustrated by the slow rate of their own improvement and with the rate of advancement of others whom they use as a basis for comparison." . . .

Lehman Harris, 30, Army vet, out of service two years, a probation aid in Family Court in Birmingham: "When I got out of the Army first in 1960 I looked for a job for 80 days then signed up again.

"When I got out in 1967, I had 10 years experience as a telephone lineman, six years of that as a supervisor with 22 men under me.

"When I asked for a job with the telephone company they said my experience wasn't what was needed in civilian life. I would have to start at the bottom.

"One of my friends with the same background couldn't get a job here, either, but he got one in a week in California."

Harris said he worked in a grocery store for $1.80 an hour before he got his job with Family Court, "the only place that would recognize my military experience as useful."

(South Central Bell Telephone Co., in common with most big employers in the nation, state that "hiring qualifications are the same regardless of background." The company states it is and will continue to be an "equal opportunity employer." Veterans are given credit, in many cases, for qualifications in communication areas by starting salary additions.)

The vet isn't thrown back into the civilian world with no help at all. Through GI benefits, the U. S. government is set up to help veterans go back to school, find a job, and get medical care. Many veterans take advantage of these benefits.

Larry Felton is Lehman Harris' wife cousin. He's a Vietnam veteran who would like to go to school under the updated GI Bill, giving 36 months of education plus high school.

But with a wife and baby to support, the $1.90 an hour Felton earns in a warehouse is necessary to keep groceries in the house. He works overtime in order to get as much money as possible, and that doesn't leave any extra time to go to school, even if Uncle Sam is willing to pay the fees.

(While the cost of attending school has skyrocketed, an unmarried veteran right after World War II would have received $5 more per month than he will in 1969 under the present aid-to-education bill.)

Fendrich and Pearson said "apparently the State Employment Office functions primarily to meet the needs of employers rather than to help men seeking work."

A spokesman for the Alabama State Employment Service in Birmingham, however, said veterans who come to that office without a "vocational choice," are sent to counselors and tested for talent or aptitude in various fields. Some are referred to companies that offer on-the-job training.

If the veteran can't match his skills and talent with the available jobs or training slots, "he must be realistic and be willing to accept something he can do," the spokesman said. . . .

Veterans who had jobs before they went into the service are entitled to find that same job waiting for them when they return.

However, many Vietnam veterans—white and black—went into service right after high school, or before graduation, and have no job or skill to fall back on. . . .

Fendrich and Pearson said the public, however, is "left with the impression that guidelines and proposals on paper are significant . . . put into effect to ward off a serious crisis; and given enough time, the federal bureaus and private agencies will be helping black veterans adjust to civilian life."

For those who don't connect with something right away, the separation pay which looked so big in a pile of crisp, green bills soon dwindles to nothing.

Then he hears that it's easy to get a $90-a-week job in New York or Detroit or Cleveland, and he takes the first bus out.

Lewis White, an official with Birmingham Urban League, said many veterans leave Birmingham and "don't come back, except for visits home to mamma."

Why do they stay in Birmingham?

Harris explains: "They have friends and family. This is where they want to be. They went to the service to get away from poverty. But basically the black man is in the same shape everywhere, whether in Alabama or in Michigan."

But it is more likely in Michigan, or Illinois, or New York, or California, that the alienated veteran will find militant black leaders to channel his frustration into organized protest or black power activity.

White said flatly, "There is no militant reform group in Birmingham. There is no threat to the establishment here, not now. But we are certainly a breeding ground for the militants in many other cities," he said.

Rogers concurred: "There is no organization of militants here, but the feelings are here—waiting for a leader."

Fendrich and Pearson, however, found that about 70 per cent of the veterans they interviewed "are optimistic when leaving the service about opportunities of civilian life."

Other interesting facets of the veterans' attitudes were brought out in the Florida survey.

Over 60 per cent of the black vets believe "the concept of equal opportunity in the U. S. is a myth," but over 80 per cent agreed that "most Americans believe that economic security for every man, woman and child is a goal worth striving for."

Over 77 per cent agreed that "people today are more concerned with law and order than with justice."

Interestingly enough, the survey discovered almost 80 per cent of the black veterans agree "in the next five years there will be more economic and social contact between blacks and whites rather than separation."

On the other hand, slightly over 30 per cent agreed that "blacks should work together as a separate group outside the two major political parties in order to gain more political power."

An alarming 36 per cent agreed "It is becoming clear that violence is the only way for blacks to obtain their rights."

Some of these statistics support optimism about the future of black and white people living together.

Others clearly offer warnings.

However viewed, the black veteran in 1969—with his training in leadership, his commitment to the black community, his youth and energy—can be a double-edged sword. He has tremendous potential for helping create positive gains for both the black and white communities, or for creating a violent, militant climate in the ghetto.

The Squire of Rip Raps

In Quiet Solitude, He Considers History's Sweep

By JACK BASS
In The Charlotte Observer

The sandy road to Rip Raps plantation winds a half mile off U.S. 378 in the Sumter County lowcountry, nestled under pines and scrub oak.

At the end is a loop in front of a plantation house built in 1858—one of the last before the Civil War.

It is not a grand home, but a substantial house with a veranda across the front, a friendly hound half-asleep beside the front door.

On a recent sunny afternoon, a small mud puddle in front of the steps provided evidence of recent rain. A lone black waterbug scooted back and forth.

Rip Raps is the home and birth place of James McBride Dabbs—writer, philosopher, teacher, scholar, lecturer, farmer—a man who loves his South, knows its good and bad qualities.

At 73, he wears a twinkle in his eye, behind glasses that frame a lively face topped by wavy, white hair. He puffs gently on a pipe that is a constant companion.

From another room, a typewriter clatters. It stops, and a few minutes later Mrs. Dabbs—herself a writer and historian of the South Carolina low-country—enters with a tray of tall glasses of sweetened iced tea and a plate of chocolate chip cookies.

In his study, Mr. Dabbs is writing another book—this one on Southern culture and religion. His *Southern Heritage,* published in 1958, was a brave autobiographical look at the contemporary South by a man committed to social justice. In 1964, he wrote *Who Speaks for the South.*

Only the brave spoke out in 1958. James McBride Dabbs angered friends and relatives, but he knew and stood by his convictions.

On a nationally-televised interview show with Mike Wallace, he was asked after that book was published if he was afraid of being physically harmed.

"Oh no, I'm a member of the aristocracy of damn fools," he replied gently to his baffled host. Elaborating, Dabbs continued, "I say what I believe and folks around shake their heads and say, 'Don't pay any attention to Dabbs; he's a damn fool.' "

It was the traditional South Carolina emphasis on manners that first involved Dabbs with civil rights.

In 1944, the late Olin Johnston, then governor, convened a special session of the legislature after Federal Judge J. Waites Waring ruled unconstitutional South Carolina's "white only" primary.

The legislature was called into session to attempt to circumvent the decision. (Johnston later received strong Negro support as a U.S. Senator with a liberal record on economic issues.)

"I knew they couldn't succeed," Mr. Dabbs recalls. "You couldn't set up a gentlemen's club. It was impossible; you knew they would get you sooner or later." He wrote a letter of protest to South Carolina's largest daily newspaper.

"What really motivated me," he recalls, "what really got me was such bad manners, talking publicly about taking the vote from Negroes. I knew we had mistreated the Negro, but my mother taught me to be polite. This was very impolite, I thought, and I said so. South Carolina still has a good deal of this."

On another theme, Dabbs observed, "It's really ironic that we Southerners of all Americans should know better than anybody else what it is to be in a war and come out on the wrong end of it. We know from experience. I think whites learned something that the everyday experience of Negroes taught them.

"History is in his heart. He suffered history. History is not just a playground; it could run smack over you. And it didn't have much regard as to how you felt about it. You might like it or not like it. You might feel innocent, but you still got run over. The South knows this. The Southerner raises all kind of questions.

"Something might happen to you between now and tomorrow. God willing, I might be living, and God willing, I might not be living, and God may not will.

"It might ruin all these beautiful blueprints you've got. An an individual, he's learned. I think it's wisdom to realize you've not got tomorrow tied up in a sack. The white Southerner is like the Negro. This is why we understand one another, because we approach life in its basic attitude.

"Life's a mystery nobody understands. Nobody's got it by the tail, and we've got to move carefully. And Southern whites and Negroes will agree on this and don't even know they agree. I don't care if whites like Negroes or if Negroes like whites, but the question is how much are they alike. And by golly, you come to break it down, point after point, they're almost like two peas in a pod.

"Whites don't want to recognize this and now Negroes in their rebellion don't recognize this. These young radicals are Southerners in their radicalism. And they're certainly Southerners in their rhetoric, all the things they're going to do. Certainly like an old Southern politician, they think they're telling the truth. It sounds good, you know, reads well. So they say it. I suppose all revolutionaries use rhetoric."

From the quiet solitude at Rip Raps, James McBride Dabbs reflects across the sweep of history the changing South he loves so much.

the past is now?

In the South, the past *is* now, as Mr. Dabbs writes. The past is, in short, always with us. Yet. . . .

In the mail to *SOUTH TODAY* comes, each month, a newsletter published by the Rev. Francis Walter, who runs the Selma Inter-religious Project, which works closely with grassroots people in Alabama.

Mr. Walter recently had made some mental notes while in Green County, Ala., a Black Belt area where Negroes recently have come to political power.

He wrote in one recent newsletter:

"BLACKS NOW CONTROL GREEN COUNTY'S GOVERNMENT. The National Democratic Party of Alabama held a statewide meeting in the county courthouse there a few weeks ago. The white-washed building, designed in 1839, sits in a central square in Eutaw. . . .

"I drove up, late. . . . No whites in town as far as could be seen, sun shining, but nobody. The second story of the courthouse consists of one large court room. It has 12-foot windows and small iron balconies. From these open windows and balconies was rising and falling the sound of several hundred people singing a slow, wavering spiritual.

"The first time union of *that* song with *that* building stunned me. I stood outside a moment to come to terms with a very full heart, then climbed the stairs. I found the black people, the white students, University liberals and north-Alabama democrats who compose the NDPA shared this intensity of feeling. A new thing . . . The universe spins like a rigged slot machine, for eons we lose, are ground down in the process, then one day *BANG!* The right ones come up: a song, we brothers and sisters and the inside (Praise God) of the courthouse.

"Perhaps before the song began we suspected we didn't belong or that the beams would crack and we go crashing down for our presumption. But as the singing ended we all of us know that the old courthouse and the song belonged with one another, had been hoping for one another's company all along."

And in another newsletter, Mr. Walter gave this little account of change, of another kind, in Alabama:

"Would you believe I was one of five beauty queen judges for the University of Alabama Homecoming Queen? One of the other judges was former Gov. "Big Jim" Folsom. We waded through 70 girls to pick the top three; the students voted for one of them for queen, the other two became her court. As "Kissin' Jim" said, "Hell, we didn't do too bad, we got the white the yellow and the black race represented." The students elected Miss Sue Shimoda Queen. A blonde from Birmingham and Dinae Kirksey of the Afro-American Society became her court."

The past is still with us. But.

James McBride Dabbs

Civil Rights in Southern Fiction

One of the South's great voices of common sense and poetic insight is that of James McBride Dabbs, writer, teacher and planter, who lives on the South Carolina plantation built by Dabbses and McBrides. His home itself conjures memories of the Old South. But on the wall, near an old musket, is an NAACP plaque honoring Mr. Dabbs. He is a man of all seasons, and of old and new South.

Mr. Dabbs has written a new book, published by the Southern Regional Council, of which he is a past president and current member of the executive committee. The book is a series of highly personal commentaries on Southern writers, and it is called *Civil Rights in Recent Southern Fiction.* (It may be ordered from the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303. 153 pages. $1.50.)

He is the author of numerous magazine articles and the following earlier books: *Pee Dee Panorama* (with Carl Julien), *Southern Heritage, The Road Home,* and *Who Speaks for the South?* The last of these (398 pages, $5.95) also may be ordered from the Southern Regional Council. Frank Smith, in reviewing *Who Speaks for the South?* for the *Washington Post,* said: "Dabbs' book will help to put (the Southern "image") in proper perspective. Perhaps more important, it will prod Southern whites who value the image to help polish off the racial tarnish." That is, in part, the value of all Mr. Dabbs' writing. He is a man who loves the South and has a vision of what it may yet be if it preserves the best of the past and moves on to fulfill its best in the future.

Dabbs . . .

From Page 1

report that brought to the attention of the nation the problem of segregation and the need to resolve that problem. But even before this there had been the Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC), and even during the thirties there had been several Supreme Court decisions enlarging the rights of the Negro to equality of education.

From time to time during this period, there appeared works of fiction which showed the Negro in a new and more sympathetic light: no longer now simply the laughing buffoon, or, paternalistically, the loyal retainer, but a human being caught in the tragic web of life. One thinks immediately of William Faulkner, the greatest name here. . . . These writers heralded a new day in race relations in the South, a day still only dawning, when race relations will have disappeared and been replaced by human relations.

To what degree they brought on, or even hastened, this dawn, it is hard to say. Faulkner was primarily a creative writer. Lillian Smith, who, in 1944, wrote *Strange Fruit,* was also an educator and a crusader. There can be no doubt that through her writings and her life she led many Americans to rethink the racial problem and to adopt new attitudes toward it. She thus hastened the dawn.

But people like Faulkner and Lillian Smith were also products of the same large movement they helped to carry on. They appeared at a particular time in the history of the South and of the world: after World War One, a time of endings and beginnings. The halcyon pre-1914 days were gone and the world was adrift in stormy waters. In the South, the old static society was gone too and no one could foresee the future.

Writers like Faulkner, Lillian Smith and several others, were close enough to the older South to remember how it felt to live then, yet far enough away, sufficiently detached, to be able to consider the Southern scene dispassionately. It tended to become poetry to them; it was emotion recollected in tranquility. At the same time, because it was so rapidly fading, they had a compunction to capture it now while they could still remember it.

Since the Negro is a part of the South, perhaps the critical part, any attempt to see the South with new eyes would include the Negro. It was this tendency to see the Negro with new eyes, which included the Negro's tendency to see himself with new eyes, that helped to bring on that movement later to be called the civil rights movement. . . .

There are two basic attitudes or themes (of Southern life); around these may be centered most of the others: the tragic theme and the theme of loneliness. These are, as one would guess, related: the tragic man stands alone, and he who, inviting loneliness, attempts to stand alone is inviting tragedy. But the tragic theme shades into the Christian theme, which is one of universal interdependency, the temporal mark of which is suffering—the Cross. Furthermore, each of these basic themes has its counter-theme. The counter-theme of the tragic is the humorous, and that of loneliness is sociability. The tragic theme is more inclusive and objective. It includes almost equally whites and Negroes, and appears in certain definite historical events. The theme of loneliness is more subjective and is more apparent among whites than among Negroes. Let us take the more general and objective theme first.

The historian C. Vann Woodward says that the South is the one American region that has suffered a great defeat, has undergone a long period of poverty, and has experienced a general sense of guilt. The first two characteristics are objective; the third, partly the result of the first two and partly the result of the racial situation which underlay the first two, is subjective.

I do not know to what degree Woodward included Negroes in his judgment. In the largest sense they can be included. Though Negroes seemed to have been on the winning side in the Civil War, the end of Reconstruction proved them largely losers. Furthermore, they had suffered a great and abiding defeat through being enslaved, and this defeat, though modified, was extended through segregation. As for poverty, they have been the most poverty-stricken class in the South during the last century. And as for guilt, though it is stronger and more general in the white, who built and maintained the guilt-ridden situation, it also exists in the black, the primary sufferer; and this for the reason that the situation closed to him the world of freedom, wherein humanity is developed, and so produced in him the sense of guilt because he could not be what he was meant to be. (This may not be fair, but it's life.)

The Southerner, in addition to secreting the kernel of guilt, made other, and often contradictory, responses to his harsh history. He concluded, naturally, that we live in an imperfect world, an evil world, a world of sin. At times he accepted this world in the challenging spirit of the Christian, who sees life as a discipline and God's hand within it all. At times he merely took it, often in the passive mood of self-pity—"Our fathers lost the War so what can we do?" the white would say—more rarely in the sterner mood of stoicism, proud to bear whatever burdens life might lay upon him, recognizing across the gulfs of class and even race those other brave men who endured.

Walker Percy points out how prevalent this stoic mood has been in the South, and says that the Southern soldier as late as Belleau Wood might carry in his pocket a copy of *The Meditations Of Marcus Aurelius.* This attitude, Percy continues, also existed among some Negroes. There was, for instance, Lucas Beauchamp in Faulkner's *Intruder In The Dust.* The extreme of the acceptive attitude was despair. Men drank, gambled, fought their lives away. Whites and blacks have done this. Many of the grotesques of the South belong to this group.

As a counterweight to this Christian-tragic-stoic-nihilistic complex, there is the general sense of humor, equally apparent among whites and blacks. A part of this humor is the expression of an easy-going, non-bookish, outdoor people, who observe life and like to comment upon it—tellers of tall tales; a more important part is the indirect expression of the almost unbearable difficulty of life, an attempt to divert attention from the insoluble problem, to release without violence the ever-present tension of the racial conflict. The laughter of the Negro often hides a broken heart, the laughter of the white a disturbed conscience.

There is another aspect of the tragic sense of life in the South: the burden of time, especially of past time. In the South the past continues; it is now. This is partly because of the relatively static life we have experienced during much of our history; it is, more importantly, because of the unresolved problems of our past. "Our fathers have eaten sour grapes and our teeth are set on edge." The past is a powerful source of strength to those who have accepted and conquered it; to those who have not it is a heavy burden. . . .

This tension—in my opinion too great—between our private and our public lives appears in many ways. It appears generally in the contrast between our highly social culture and our highly private religion. Allen Tate remarked years ago that the South needed an inclusive catholic religion to match its culture. It appears in the contrast between our vaunted individualism and our actual social interdependence. It appears in our words and our silences. We are a rhetorical people—our whole political history proves it; but we are also a people prone to ineffable silence. A Northern sociologist once remarked, "you have to live in the South a good while before you understand the silences." For one thing, they are often a sign not of assent but of dissent. When the Southerner falls silent, it may be that he is becoming puzzled, distrustful, fearful, and on the verge of anger. We make a great show of our personal relationships, but these are largely the froth of sociability . . . .

These basic themes of tragedy and loneliness, and any other themes, are tied up with the relation of blacks and whites. This is the core problem of Southern life. And the basic question in regard to it is how whites and blacks have existed side by side, with how much cooperation, how much conflict. To put it in other words, to what degree has the race situation in the South been integrative, to what degree disintegrative? The forces of racial conflict are relatively clear, the forces of cooperation vague and hidden; yet both are here, and any complete picture of the South will show something of both.

Lillian Smith

"One of the first Southern writers of our period . . . to use race relations in a work of fiction was Lillian Smith, whose *Strange Fruit* was published in 1944. . . . *Strange Fruit* is notable because it put the racial cards on the table by admitting deep involvement of whites and blacks in love and hatred and the rank injustice the whites were perpetrating, most clearly upon the blacks but also upon themselves. The division in the South stands out most clearly; but here also, for those who searched was the unity. . . ."

Ralph Ellison

"Ellison put his experiences into one book, *Invisible Man,* fictional in form, but to some degree autobiographical in material. Most of the action occurs in the North, but Southern influences continually appear. I would call *Invisible Man* one of the wisest expressions of Negro life in America. . . . Though on the whole it shows whites and Negroes opposed to each other, it suggests a possible harmony when and if we can learn to accept our common tragic destiny. 'Our fate is to become one, and yet many.' "

Hodding Carter, Jr.

"In the South, Alan (of Hodding Carter, Jr.'s novel, *The Winds of Fear*) realizes everybody walks a chalk line, most careful of what he says. Indeed, we're all in bondage to words, for words demand action. The paradox of this—though the idea is not stated—is that the South is also rhetorical, playing with words, using them for their own sake. Perhaps what saves the Southerner from continual disaster is that he learns to smile, however slightly, when he is being rhetorical."

Richard Wright

"Richard Wright gives us a Negro's view of the Negro's situation in Mississippi and Chicago in the 1930's and '40's. The Mississippi scene is presented autobiographically in *Black Boy;* the Chicago scene fictionally in *Native Son.* . . . Neither Wright's autobiography nor his novel has anything to do with civil rights. . . . Perhaps the most interesting thing about the story is that Bigger Thomas preceded by 25 years the recent revolt in the ghetto and expressed some of the attitudes that have only recently become general. . . ."

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U. S. Journal: Pass Christian, Miss.

'Just Normal Greed'

By CALVIN TRILLIN
In The New Yorker

Damage in Gulfport (Wide World Photo)

When Hurricane Camille struck the Gulf Coast of Mississippi in August, Pass Christian was the town hit worst of all, and its citizens still assert their role as primary victims with something like civic pride. When asked about Gulfport or Biloxi —the larger, more commercial cities down the coast—people in Pass Christian are likely to say, with some condescension, "Mostly beach damage there." But the discussion of how badly Pass Christian was treated by Hurricane Camille is gradually giving way to discussion of how badly Pass Christian has been treated by those involved in the recovery efforts. Citizens having lunch at the Plantation Café, one of the few business establishments left standing, still tell some stories about their experiences that night, but their stories are more likely to be about their experiences since then with the Red Cross or the Small Business Administration or the Department of Housing and Urban Development or, most often, with insurance adjusters. (In Pass Christian, the American insurance industry would finish second in a popularity contest with a hurricane.) Among the Negro families living in trailers provided by H.U.D. for a temporary trailer park—a park consisting of rows of shiny new trailers lined up on a bleak, isolated field of dirt—a popular subject of conversation is why the money for Gulf Coast disaster relief rasied by Bob Hope on a celebrated telethon has not been used to help hurricane victims in Pass Christian. "I've got a real story to tell you," a man said to me one day in the Plantation Café. I thought he might want to tell me about being rescued just as his house blew away, but it turned out that he had been out of town during the hurricane. His story was that in the same mail he had received two letters from the Small Business Administration in response to his application for a low-interest disaster loan—one telling him he made too much money to qualify and the other saying he didn't make enough.

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Every issue of the Biloxi-Gulfport *Daily Herald,* the Gulf Coast's only daily, carries the statement of John Bell Williams, the Governor of Mississippi, that the Gulf Coast will be rebuilt into one of the finest recreation areas in the country. A lot of cars bear bumper stickers that say "Together We Build the Gulf Coast." American flags—which soon after the disaster became a symbol on the coast for determination to rebuild—still fly from the gutted remains of Pass Christian houses. But virtually nothing has been rebuilt in Pass Christian. In fact, of the trailers being provided by H.U.D. as temporary shelters for the homeless, more than 100 have yet to arrive. Ronny Caire, a former New Orleans newspaperman who puts out a feisty Pass Christian weekly called the *Owl,* regularly exhorts his readers to rebuild. But he has also called for an investigation of the Red Cross, and he has begun to run a post-hurricane feature called "Vulture of the Week." Lately, Caire has found almost as much to criticize about local merchants and politicians and land speculators as about outside insurance adjusters and Washington bureaucrats. Not long ago, the *Owl* reported that a number of the American flags had been stolen. "The normal greed has started," Milton Simpson, the proprietor of the Plantation Café, told me one day. "It's just the normal greed."

People on the Gulf Coast have always prided themselves on not becoming too excited about a bit of normal greed or about any of the other natural weaknesses in the human character. They often say that the prevailing attitude on the coast is "live and let live"—a phrase that nobody has ever used to describe the atmosphere in the rest of Mississippi. In a state that has always been able to muster powerful legislative sanctions again Demon Rum, the businessmen of Biloxi have always recognized that a weary traveller might want to stop now and then for a drink, and maybe even a game of black jack. Pass Christian residents often say they like the town because it is one place in Mississippi where a man can have a drink on his front porch without worrying about his neighbhors' reporting the transgression to the nearest Baptist minister. Without being liberal about racial matters, white people on the Gulf Coast are sufficiently uninterested in evangelical racism to be considered backsliders by a lot of other white Mississippians; without being satisfied with their lot, black people on the Gulf Coast have never organized an effective civil-rights movement. (Pass Christian was finally going to switch to a unitary school system this fall even if there had not been a hurricane that left it with only one school.) A lot of people in Pass Christian like to identify with the worldliness of New Orleans rather than the rigidity of Jackson. The Plantation Café serves not only fried chicken but red beans and rice, fried-oyster po' boys, and beer. The huge, rambling gulf-front houses that Pass Christian has been known for were built earlier in the century as summer houses for rich people from New Orleans. Those who live in Pass Christian now are more likely to be year-round residents, but many of them are also likely to be outsiders—people who are retired or semi-retired. Until missile contracts began to be cut back, there were a lot of people from the companies involved in a nearby NASA missile-test facility. The rest of Mississippi continues to regard the Gulf Coast in somewhat the same way that northern Louisiana regards New Orleans — a slightly degenerate place that should be denounced by anybody who returns from his annual inspection of its sinfulness, a place sprinkled with foreigners and Catholics and outsiders, a place that, for all its faults, has a lot of taxable assets.

Priding themselves on a worldly view of human nature, a lot of Gulf Coast people tend to take it for granted that the rest of the state sees the hurricane partly as an opportunity to exert its control at last over the Gulf Coast—the way a frugal, repressed bank clerk might finally get control of a charming playboy brother whose luck at gambling suddenly ran out. After the hurricane, Gov. Williams, with the approval of President Nixon, appointed a 10-man Governor's Emergency Council from the state's white business community to oversee the recovery effort. The council, seven of whose members are from other parts of the state, has control of all federal and state money coming into the area—giving it the political power of what one recent visitor described as "a disaster pork barrel." (One Pass Christian resident who has been critical of the council did point out to me one way that the formation of such a coastwide authority protected Pass Christian: since Pass Christian was almost obliterated and had to be totally evacuated, the towns with less damage could have probably soaked up all the federal recovery money in sight before Pass Christian had recovered to the point of being able to submit grant proposals.) Being worldly, Gulf Coast residents find it unsurprising that the government agencies involved in recovery are interested in accruing credit and power or that the businesses involved are interested in making money. A month after the hurricane, the federal Office of Emergency Preparedness found time to publish a 41-page report on how much of a contribution had been made toward recovery by every federal agency that could conceivably be considered involved—even the United States Marshals, who, it turned out, found quarters for families of United States judges whose houses had been wrecked, salvaged some records from the courthouse, and, in the midst of all this, "searched for and located relatives of Senator Eastland."

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At a city council meeting I attended in Pass Christian, the councilmen spent most of the evening discussing what kind of machine could best send out water bills. A couple of men from a new computer company made a presentation for producing bills through a computer print-out method. A man from Burroughs explained how his machine had the advantage of offering instant access to the billing history of each account. Except for occasional references to the Office of Emergency Preparedness, which is expected to pay for the new machine, and the fact that the meeting was held in a trailer, it was difficult to keep in mind that the discussion was going on in a town that has been estimated to be 85 per cent uninhabitable. Pass Christian hasn't changed much since the hurricane. A lot of buildings—two or three motels at the edge of town, a church, some blocks of houses, a block of the business district across from the Plantation Café—are gone without a trace. The Richelieu apartment building—where a couple of dozen people insisted they could party out the storm, and were killed—exists only in the form of a couple of piles of used bricks offered for sale. The poor people living in the trailer parks are physically isolated (many of them lost their cars as well as their houses in the storm) and, in many cases, are unaware of the relief they would be entitled to if they managed to fill out the proper forms. City councilmen are able to sit in the center of this wasteland discussing ways to dispatch water bills partly because the larger problems seem beyond their control. The government and city services of Pass Christian can continue to exist only through federal assistance, and the mayor says that the town, having submitted the proper applications, is just waiting to see what form the assistance will take. The Pass Christian share of the "We Care" fund raised on the Bob Hope telethon—$134,000—is safely invested in short-term bonds. The mayor and councilmen say they couldn't decide what else to do with it—most of the projects they had in mind being much more expensive than $134,000.

To those who have been concerned with poor people and black people in Pass Christian, the investment of the "We Care"

Disaster Relief: A Federal Failure

By JAMES N. WOOD, JR.

The handling of federal disaster relief in the Hurricane Camille area has resulted in plans for Senate hearings on the subject, probably to be held in January. Sen. Jennings Randolph, chairman of the Senate Committee on Public Works, has confirmed that such plans are being made.

They follow investigations by the Southern Regional Council and the American Friends Service Committee, which have issued a report strongly criticizing the handling of federal funds and the disaster relief program in general.

Immediately after the hurricane, SRC and AFSC, with assistance from the staff of the Legal Defense and Educational Fund, began to investigate the federal and related responses to the disaster. The initial efforts were directed primarily toward encouraging federal agencies to remember the inadequate and inequitable aid provided in earlier disasters so they would avoid repetitions.

In the week following the Hurricane Camille, SRC and AFSC sent an observer who is familiar with the area on a trip across the Gulf Coast and into some of the inland towns. In mid-September, the two agencies sent a team of four to spend three weeks in the affected area—primarily in Mississippi, but also in neighboring states hit by the hurricane. They traveled 2,500 miles and interviewed 250 people, including community leaders and organization representatives. Their work was supplemented by a special effort in Washington, manned by two professionals, one provided by the Washington Research Project of Atlanta's Clark College. In October, one of the original Mississippi team members returned to the Gulf Coast so that information and observations could be kept fresh.

These investigations led the AFSC and SRC to issue a report entitled "In the Wake of Hurricane Camille—An Analysis of the Federal Response." Unfortunately, the report does not document any substantial improvement over past federal responses in the distribution of disaster aid. The report is available from the SRC at 40 cents a copy, or 30 cents in orders of 10 or more. It makes the following findings:

1. *The federal government devoted its primary attention to public facilities damaged or destroyed by a natural disaster and relegated the care of individuals to others.*
2. *The federal government has not recognized by its actions the need for imaginative outreach to people both numbed by disaster and cut off from normal channels of communication.*
3. *Aid was not dispensed equitably to all people.*
4. *There has been no coordinated program to protect consumers from exploitation and fraud.*
5. *The special needs of the poor have not been affirmatively identified and met.*
6. *The federal government has taken little or no action to combat racial exclusion and discrimination in this disaster situation, and in some instances is contributing to the problem.*

The Department of Justice has confined its non-discrimination actions to *conversations* with the Office of Emergency Preparedness about Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Other departments of the federal government have failed to take affirmative action to ensure non-discrimination. Only a tiny percentage of Small Business Administration loans have gone to black people. Most importantly, President Nixon has sanctioned the exclusion of the poor and the black from the long-range planning process by designating the all-white Governor's Emergency Council, chosen by Gov. John Bell Williams of Mississippi, as the official body through which all federal programs for reconstruction must be coordinated.

Based on those findings the report makes recommendations which would, if followed, help meet the immediate continuing needs in the wake of Hurricane Camille. The first of those recommendations is:

"We recommend that the federal government and its agencies work only through state or local bodies which affirmatively embody non-discriminatory policies and are fully representative of all segments of the affected area. If such a state or local body cannot be found or speedily created, the federal government should bypass non-complying agencies and itself directly administer federally funded or assisted programs for recovery and reconstruction, and that inasmuch as the Governor's Emergency Council of Mississippi is highly unrepresentative of the people of that state, the President immediately revoke his recognition of that council as the coordinating agency through which federal programs of recovery and reconstruction reach Mississippi."

For future disasters the report recommends the development of "Disaster Guidelines" which should include the following among its provisions:

——Uniform minimum levels for aid, equally applicable to all people regardless of their predisaster economic status, shall be established to provide such basic necessities as food, shelter and medical needs for as long as is needed;

——Special needs unmet by this minimum standard shall be considered on request of individuals and families;

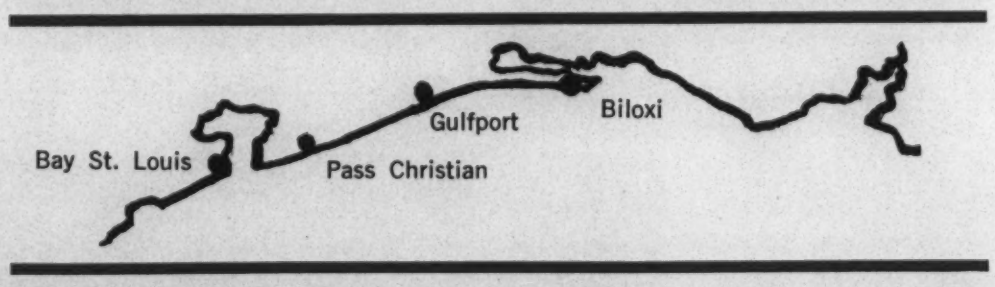
——All federal disaster programs shall adhere to the intent and provisions of federal civil rights laws, including sending civil rights staff to the scene immediately;

——The total community affected, including the poor, shall be involved as soon as possible after a disaster in the planning and implementation of short and long range recovery and reconstruction activities;

——No agency shall terminate disaster aid without the concurrence of the overall coordinating agency.

money in the bond market is symbolic. "I've been thinking of writing Bob Hope and asking him if he realizes what's happened to that money he raised," a leader of the Negro community told me. "I finally got up at the last council meeting, when they were discussing water bills or something, and asked, 'What are you *doing* for these people?'" Those who run Pass Christian tend to believe that people have been taken care of when a trailer has been provided—particularly when the trailer is superior to the house they were living in before the storm. (It is true that some Pass Christian Negroes and poor whites have finally found in the H.U.D. trailers the shiny wood panelling and modern dining alcoves that their television set always displayed as the American Home—although some of them are still making payments on the television set despite the fact that it blew away in the storm, and many of them are baffled about where they're going to live when they have to leave the trailers.) The city did form a housing authority after the hurricane, and the housing authority decided, over the objection of the only Negro member, to charge rent for the trailers after the first three months to cover maintenance—$35 to $50 a month, unless the rent and utilities combined would exceed a quarter of the family income. But days after the decision the people in the trailer park were still worried about rumors that the rent would be 85 or a 100 dollars a month. The people in the parks are mostly Negroes—people who couldn't afford the installation charge made when a government trailer was put on private property, or people whose lot was too small for a trailer, or people who had no lot of their own—and being hurricane victims has not suddenly entitled them to be involved in or informed about the decisions made by a duly constituted city housing authority.

The hurricane has given middle-class whites some exposure to this kind of helplessness. When the Governor's Emergency Council established an appeals-and-review committee, Pass Christian, the worst-hit town, was given on representation. After an initial period of mass assistance, the Red Cross set up a caseworker system, and a lot of middle-class whites in Pass Christian now sound like ghetto welfare recipients when talking about how the case-



worker they happened to get is insensitive and rigidly bureauratic and arrogant. White wage earners as well as Negroes and poor whites complain that the forms and red tape of the Small Business Administration are beyond them. But the reaction of middle-class whites to this experience has not been any new sympathy for the poor and the powerless or any outrage about their own lack of control over the machinery that is supposedly helping them. In fact, one of the most common complaints on the Gulf Coast, from black and white alike, is that the way the Red Cross and the Small Business Administration operate penalizes those who are trying to help themselves in favor of those who always needed public assistance before the hurricane. In the days just after the storm, there were a number of press accounts about how differences of caste and class were erased by the common need—accounts that Pass Christian Negroes always considered somewhat exaggerated, since Pass Christian residents who were evacuated to Jackson were separated upon arrival, with the whites going to a hotel and the blacks to Jackson State College dormitories— but there is no indication that the hurricane changed anybody's notions about who ought to have a right to participate in decision-making. A team of investigators sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee and the Southern Regional Council has concluded that poor people and black people have been denied any influence in the recovery effort by just about every private and governmental agency involved.

The people on the Gulf Coast may have become irritable about their treatment at the hands of government bureaucrats and private operators, but their capacity for outrage seems limited — even when it is outrage at the most despised insurance companies. At the Pass Christian City Council meeting I attended, some of the councilmen refused to approve the bond routinely required for the city clerk because it had been underwritten by the Travelers Insurance Company, but they eventually changed their minds. There is no doubt that just after the hurricane insurance adjusters pressured homeowners who were desperately in need of cash to settle for ridiculously low figures, and in the minds of most Pass Christian property owners a lot of the insurance adjusters now arguing over settlements are people who would claim that a house blown away by a desert sandstorm was damaged mainly by rising water—damage by rising water not being covered by household insurance policies. In this atmosphere, it was discovered not long ago that the state insurance commission had quietly approved a 50 per cent rate increase for the Gulf; Jack Anderson, the inheritor of Drew Pearson's column, printed a letter indicating that the state insurance commissioner, an official elected to police the insurance business, was having his statements edited by an industry representative in Jackson; and a Jackson grand jury supported Anderson's charge that the state insurance commission is "in the pocket of the insurance companies," going on to say that "the people of Mississippi can only be expected to be 'skinned' by these insurance companies." The insurance commissioner then demonstrated his concern for his constituents by holding public hearings on the Gulf Coast, but the hearings were a disappointment to those who expected to see an angry mob of citizens attacking the commissioner and the industry. Not many people came to make formal complaints, and practically nobody came to watch. On the first day of the hearings, I read a column in the Biloxi-Gulfport *Daily Herald* that started with the information that the insurance commission, a board of three citizens appointed to pass on rate changes, was composed of two insurance agents and a lawyer for insurance companies. That sounded to me like information likely to draw some angry comments from a columnist in a district where a lot of people had good reason to be angry about insurance. But, sounding barely irritated, the columnist went on to say, "It should not be considered a slur against any of the three to suggest that a fourth person, a consumers' representative, should be added to the Commission."

White Church

Black Church

by PAT WATTERS

This article is from *THE SOUTH AND THE NATION*, by Pat Watters, which will be published on Jan. 30 by Pantheon. (See Page 1 of *SOUTH TODAY* for more about the book.)

Several years after hot dog stands and bars had integrated, the governing body of one of the larger churches in one of the small cities enacted that sad Southern drama of trying to decide whether to admit Negroes, if they should so apply, to membership. One of the older pillars of the church got up and made an impassioned plea for allowing the Negroes in—not that he personally thought it was the wisest thing, but because of the new plant in town and the wishes of its management in these matters.

Surely there were motives better than this in the white Southern church, something out of the religious tradition of Western Civilization that mitigated racism in the Bible Belt? Some, at least. At that same meeting, another old man got up, an outspoken segregationist in his daily doings, and declared: "I know how I want to vote. But I look here at this church building, and I realize it's not mine. It's the Lord's House. And so we are going to have to do this thing . . . ."

The surface irony, the absurdity of such a meeting being held at all (considering the main tenets of the predominant religions), is too easy, too facile an explanation of the meaning, or lack of it, of religion in the South. More probably than in the rest of the nation, religion did have meaning for Southerners, white and black.... In the small cities and towns, the church was central not merely to the social but also—nearly the way it used to be in America—to the spiritual life of the people. Maybe this is in the main a commentary on emptiness of life, of the spiritual among the dominant majority.

The laggardness of the white churches to desegregate, to formalize in their membership policies the brotherhood of man (essentially, one more Southern exercise in form and ritual, since few Negroes would anywhere, even in the large cities, wish to leave their own congregations), got to the very heart of the tragedy of Southern racism. It involved the proprietary autocracy of the rich and powerful who liked to run their churches with the same disregard for democracy with which they ran their towns.

The splendor of the white Baptist churches in all the little places of the South was a notable phenomenon: no hamlet was so debased as not to have on a prominent corner some cement and brick temple of imposing grandeur, largely endowed by one or a few wealthy old townspeople—though the pressure of the building fund committees, often employing professional fund-raisers, upon the widows and the like for their mites were fierce and formidable.

The Baptist edifices were most prominent, most pretentious, for theirs was largest, most powerful, most reactionary among the denominations (indulging Southern propensities in the denomination's bylaws for each church being autonomous to the point of anarchy). But the "first churches" of the other Protestant denominations were also splendidly housed on prominent corners and similarly financed and controlled.

A description of one of the better situations in a small city suggests the tone of this leadership: "The downtown churches have made Negroes welcome on the rare occasions they have sought admittance. Even the First Baptist did this, deciding that if they should come, there would be no issue made of it. Some of the leading citizens are members. There are no Negro members of any white churches. The Presbyterian minister has been very good on race, although he has a very conservative board. The board is always mad at the National Council of Churches over some outrage. But the preacher works with them, despite his sympathies the other way. He is very patient. . . ." In some of the towns and cities, large as well as small, ushers have barred the church doors to demonstrating Negroes seeking to worship, this at the will of the powerful, autocratic old men. . . .

The sermons are bland, are banal, are filled with the showmanship and ancient thespian skills of which Billy Graham has become the grand champion and had held to ascendancy longer than any of a long line of notable predecessors. We may not say that the message of the religion the congregations professed escaped them, but it is worth nothing that the means of conveying its message was a relic from another age of communication, before television, movies, radio, before reading even, with one man talking, many listening. . . .

The talk was ever of change in the heart of man, and the preachers were in the forefront of those who were willing to see another generation or five or more of Negro degradation and needless suffering in the patient effort to will in the hearts of the dominant white majority a complete change in the fundamentals of the culture.

The Negroes, some of their own preachers leading the battle, churches their headquarters and staging grounds, ended the debate between the changers of hearts and those pragmatic souls of complete faith in liberalism who said change the institutions, and the hearts will follow along. The Negroes forced the change of the laws regarding the institutions; there was no chance to see fully what the effect on the heart (though the evidence was heaviest on the side that it would indeed follow along).

And the preachers, the good ones, went right on with the patient and slow effort to change attitudes in the midst of institutional flux and indecisive administration of law. Few had the firm knowledge (the intellectual ability to translate ancient dogma into modern relevancy) of Will Campbell and his followers that the basic symbolism of the Christian myth was the only and complete religious answer to racism. But they kept at it, the good ones among the white preachers, and there were many stories of their trials and tribulations, failures and occasional successes.

"You have to appreciate what it does to a preacher to have his board against him," one who had been through the experience said sadly. It gets to where there is nobody in the church he can turn to. This is the penalty for going too far on race, this the dread thing of losing influence with the powerful. Some preachers crack, the one who had been through it said, and some run out. But most are men of integrity, and see it through. The powerful men will withdraw their large financial support from the church—for good or for a period of pouting. Or they will just not attend services for a month or so, never saying anything, just not gracing the church with their presences.

. . . There were more sad stories than happy ones. A poverty program official in a small city told of the efforts to obtain Sunday school buildings to house desegregated Head Start schools, and of the newly arrived Baptist preacher who went with great assurance to his board of deacons to get their permission. His deacons voted 14 to 2 against it. "That preacher was just crushed," said the poverty program man. "I told him, hell, be thankful for those two."

Except in Louisiana, the Catholic Church was not the power for good and evil that it was in other areas of the nation. In the 1950s and to a lesser extent in the 1960s, it concentrated a great proselytizing effort among Negroes, with some success. But by and large, the Negroes were Protestant, too, with their own proud first churches on prominent corners, inordinate in splendor and investment to the resources of the congregations and, like the white edifices, sacrificial of human needs apparent all about.

But what went on in these churches and the more humble ones, in the Negro church and the religious heart of the Negro South since slavery times, was something sacred, something truly apart from the norm of psychic experience in America, and for the most part, in the white South. The religion and rites of the poor whites in their more frenzied and evangelical sects were closer than either they or Negroes would want to admit to the basic religious experience in the Negro churches. . . .

The Negro religion, in its old and modern forms, was not fanatical, and except in formal, ritualistic ways, as best a white observer might judge, was not piously puritanical. It was joyous and satisfying, and respectful of the humanity of the participants. Whites were privileged to participate in it during the direct-action days of the early 1960s, to discover the amazing beauty of music that welled up, often unaccompanied, in all kinds of complicated harmony and rhythms, out of the congregations, people's faces transfigured in the experience of the songs, and the sermons and prayers. . . .

Whites who were privileged to take part learned that religion, against all the cynical scorn for the namby-pamby and puritanical thing it had become in America, could have deep meaning, could touch the core of one's humanity, like great music or poetry or nature, and could impart dignity in the doing of what had always been considered undignified, a sudden, completely natural, uninhibited shouting out, and could hold forth hope and comfort and solace. . . .

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., had the genius to pull together all the best of the religious tradition and the deep religiosity of the Negro South to accomplish those secular miracles with which he has been credited. But it may well be that when time allows full judgment, his greatest accomplishment, his real meaning will be found to be spiritual. That a spiritual leader, in many ways a mystic, might rise in the materialistic and harsh America through which Dr. King moved, and might move that America in its own harsh and militaristic terms, remains the most tangible indication that something remains alive in the South that is missing elsewhere, the strongest threads of fact behind the myths of a superior new society evolving, some day to show America the way.

To say that this was a phenomenon of the Negro South, a subculture in many ways out away from the main American culture, blocked from its main activity—business—and therefore moved into a different kind of self-expression, spiritual, mystical, is not to say it all. For there was that remnant of the old white South that had shed somehow the curse of racism, and had for years before Dr. King sought the same goals that he was to, and rejoiced to rally to him when he did come forth—and these, for the very most part, had religion as a large part of their motivation and responded to the religion that was the core of Dr. King's message. . . .

Maybe the most that the South, in all the bad and good and beauty of its people, black and white, can tell America is what the whites through the evil of Wallace and the Negroes through the good of Dr. King have said—that they want and deserve dignity and respect, and that, moreover, all people do.

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MORNING PAPERS:
SUNDAY, MAY 2, 1971

(ALL REPORTS AND STORIES IN SOUTH TODAY MAY BE REPRINTED IN WHOLE OR IN PART WITH OR WITHOUT ATTRIBUTION, EXCEPT FOR REPRINTED ARTICLES THAT SHOW THE COPYRIGHTS OF OTHER PUBLICATIONS.)

ATLANTA -- The rural families which have the worst housing and are most in need of federal housing aid do not get it because of bad regulations and continuing racial discrimination, the Southern Regional Council said today.

A report in the council's monthly newspaper, South Today notes that the loan funds of the Farmers Home Administration have been greatly increased in recent years, to $1.4 billion in fiscal 1971. But, the report says, the money will not do the job because this housing program, "like the majority of (FmHA's) other rural loan packages, is not designed to reach the poor."

It calls attention to a paradox: that persons whose income is below the federally-defined poverty level are actually, for that reason, ineligible for the most important parts of the FmHA housing program, a program intended to help the poor.

Other points the report makes:

-- The amount set aside for FmHA rural housing loans is insufficient, even if it were distributed where it should be.

-- "Traditional racism" in the FmHA and its parent organization, the U. S. Department of Agriculture, deters many blacks from applying

for loans.

-- Local three-member committees of the FmHA, which must approve housing loans, still have disproportionate numbers of white members.

Between 60 and 70 per cent of the nation's substandard housing is in rural America -- more than four million units -- and a large percentage of this is in the South, the report notes. It says this housing blight continues to exist in large part because the FmHA "is super-conscious of the desires of Congress, and super-sensitive to the charge that it is giving money away in a 'socialistic' fashion."

It adds: "As a whole, of course, the U. S. Department of Agriculture is an extremely conservative branch of the government which has been firmly in control of the less visionary members of Congress since shortly after World War II. The USDA has not empowered the FmHA to liberalize its regulations because Congress -- especially its powerful Southern and Midwestern members -- did not want it to."

The report says FmHA's administrators have made "significant progress in equalizing its racial composition" in the past several years but black representation remains too small.

As of December, 1970, in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, there were 76 non-whites among 776 FmHA professional personnel; 231 non-white committeemen among 993; and 112 non-white committee chairmen among 327. (See state-by-state breakdowns on last page.)

These figures, as well as figures on the number of loans made to blacks and whites, indicate are "encouraging signs" of change in FmHA, the Southern Regional Council says. But it concludes that regulations for obtaining the loans themselves guarantee that those most in need of them will be left out.

"Less than six per cent of the FmHA total loans made in 1970 went to families with an income of less than $3,000," it says. "Many simply don't possess the knowhow and experience necessary to cope with the forms and letters and affidavits required of an applicant....Many white FmHA officials realize the tremendous gap still left between the black and the white farmer, and make every effort to contact and help the blacks, but the effort often ends in frustration and confusion on both sides. Of course, blacks' experience with the FmHA in the past taught them that it would do them no good to even attempt to apply for a loan."

Under present regulations, FmHA's housing loans are not made in towns of more than 10,000 population. The SRC report recommends that this size limitation be raised to 25,000 population.

Other recommendations include proposals that steps be taken to reinstitute direct grants to individuals for housing repair and improvement under the 504 program and that the FmHA re-examine its internal structure and attempt to substitute professional judgment for the now largely amateur opinions of the three-man local committees.

The report was prepared by William Winn for the Housing and Urban Planning Project of the Southern Regional Council, a privately-funded agency dealing with problems of race and poverty.

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State-by-state figures on racial representation in FmHA programs in five states as of December, 1970 are:

South Carolina: 18 non-whites among 114 professionals; 48 non-white committeemen among 138; 26 non-white committee chairmen among 46.

Georgia: 13 non-white professionals among 139; 54 non-white committeemen among 305; 23 non-white committee chairmen among 96.

Alabama: 8 non-white professionals among 156; 39 non-white committeemen among 182; 18 non-white committee chairmen among 61.

Mississippi: 26 non-white professionals among 261; 62 non-white committeemen among 236; 28 non-white committee chairmen among 80.

Louisiana: 11 non-white professionals among 106; 28 non-white committeemen among 132; 17 non-white committee chairmen among 44.

File — Miscellaneous

December 2 1971

EV

I guess I can't think of anything right now on this, except that there has already quite a bit been done on various aspects of USDA shenanigans.

ba

SRC
Publ

Copy to BA

for comment

or suggestion

EW

BA,
Any Con

November 25, 1971

NOV 29 1971

To: Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia
NAACP, New York, New York
Rep. Shirley Chisholm, c/o The Black Caucus, Washington, D.C.
Johnson Publishing Co., Chicago, Illinois

Dear Concerned:

I have an important suggestion to make to all of you. You might not be in favor of doing such a thing, because of the present governmental administration that shows no outward concern for the Black population.

My suggestion is this: Combine your resources to make a complete analysis of the employment and advancement of the Negro in the United States Department of Agriculture (all agencies). After your study is completed, reveal it to the public through Ebony magazine. The Southern Regional Council made a study of this once, but I don't think that it made enough publicity to draw any attention for corrective actions. The August, 1971, edition of Ebony magazine, entitled, The South Today, showed the problems encountered by Blacks through the decades of time, and the progress that has been accomplished. Therefore, I'm sure that Ebony could put into focus many of the discrepancies that exist in some states, for Blacks that are employed by the United States Department of Agriculture. For any reference data on this type of study, I would suggest that you contact the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta, Georgie 30303. They wrote an article concerning this issue in November of 1969. It has become unbearable for me to take the racist, conservative attitude of the U.S.D.A., that tries to hinder the progress of the Black man.

Respectfully yours,
Anonymous

cc:
Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia
NAACP, New York, New York
Rep. Shirley Chisholm, c/o The Black Caucus, Washington, D.C.
Johnson Publishing co. Inc., Chicago, Illinois

Envelope had return address
Clyde McField
Rte 4, Box 475
Huntsville, Tex 77340

Current Projects — SRC Indexing

August 17, 1970

MEMORANDUM

TO: Paul A., Paul G., Emory, Reese, Bob

FROM: Kitty Griffith

Re: Indexing and attendant problems

Because I am supposed to know about these things, I was made chairman of a committee to develop an index for SOUTH TODAY and NEW SOUTH.

I do not feel that such an index should be attempted until we develop a uniform list of subject headings which would be applicable also to the labeling of newsclips, materials, pamphlets and books.

Currently the research department is going by three lists of subjects--one for newsclips, one for materials, one for pamphlets. These lists generally agree, but there are inconsistencies and overlap of terms which make it very hard to find the information you want when you want it. For example:

City government: subject term now being used to label newsclips..
Government--local: term being used to label pamphlets.
Urban affairs (with subdivisions): being used to label newsclips, pamphlets and materials.

Add to the confusion if Janet Smith develops a classified list of SRC publications:

Black Political Participation: term suggested by J. Smith for SRC publications.
Politics--Negro: term being used to classify newsclips, materials, pamphlets and SRC reports housed in research.

Add further confusion if Kitty develops seperate index for NS and ST:

Schools: term used by NS and ST
Education: term used by research department

And so on.

A uniform subject list would solve these problems, and others thus making it easier to retrieve information, more quickly, more efficiently and with less frustration. I will gladly attempt to develop this master list complete with see and see-also references, but I must have your full cooperation and some amount of authority to make it work.

Once such a master list is evolved, anyone using this list as a guide can index ST and NS rather quickly. The same holds true for SRC publications pamphlets which are now only classified by one broad subject heading and for books which currently enjoy no subject access.

As I see it there are two options: one, I will develop an index for SOUTH TODAY and the Leadership Project only, with no attempt to relate to the rest of SRC research and thereby contribute further to its confusion; or, secondly, I can undertake to develop a uniform list of subject headings applicable to all SRC purposes.

In order to exercise the second option, which I highly recommend, I feel that I must be given full administrative authority to proceed along lines, which in my own technical opinion, are best.

I see no need to assemble the index committee. It is simply a matter of deciding which of these two options we will take.

Kitty

REPORT OF THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE
1968

The 1968 Nominating Committee consists of Dr. John A. Griffin, chairman, Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason, Mr. J. Bill Becker, and Mr. Matthew Perry.

The Committee met on Saturday, September 7th at 10:00 a.m. in the SRC offices.

The following are recommendations made by the Nominating Committee:

OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

President - Mr. John H. Wheeler

Vice Presidents - Mr. Paul R. Christopher
Dr. C. G. Gomillion
Dr. Lucius H. Pitts
Miss Josephine Wilkins

Executive Committee - Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook
Mr. James McBride Dabbs
Mr. Julius Chambers
Dr. Vivian W. Henderson
Mr. Frank Smith
Mr. McNeill Smith
Dr. H. Franklin Williams
Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler
Mr. Marion A. Wright

Legal Counsel - Mr. Joseph F. Haas

The Committee received, at the request of the Executive Committee, a communication signed by several members of the Council requesting that Mr. David Scull of Virginia be made a member of the Executive Committee. The Nominating Committee was very impressed with Mr. Scull's qualifications and agrees that he is a most appropriate candidate for membership on the Executive Committee. However, it was decided that only one change should be made this year on the

Executive Committee, and that the member being removed, by his request, was a Negro. We noted a serious racial imbalance on the Executive Committee. Considering the vacancy created by Dr. Dent's resignation, the Executive Committee now consists of nine (9) whites and five (5) Negroes. Because of this, we felt it essential that a Negro be placed in nomination. Therefore, Mr. Julius Chambers of North Carolina, was selected. We urge future Nominating Committees to also be sensitive to this imbalance and correct it as is possible.

We have submitted an unusually large number of names for your consideration for members on the Council. This is due, in part, to your action on Life Fellows. In selecting the following individuals, the Nominating Committee gave the most serious consideration to the following criteria:

(1) We noted that at present the Council membership consists of 62 whites and 36 Negroes. We felt this to be a serious imbalance which needed to be corrected. Accordingly, of the 16 names to be submitted to you, 12 are Negro and four are white.

(2) We noted the small number of women on the Council, and were particularly sensitive to the suggestions submitted to us of women candidates.

(3) We sought a significant number of younger people who have been and are still conspicuously active in the areas of interest to the Council.

If approved, eight of the following nominees will be placed in the Class of 1972. The remainder will be placed in those vacancies, by class, which have been created by the election of Life Fellows.

You have been provided with the names of the nominees and a brief biographical sketch of each, as was requested by the Members at the Annual Meeting last year.

The nominees are:

Alabama

Mr. Neil Davis
Auburn

Mrs. John Cashin
Huntsville

Arkansas

Father Walter B. Clancy
Eureka Springs

Florida

Dr. Charles Griggs
Tallahassee

Georgia

Mrs. Helen Howard
Atlanta

Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr.
Atlanta

Mr. Julian Bond
Atlanta

Louisiana

Mr. Nils Douglas
New Orleans

Dr. Jewel Prestage
Baton Rouge

Mississippi

Mr. Aaron Henry
Clarksdale

North Carolina

The Rev. Phillip Cousins
Durham

Tennessee

Mr. James Stokely
Newport

Mr. Avon Williams
Nashville

Virginia

Mr. Henry Marsh
Richmond

Mr. Harry Huge
Alexandria

Mrs. Ruth Harvey Wood
Danville

Alternates

Mr. Hodding Carter, III
Greenville, Mississippi

Mr. Herbert Marshall
Norfolk, Virginia

Mr. William Baggs
Miami, Florida

The Nominating Committee is also charged with the responsibility of nominating three members to next year's Nominating Committee. The Executive Committee will appoint two additional members to this committee. For the 1969 Nominating Committee we propose:

Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason, Norfolk
Mr. J. Bill Becker, Little Rock
Mr. Robert Palmer, Sumter

Respectfully submitted,

John A. Griffin, Chairman
Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason
Mr. J. Bill Becker
Mr. Matthew J. Perry

AGENDA

27th ANNUAL MEETING

Southern Regional Council

ATLANTA SHERATON-BILTMORE HOTEL

November 17 - 18, 1970

A G E N D A

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

ANNUAL MEETING

November 17-18, 1970

* * * * * * * * *

November 17

9:00 A.M.	-	Executive Committee Meeting
10:00 A.M.	-	REGISTRATION (Lower Level - Seminar Theater)
11:00 A.M.	-	OPENING SESSION - BUSINESS Report of Executive Committee Dr. Vivian Henderson, Chairman
12:15 P.M.	-	LUNCH - GEORGIAN BALLROOM Report of the Executive Director Mr. Paul Anthony

2:00 P.M.	-	FIRST GENERAL SESSION Dr. Raymond Wheeler, Presiding Report on present status of the Voter Education Project, Inc. Mr. John Lewis, Director
3:15 - 5:00 P.M.	-	SMALL GROUP SESSIONS Seminar Theater & Seminar Rooms A & B, C & D
7:00 P.M.	-	COCKTAILS (Cash Bar) (Hotel Foyer of Georgian Ballroom)
7:30 P.M.	-	ANNUAL DINNER (Georgian Ballroom)

November 18

9:00 A. M.	-	Executive Session (Lower Level - Seminar Theater) (Members & Life Fellows Only)
9:30 - 10:45 A. M.	-	SMALL GROUP SESSIONS Seminar Theater, Group I Texas Suite 10th Floor, Group II Room 3 (mezzanine), Group III
11:00 - 12:30 P. M.	-	SMALL GROUP SESSIONS Seminar Theater, Group I Texas Suite 10th Floor, Group II Room 3 (mezzanine), Group III
12:45 - 2:00 P. M.	-	LUNCH - EMPIRE SUITE Address of the President Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler
2:15 - 5:00 P. M.	-	FINAL GENERAL SESSIONS

NOTE: At 5:30 P. M., at their request, there will be a meeting of staff and members of the State Councils on Human Relations. All present at the SRC meeting are invited to attend as observers.

January 20, 1971

The Leadership Project

The Leadership Project was established in February, 1969, with a director, assistant to the director and secretary. It now also has a half-time editorial assistant. Until recently it had a half-time clerical assistant, who now has been moved to the general office payroll.

The project's assigned objective was to help the Council to better reach a broad range of Southern leadership. With limited resources, we have chosen to do this primarily with publications. These have been directed not only toward Southern leadership as such but also toward what might be called "strategic points" in national and regional media, with the objective of influencing social change and public policy.

The project has defined its leadership target group as black and white leaders at various levels: traditional civic, corporate, labor and religious leadership, as well as emerging grassroots leadership. An underlying assumption was the SRC needed to do more to make contact with those who evidenced some social concern, or were open to social change, but who had not been sufficiently reached by the kind of materials published by SRC in the past.

The Leadership List

At the outset, the project carefully constructed a 23-category list of leaders in the Southern states, now totaling 6,400 names. No effort was made to make this a comprehensive list of "influentials"; but great care was taken to make it a list of representative leaders in various fields. It includes, for instance, bar association leaders (officers and directors of state bar associations, eleven states); religious leaders (e.g., all members of district boards of social concerns of the Methodist Church, eleven states); emerging as well as established black leadership (including 1,200 names drawn from the Voter Education Project's contacts, principally the leaders of voter registration drives); and random samplings of business leaders (e.g., every fourth banker in the Bankers' Directory, six states). We are now evaluating response from the various categories and probably will enlarge and contract segments of the list accordingly.

Booklets

A series of booklets designated as the Leadership Series was undertaken. The first two, John Willie Reed, by Charles Longstreet Weltner, and The Chickenbone Special, by Dwayne Walls, described the problems of black Southern migrants to cities. These booklets were distributed to the Leadership List and other SRC lists. They

have received widespread attention and have been used in some school systems and by a police department training program. The second, in expanded form, shortly will be published as a book by Harcourt, Brace & Jovanovich, Inc. Because of budget limitations, publication of other booklets has been delayed.

South Today

The project publishes South Today, a monthly newspaper with 17,000 circulation. It goes to the Leadership List, other SRC lists, and several state councils on human relations which distribute them to members. It also is sold on some news stands. It has received strong reader response (for instance, 461 mailed comments during the first six months). Perhaps more importantly for program purposes, it regularly attracts the attention of the national and regional press; almost every issue is followed by press coverage of reports in South Today, so that our audience for a given issue often is expanded by several million people.

We believe many of the research reports in South Today have had substantial impact. Among those published in 1970 were reports on Florida's migrants and the failure of state programs to deal with their problems; slum ownership by four Southern state welfare departments; unrest among local-government employes such as garbage workers and the need for more equitable handling of their needs; racism in Hollywood films and in Southern college and high school athletics; the Catholic Church's performance on problems of race and poverty; effective and ineffective administration of school integration, North and South; and Treasury agents' efforts to obtain names of readers of "subversive" and "militant" library books. Most of these reports received widespread press attention.

Other Activities

Aside from involvement in SRC's work in general, the project has become the principal monitor of the "segregation academy" movement and its damaging effects upon public school systems. Figures regularly compiled by the project constitute the best available on the subject. The IRS's performance in requiring non-discrimination for tax-exempt status, a policy adopted during the past year and so far badly implemented, will be a continuing subject of reports and analysis.

REPORT OF THE 1970 NOMINATING COMMITTEE

Your Nominating Committee met on October 15th to carry out its responsibilities. Members serving on the 1970 Committee were: Mrs. Jane Schutt, Chairman, Mrs. Helen Mervis, Mrs. Helen Howard, Mr. Robert Palmer, and Dr. Herman Long. All were present other than Mrs. Howard who could not attend because of illness.

The following are the nominations of the Committee:

President:	Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler
Vice Presidents:	Miss Josephine Wilkins Mr. Frank Smith Dr. C. G. Gomillion Dr. Lucius H. Pitts
Members of the Executive Committee:	Dr. Vivian W. Henderson, Chairman Mr. Hodding Carter, III Mrs. Joan Cashin Mr. Julius L. Chambers Mrs. Patt Derian Mr. Donald L. Hollowell Mr. Henry Marsh Mr. Robert Palmer Mr. John H. Wheeler Mr. H. Franklin Williams Mr. James Youngdahl Mr. Joseph Haas, Legal Counsel
For Re-election to the class of 1974:	Mr. Julius L. Chambers Charlotte, N. C. Mr. Edward E. Elson Chamblee, Ga. Dr. Edward E. Haddock Richmond, Virginia

For Re-election to
the class of 1974:

Mrs. Martin L. Harvey
Jackson, Mississippi

Dr. Vivian W. Henderson
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Harry Huge
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Earl Johnson
Jacksonville, Florida

Mr. Henry Marsh
Richmond, Virginia

Mr. William T. Mason, Jr.
Norfolk, Virginia

Dr. Samuel Nabrit
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. J. Allen Parker
Tuskegee, Alabama

Rabbi Jacob Rothschild
Atlanta, Georgia

The Rt. Rev. Msgr. Alexander Sigur
New Orleans, La.

Dr. Vasco A. Smith
Memphis, Tennessee

Mr. James Stokely
Newport, Tennessee

Dr. William H. Townsend
Little Rock, Arkansas

New Members:

Mrs. Anna Rubin
Sumter, South Carolina

Mr. Herbert Fielding
Charleston, South Carolina

New Members Continued:

Mrs. Edith Dabbs
Mayesville, South Carolina

Mrs. Millie Charles
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dr. Aaron Shirley
Jackson, Mississippi

Mr. Henry Lambert
New Orleans, Louisiana

Mrs. Eva Clayton
Warrenton, North Carolina

Dr. Gary Lloyd
New Orleans, Louisiana

Respectfully submitted,

Mrs. Jane Schutt, Chairman
Mrs. Helen Mervis
Mr. Robert Palmer
Dr. Herman Long
Mrs. Helen Howard

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Operating Budgets and Income Forecast - 1971
(Proposed)

SYNOPSIS

GENERAL OPERATIONS		
Budgeted	$304,650.00	
Committed or expected	181,000.00	
Balance to be raised		$123,650.00
SPECIAL PROJECTS		
Budgeted	554,000.00	
Committed or expected	335,000.00	
Balance to be raised		219,000.00
Total Budgeted:	858,650.00	
Total Committed:	516,000.00	
Total Balance to be raised:		342,650.00

GENERAL OPERATIONS - 1971

ITEMS	1971	1970
Salaries	$ 172,000	$ 190,000
Social Security	8,000	9,000
Travel	12,000	12,500
Telephone & Telegraph	11,000	11,000
Executive Committee, Special Council & Annual Meetings	14,000	13,000
Books, Subscriptions, Research Materials	3,000	4,000
Office Supplies, Equipment & Maintenance	12,000	11,000
New South, Postage and Fees	5,500	5,500
Postage, General	11,000	9,000
Printing	2,000	2,000
Rent	13,350	13,350
Accounting	6,000	3,000
Insurance		
General	1,800	1,500
Staff Benefits	17,000	20,000
Miscellaneous	6,000	3,000
Reserve & Contingency	10,000	15,000
TOTALS	$ 304,650	$ 322,850

Total Budgeted, General Operations	$ 304,650
Committed or expected	181,000
Balance to be raised	$ 123,650

SPECIAL PROJECTS - 1971

	BUDGETED	COMMITTED OR EXPECTED	BALANCE TO BE RAISED
Grant-In-Aid			
State Councils on Human Relations	$ 60,000	$ 60,000	
Information & Research (other than general operations salaries)			
Printing	80,000	50,000	
Editorial	20,000	15,000	
Research & Consultative Services	56,000	56,000	
Totals	156,000	121,000	$ 35,000
Resources Development Center			
Office of the Director	37,000	- 0 -	
Leadership Division	51,000	40,000	
Manpower & Labor Division	52,750	32,750	
Community Organization Division	41,250	41,250	
Housing & Planning Division	40,000	40,000	
Southern Assembly	56,000	- 0 -	
Public Education Division	30,000	- 0 -	
Health & Medical Services Division	30,000	- 0 -	
Totals	338,000	154,000	184,000
TOTAL SPECIAL PROJECTS - 1971	$ 554,000	$ 335,000	$ 219,000

A STATEMENT ON THE FINANCIAL CONDITION AND PROSPECTS OF FUNDING FOR THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Attached is the approved budget for 1971. This indicates our desire to expend $858,650 and our need to raise an additional $342,650 in order to meet that budget. We will almost certainly raise a portion of the desired additional funds. We will almost certainly not raise the total desired.

Regardless of this, the Council can finance substantially all of its planned program for 1971. The more important question, obviously, for the Review Committee, is the fund raising potential after 1971.

For your purposes several basic facts should be considered:

(1) Generally, we have no reason to believe that most of the foundations that now support us are not satisfied with the results of that support, and we belive they are prepared to consider renewal of that support. Almost without exception, however, their income is down substantially and the competition for support of most worthy needs is up.

(2) For future support we had banked heavily on our cultivation of several of the more conservative foundations which had either not supported us, or had supported us timidly and modestly. All indications are now that after the tax reform law, these foundations have retired to a more conservative and "safer" policy.

(3) Over 50% of our support during 1971 will come from the Ford Foundation. As I have said on a number of occasions to persons

in that foundation, this is a dangerous situation for the Council. At several times in the Council's history we have almost gone out of existence because we were overly dependent on one source, and that source either changed its policies or ceased to exist itself. Further, I have indicated to persons in the foundation that for this reason, in my opinion, if there is a grant renewal it should be at a level less than present funding. Also, almost inevitably, a foundation that contributes more than half of the support for an agency may become more important and more influencial in determining program and policy of that agency than the staff and policy leadership. This must not happen to the Council.

Within the past six weeks, persons on the Ford Foundation staff responsible for the Foundation's relationships with SRC have, at their initiative, met separately with the President, Chairman of the Executive Committee and the Executive Director, in that order. In each instance they have been critical of the present program of the Council, and they have indicated that very possibly the Council will not receive further funds from the foundation. Members of the Ford Foundation staff have also expressed these opinions to a number of other persons. In at least one instance they have been critical generally of much of the staff, and of the staff director in particular.

(There is very likely merit in the questions raised by the Ford Foundation personnel. No agency, its program or its staff

should be above critical scrutiny and scrutiny should, in fact, be welcomed. Certainly, the staff and policy leadership have the capacity for analysis and criticism, and call on that capacity frequently.)

Under present circumstances the Council may well not receive further support from the Ford Foundation. Under present circumstances, we project that we will receive support from approximately ten other foundations, most of them small. If this projection is correct, at present, SRC would be able in 1972 to operate at no more than fifty percent of its present level. Under any circumstances, the financial and program future for the Council will depend substantially on the work of the review committee, and the subsequent support and implementation of that work by the Executive Committee and the staff.

Paul Anthony

January 21, 1971

Resources Development Center

The Center was created in part to provide a vehicle for better coordination of our efforts that relate to economic and human resource development. More importantly it is intended to ~~provide~~ increase our capacity to develop insight, personnel, and programs which will have a constructive impact on the region's resources development. The achievements to date, beyond what we might have expected from the regular functioning of existing programs, is modest. Our constant challenge is how to make the efforts of small program staffs(Leadership -- 2½, Community Organization -- 1 and ½temporary, Housing and Planning -- 1½, Manpower ~~1½ ½~~/-- ½, General Administration ½, plus very substantial assistance on special projects, planning, program development from SRC's Executive assistant) relevant to the sizeable problems we face. This, of course, is simply an extension of the Council's traditional task.

We have during the year had a fruitful exchange betweenthe members of the staff. It has been largely informal center

The Research Department clips and files some thirty newspapers as well as several periodicals. Its library houses numerous pamphlets, special reports, and books. The Department makes these materials available to other members of the staff, to visiting researchers, and draws upon them in responding to requests for information, especially from the news media.

In addition to these service functions, the Department assists in Council research projects and works with Bob Anderson, the editor of publications, in the preparation of special reports. It completed in the summer the basic research for a new report on violence in the region. It is presently gathering and analyzing material for a major report on school desegregation. (That report will be available in early February.)

The Department is staffed by a Senior Research Associate (Doris Reed), two Research Associates (Barnetta Jackson and Joyce Meekins), a Librarian (Bernice Morrison), and a Secretary (Lynn Bowker). The Director of the Department, Paul Gaston, joined the staff in July, taking a leave of absence from his post in the History Department of the University of Virginia.

Statement by Paul M. Gaston

My statement focuses less on the operations of the Research Department than on my view of the Council and my particular relationship to it.

I joined the Council staff in July, 1970. I am here on a temporary assignment. At the end of my tenure with the Council I will return to the University of Virginia where I have been a member of the History Department since 1957. My reasons for accepting a position with the Council were essentially two.

First, my professional interests have centered increasingly on the history of the southern interracial movement. I have conducted a seminar in this area since 1965; out of the seminar have come perhaps a dozen master's theses and almost that many doctoral dissertations. The SRC and its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, figure prominently in my research plans for the future. Association with the Council, as a staff member, clearly holds out great advantages for that research.

Second, like many Southerners who opted for academia instead of activism, my participation in the civil rights movement has necessarily been limited to state and local projects, the occasional demonstration and a modest amount of writing. A long-harbored ambition to play a more substantial role in the movement was put in reach by the offer to join the Council.

For one whose interests lie both in the study and analysis of problems and in the promotion of programs and strategies to alleviate those problems, the SRC is uniquely attractive. Historically, it has been the most influential southern-oriented civil rights organization that has combined the twin objectives of reflection and reform. Professional scholars have published more basic research, and direct action groups (such as SNCC and SCLC in the early sixties) are more easily identified with bringing dramatic social change. No group, however, has so effectively united the two functions.

The Council's dual nature--and the somewhat anomalous position in which it has always found itself--dates back to 1919, when the Interracial Commission was founded. The basic assumption of the Commission, and of the Council which succeeded it, was that social change could be promoted by bringing together in one organization individuals who had not only a deep commitment to change, but also the special skills required to interpret that need to the region, and to the nation.

Fundamental to the Commission's and the Council's effectiveness has always been a reputation for comprehensiveness and accuracy of information. This quality has provided entry to the national news media, and has given the Council's information and interpretations credibility, even in the camp of the nonbelievers.

The Council's ability to sense the mood and direction of the South, and accurately to assess the nature and significance of shifting issues has also been central to its record of constructive influence. Looked at from the perspective of the historian, this quality may well stand out in the long run as more important than any other aspect of the organization. Without this quality, the SRC would have lost its survival value long ago; with it, it has been able to absorb and understand the crises of the moment and intelligently relate them to the larger, long-run goals it seeks for the region and the races.

If these judgments of the Council's history are correct, then it follows that the organization's future success will depend less on organizational restructuring and program development (which are essentially derivative and inevitable in any case) than on a correct estimate of the relationship of the special crises of today and tomorrow to the enduring quest for a just and humane society.

What we strive to achieve with the publications of the Southern Regional Council could be reduced, in essence, to this: to tell the reality of the South, to relate that reality to the currents in the overall society, to serve as a vehicle for thoughtful opinion on the subjects with which the Council is concerned, in the process pinpointing, commenting upon situations and conditions which those in opinion and policy-making positions can use to bring about social change.

In 1970 we published four special reports and four issues of New South. In addition the editor has worked closely in providing editorial assistance to the staff of the Resources Development Center. Currently he is working on several projects, concurrently with his duties as NEW SOUTH editor. These include a section of the research report on school desegregation in the South, specifically, the chapter on Mobile, Alabama; he is working with Horace Barker, a young writer and researcher who last year did the major work on an important SRC Special Report "The Federal Retreat in School Desegregation"; on a study of housing desegregation enforcement in the South; together with a temporary researcher, Mrs. Susan Morgan, and Dr. Raymond Wheeler, he is coordinating a study of Southern Health Services, a preliminary version of which will be delivered by Dr. Wheeler as a paper at the University of Texas in April; with Emory Via and others of the Resources Development Center is evaluating

how the staff can best make use of the 1970 census data; a study of race-related violence compiled by research from five years of newspaper clips is also in process.

This, I think, gives some idea of the range of our work in progress. Some rationale for giving attention to such subjects is perhaps also in order. The housing report was predicated on the proposition that since increasingly school integration is centering around de facto segregation that attention should be paid to how existing housing patterns producing such segregation are being affected by federal enforcement of open occupancy laws. There is obviously here a direct tie-in with the activities of the Resources Development Center--the Housing and Urban Planning section in particular.

The health services report which will summarize the latest research on such matters as malnutrition and inadequate medical care as factors in human development and also survey the availability of and delivery of health care in the southern region, should serve as a valuable tool in the continuing effort to bring adequate health care to the poor of the region.

A study of the 1970 census data is an enormous undertaking. Our immediate plan will be to produce a regional map showing county-by-county racial percentage breakdowns in the eleven southern states. This, we feel, can be done within the staff. A more ambitious undertaking would be a study of the economic status of blacks and whites in the southern region such as that done with the 1960 census data

by Dr. Vivian Henderson. This, we feel, will require the full-time efforts for a period of several months of a capable economist or economics graduate student with ready access to computerized information.

These are publications in what are obviously various stages of production. Published special reports of 1970 included a study of violence in Augusta, Ga. and at Jackson State College; a report on the mood of black high school students at the beginning of the 1970 school year; a report on efforts to cripple Head Start programs in Mississippi; and a study of race relations in Daytona Beach, Florida. At the beginning of the Augusta violence it seemed to us that this was the first real Watts-type riot to take place in the South. It seemed to us also to require a more in-depth look than it seemed to be getting from the wire services. Thus we sent two reporters--one white and one black--to the city. While their report was being written the Jackson State incident erupted; thus we decided to combine reports on the two incidents. After publication and following news accounts of the reports we were contacted by the President's Commission on Campus Disorders. We had already sent them copies of the report and later sent them re-prints of Harry Huge's NEW SOUTH article on subsequent developments at Jackson State. The insights of both, I think, are reflected in the commission's report--although as we all know the president's response to the report has been something less

than enthusiastic.

Our report "Voices from the South," gave fuller articulation to a trend we had reported in our school desegregation report two years earlier--the disillusion of black high school students with integration on terms which they saw as shattering their sense of self identity. But the trend had obviously deepened this year, from all reports we had. In brief, we reported on the student attitudes because they represented not something new to us--but, new we felt, to a large segment of the region, including educators and many others involved in varying ways with public education in the South. It seemed to us to usher in a new era in school desegregation.

The background on our Daytona Beach report was not recorded in the report itself. But briefly, what happened was that we were approached by various people within the community there to come in and tell <u>them</u> what was happening. There had been several racial incidents. Certainly there were the elements building up for larger and possibly more tragic ones. The city seemed so typical of a growing number of cities in these times. But the city administration had not yet faced its problems in any positive way. SRC sent a reporter to do a profile of the city. It was published in its entirety in the Daytona Beach daily newspaper.

During the year we published many significant NEW SOUTH articles including, to name only a few, a study of college student

attitudes before and after their experiences in Southern civil rights activity; a overview of what happened to Mississippi public schools during the mid-term desegregation crisis of last year; a study of the church and its influence on the lives of poor whites in an Atlanta slum; an uncompromising critique of organized labor in recent years in North Carolina with an examination of the viability of community unions as an alternative to affiliation with the traditional labor movement; an exclusive NEW SOUTH interview with novelist Erskine Caldwell, evaluating the South in the years since publication of Tobacco Road; an article setting forth a bold outline for bringing hope and change into the lives of dispossessed people in Appalachia through community action and organization; a sensitive look at the results of a textile mill closing in a North Georgia company town; excerpts from the book The Orangeburg Massacre dealing with some questionable aspects of the F.B.I.'s investigation of the tragedy in that city three years ago; an essay by a young black novelist on the creative and destructive influences on black writers of life in the South; an appraisal of the work of the late Gordon Hancock, the famous black educator and writer who was a major figure in the organization of the Southern Regional Council. NEW SOUTH, because of the opportunity it offers writers for freedom of expression, because of the quality of that expression, has intrinsic merit. However, it is more than a quality publication, a vehicle for writers. It provides a reservoir

of opinion and thought and feeling, hard-headed judgment on realities within the South, indispensable to the development of sound program.

In this brief report I hope the Council's research and information philosophy has been illustrated--the striving for excellence, for reliability while at the same time unequivocally committed to the goals of the Council. It is not easy and we do not always bring it off. We are never satisfied or totally happy with anything we publish because we know that given a little more time here, one more reading there, another day to look through clippings, one more conversation with one more person, a thing could have been better. I don't think this philosophy was created by any one person, but, rather, goes back to the earliest origins of the Council--but it is a way of doing things, an approach --reaching somehow a middleground between journalism and academic publishing--that I would presume to recommend be jealously guarded and retained.

(1)

A Personal Report

Emory F. Via, Director, ~~of the~~ Resources Development Center

It is important that SRC review its programs and structure. Although there is a form of continuous review in which the staff and Executive Committee engages ~~(and to a lesser degree, the Executive Committee)~~, there is a need for periodic revaulation and looking ahead which involves others. ~~more than just the staff.~~

In a broad scale review such as is now being undertaken it is easy to attempt too much. For example shall we look at efficiency, the competence of the staff, adequacy of program concept, relevance of programs to needs, or to general purposes and basic philosphy? Shall we look at staff structure, executive committee structure, "board" sturcture, or to the structural relations to other groups, for example, the state councils on human relations? These matters are related, although ~~and yet~~ there is a pressing need to focus on what is most important. ~~Further,~~ We need greater clarity in what is being talked about. It is difficult at times to ~~bring~~ achieve agreement on what concepts mean; this is understandable ~~in~~ where ~~evolving~~ concepts are evolving and at times nebulous. ~~are necessarily nebulous.~~ I ~~have wondered at times~~ wonder if ~~the~~ a chief difficulty is not with a few key words to which we have all assigned ~~certain~~ meanings, sometimes loosely, ~~and~~ but which we use as if ~~they had agreeable meanings~~ they were generally understood. Normally, I would think it ~~futiles~~ wasteful for those related to SRC to spend much time defining terms. But I would like to raise some questions about a few, which I hope will move us ~~forward in what it is that we wish~~ toward that with which we wish to grapple, ~~with.~~

(2)

Let me take a stab at the following: "a action," "delivery of services", "constituency," "visibility," and "improving racial relations."

Action. We do ourselves a disservice if we take a narrow definition.

In the past, a few people have attmepted to restirct its meaning to what was known as "direct action"-- the immediate ~~physical~~ protest demonstration against actions, policies, or institutions. Others have felt that only field operations which dealt with the immediate physical problems of folks(usually meaning black and/or poor) could be considered action. Voting related activities are generally ~~cons~~ counted in this definition although general education might not be. Political action of a partisan type would also count. All of these definitions are all right as far as they go. They represent forms of action which SRC has felt were important in the development of the South. In some cases the Council has had limited involvement in a given form because of either policy or resources. Only in the case of partisan political action has the Council not been a participant at all, as important as that area admittedly is. I think that we have undersold, or failed to understand, other forms of action. If I am consulted on whether a major corporation opening a large new facility should integrate its workforce as it starts its operations or follow the advice of a hired industrial psychologist and do it later, and if management finds my argument(admittedly joined by others) to start on an integrated basis reasonable, should this be marked as talk, consultation, or action? Similarly, if asked for suggestions for a resource person in a union training program or an idea about how to handle an interpretation of the changing south, is it action? I no longer accept easily the distinction between the one where jobs are isolated and a clear cut managment decision was made as action as against

the latter example ~~seems~~ as being simply educative. ~~But~~ The participants in the educational program are people who also make decisions and relate to large numbers of workers. What they learn that affects attitudes, understanding, ~~expressing a concept~~, or knowing how better to defend or present new concepts is important. To contribute to that process is not inaction. If we are able, partly because we are simply here, and partly because of talent and some financial resources to say to a black group which wants to organize, here are some resources for having a meeting, here is assistance in setting it up, here are ideas that you can consider along with ~~the~~ the others, and if the organization is formed and we then consult from time to time (as do others) is not this process action?

When a group wanting to ~~a~~ "do something" about its community problems finds its way(or we find them) to us and a member of our staff helps them refine their thinking and to begin to plan to work in specific areas, and then provides them(at SRC~~'~~ expense) with a follow~~-~~up consultant ~~consutlatnat~~ with special epertise, is this not so closely tied to any definition of action, as to be counted in. When we publish a story about libraries, about pollution's detrimental economic impact, about segregation accademies and that story is circulated more widely, professional agencies adopt policies, governmental agencies alter either stance or practice then I think such activity is more than ~~publication~~ the production of words and constitutes action.

~~The~~/Delivery of services. In one view all that SRC does can be described as the delivery of services. ~~I would apply a similar~~ I ~~think~~ For this term we could do approximately the same as was done above for "action". What can clearly be ~~debated~~ discussed is what

services do we and should we deliver. ~~And~~ Also we may need to discuss ~~how~~ the method of delivery.

Constituency. I maintain that SRC has several constituencies. In most of our program and publication efforts we think seriously about whom we are attempting to reach. I say "most" because on ocassion we will simply try to reach the public at large. Our constituencies are of two sorts, general and select. The general constituency is made up of the SRC board, a ~~borad~~ broad group of generalized researachers, libraries and that portion of the public that now looks for or responds to our name being attached to either information or a project. The select constituencies include: a sizable ~~portion~~ group of thoughtful media people; researchers with special regional interests; regional and national union leadership with a special interest in southern problems or who because of their positions need to be informed and/or involved; governmental agencies in the housing, manpower, education, poverty, economic development fields; private social action agencies; religious leadership; foundation executives and staff; agencies working on hunger problems; local community organizations which we have serviced; select professsional associations such as labor educators, a select group of political scientists, a select group of architects and planners; and fair housing groups. We are currently developing more conacts with younger people through our community organization projects school desegregation effort; this combines reaching college ~~age~~ students concerned with public school desegregation and ~~in reaching~~ high school students. In this process faculty and administration people are also involved in a working relation with us.

SRC has essentially transferred s everal constituencies at least in part(meaning that some of them still also look to us). Examples of this are the members of the state Councils on Human Relations, some of the self help cooperative undertakings, and the water sch. project. In the current desegrgation project we are planning for "transfer" in two ways: 1) to put the main burden for contact and local follow through in the hands of college related committees and their local community supporters, and 2) if funds are not available for continuation to transfer the operation to another agency(ies). Conceivably, if tthe project is highly successful and major funding could be found it could be established as a separate, limited life single purpose organization . Of course, it could continue as an SRC activity.

Now if constituency means mass popular following, then we have not chosen a s policy or by staff action to go that route. Similalry, for various reasons we are not a mass membersip organization. Further, we do not have extensive field operations where persons working in them or affected by them might be called constituents.

Visibility. This can to a large degree be related to the above discussion of constituency. We seldom at empt to get publicity for SRC; we do attempt to get publicity on problems, proposed solutions, methods of action, and reports of progress. We do not shun being identified with such reports. Indeed, I feel we have a quite creditable record for having media people tie our name in with information we have developed. By not appealing to a mass following, by not soliciting funds by mass appeal, and by not seeking attention for oursleves we make several gains. We can be viewed by others as more of a cooperator or collaborator and less as a competitor. We are less beholden to respond to immediate social

fevers. ~~This~~ They increase our capacity to think and act on what is more fundamental and ongoing and I believe it increases our credibility in many sectors, including, I believe, with a fair number of those organizations which have adopted a different method of operation.

Improving racial relations. Yes, the SRC staff essentially accepts this as one goal. It is even a fundamental aim. But we have long since been removed from ~~that~~ the kind of thinking that stresses this as ~~essentail and that the sole apporach to it is long-run education,~~ our exclusive interest or that the sole approach to improved relations is through long-run educational efforts, tea and discussion, changing attitu es, or being nice. We believe that realities must be faced. The Council has an honorable record in this regard. It continues. We know the importance of and work for changed situations that can lead to equal opportunity, equal choices, and equal economic and political justice. And, yes, we know the importance of special opportunities and treatment(remedial and preferential) in reaching our goals.

The above "~~definitional~~" comments are not definitions, but I hope that they may narrow our focus on what is being discussed. To some degree they provide a rationale for accepting most of what we do as a staff as being relevant to social problems and the need for action on those problems. ~~In any event~~, To my mind such interpretations of the terms are a part of accepting the importance of what we now do. Certainly our activities deserve rethinking, challenge and perhaps to be turned around. But the turning should come only after careful thought about the value of what is being done, its uniqueness, and the need for it. If what is ~~to be~~ being done is valuable and needed, then to ~~do other~~ engage in other activities raises important policy and practical questions. On the policy level is the question of whether whatever is proposed that is a serious departure fits comfortably with ~~the~~ organizational purposes and methods. Practically, the problems is one of resources, namely, money and personnel.

D R A F T

Report of the Executive Director

For the director's office and the administration staff, though fortunately not for the program staff, 1970 was a year of interruptions.

Having spent much of 1969 watching the legislative process as it dealt with the "tax reform" bill, early 1970 was spent in assessing and adjusting to the new law. Substantial time was spent in providing foundations the information which they required to be assured that our programs were in compliance. We found ourselves in the position of having to spend considerable time in "fund raising" for funds already committed.

A major policy decision had to be made concerning the Voter Education Project, which had been the subject of much Congressional debate and was considerably affected by the new law. After the most serious deliberations the decision was made to create a separate corporation - if that corporation could receive its own tax-exemption from IRS. Tax exemption was granted VEP, Inc., on May 14th, and that agency now has its own board and staff, and is no longer a part of SRC administratively. Apart from the legal reasons, we believe this was a wise move. VEP, Inc., is a mature and experienced agency in its own right, more than capable of operating and producing one of the most important programs in the region, as has been shown during the past months.

Vacations were cancelled for the Director and the Secretary-Treasurer when it was learned in mid-summer that the Internal Revenue Service planned to do a full audit of Council affairs. Three auditors moved into our conference room on July 20th, and remained there for more than three months, in what was the most exhaustive audit in Council history. We have not yet been informed of the results of that investigation.

In January, the members of the Executive Committee elected Dr. Vivian Henderson to serve as chairman of that body. During the year, Mrs. Paul S. Derian of Jackson, and Mr. Hodding Carter, III, were elected to the Executive Committee. Members elected to the Council who began service in 1970 are: Mr. Howard Lee, Chapel Hill; Dr. John Monro, Birmingham; Dr. Ray Marshall, Austin; Mr. William T. Mason, Jr., Norfolk; Mrs. C. Bette Wimbish, St. Petersburg; Mr. Earl Johnson, Jacksonville; Dr. Martin Brooks, Pembroke; Dr. James Lawson, Nashville; Mr. Fred Gray, Montgomery; The Rev. C. K. Yarber, Texarkana; and Mr. E. H. Gadsden of Savannah.

Sadly, four of the Council's long and great champions were lost to us by death during the year. They were: James McBride Dabbs, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Dr. Gordon Hancock and Dr. W. D. Weatherford.

In a very real sense this department is the nerve center of the Council and in one sense every member of the staff is a member of the department, contributing to it and making demands on it. Field staff feeds information into this intelligence center, not only for their own needs but for the needs of other groups and agencies in the region. (For instance, a report to a day care center on federal funding or a study of the housing program of the Farmers Home Administration.)

The terms "research and information" can be misleading and they are often misunderstood by those who are not familiar with our interpretation of them. To us these functions are programs in an emphatic sense of that word. They are too, I believe, unique both in the degree of results which we get from using them and in the degree of skill and reliability which the Council has developed over a long period.

Our information and research work consists basically of two parts. One responds, the other initiates.

The response function is based largely on our internal collection of information. This consists of clipping and cross filing of about twenty newspapers daily, and of innumerable magazines, community newspapers or newsletters, journals and reports of state and federal governments. Work space is provided for the constant number of persons ranging from students to journalists who

come here to use this material and that space is seldom vacant. In addition, more than seven hundred mail and phone inquiries were responded to during the year. This function is not, per se, particularly unique although the subject areas and more particularly the reliability probably are.

(Senator Walter Mondale, Chairman of the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity commented on July 1: "It is what we can expect from the Southern Regional Council, which I regard as one of the best, if not the best, sources of facts on what is happening in the South, to which we turn almost daily. We are most grateful for the work of your organization.")

The initiating function of the research and information operation is somewhat more complex. In this function we are program oriented, in that whether it be an incident or a basic issue we attempt to get direct attention and action on that incident or issue. Perhaps several examples will best illustrate this approach.

In February 1968, state police fired rifles into a crowd of black students at South Carolina State College, killing three. The Council immediately issued a report, "Events at Orangeburg," which documented this tragedy and warned of the implications. The report received attention and indeed led to a book by reporters Jack Nelson and Jack Bass, but the indignation and thoughtfulness that should have been forthcoming were not. In May 1970, shortly

after the Kent State tragedy, state police fired on black students at Jackson State College, killing two. I, and SRC president Raymond Wheeler, immediately issued a statement which included: "The grave warning implicit in the Orangeburg situation of two years ago was not heeded...until such solutions (of indiscriminate force in the face of conflict) are repudiated as public policy from the Presidency on down, no segment of society, no person is safe."

Thereafter an SRC special report documented the Jackson State tragedy and it received wide, and thoughtful, attention from the media. Because of this, and the efforts of many others, the term "Kent State and Jackson State" was added to our vocabulary. It finally became evident to many that what happened at Kent State has long since occured, and continued to occur at black schools.

As another example, on July 2, it was reported to us that a librarian in suburban Atlanta complained that an agent of the Treasury Department had just called on her demanding a list of persons who were checking out "subversive" books. We responded with an urgency which we felt paralleled the situation. On July 9, we published a special edition of South Today with limited circulation which reported that Treasury agents had visited libraries in Atlanta, Milwaukee and elsewhere, attempting to gather the names of people who had checked out books on explosives and, in some cases, simply books loosely described as "subversive" or "militant". Our disclosure of

of this intrusion upon the rights of privacy, with all its possible police-state ramifications, was widely publicized throughout the country. The Washington Post, which published the full report on its release date of July 9, called it "a signal service to American freedom" and the Charleston News and Courier commented: "Perhaps it's closer to 1984 than we think."

The American Library Association took immediate steps to make it a matter of policy to refuse to reveal the names of readers of library books and the Association of American Publishers supported that position. The Treasury issued a directive to its agents telling them to stop such fishing expeditions.

A major contribution was made in the protection of the individual from unwarranted intrusion from government. Other examples of the rationale of the use of the printed word - and related associations with members of the media - and the results of these approaches will be referred to later in the report.

Office of the Director of Information:

One of the important requirements of the successful use of the technique of "Information and Research" as a program tool is that those persons immediately associated with that process must be peers of the best creative minds in the nation. There is no doubt in my mind that the SRC staff in this area fits that qualification.

(Research and Information)

Several persons could be used as examples of this but the activities of Pat Watters, director of information, is a good example.

Watters is the senior person in the department, and as such, has responsibility for its total operation. In addition, during 1970 he has published, by Pantheon, the book The South and the Nation, with its appeal for support of the South's real strengths and opposition to its real evils. Reviews in the New York Times, The New Yorker, Washington Post, Commentary, and elsewhere, and public appearances by Watters have given us further exposure for our ideas and point of view.

Watters' third book, a study of the Southern Movement during the 1960's, is scheduled for publication in the fall, and South and the Nation will appear in paperback at that time. He has had articles in Dissent and the New York Times Magazine, the latter reproduced for distribution to the annual conference of the Legal Defense and Education Fund; book reviews in the Yale Review, and Progressive, and has been invited to submit occasional columns to the opposite editorial page of the New York Times.

Watters appeared as interviewer and narrator in an hour-long NET documentary on the present day South. It was presented in November as part of the Realities series on over 200 stations throughout the country.

Activities of this nature and quality with all of our creative staff gives us an outreach and influence, I believe, with literally millions of persons who must - on that scale - be exposed to issues and ideas if there is to be basic social reform in this country.

Office of the Editor of Publications and New South:

This office, headed by Robert E. Anderson, Jr., has published four special reports, four issues of New South, and has offered substantial editorial assistance to the staff of the Resources Development Center and to other agencies. (Currently, with Susan Morgan, he is doing a major study on medical care in the region, and he plans to do an analysis of how the staff can best use the 1970 census data.) The published reports include a study of violence in Augusta, Georgia and at Jackson State University; a report on the mood of black high school students at the beginning of the school year; a report on efforts to cripple the Head Start Program in Mississippi and a profile of race relations in Daytona Beach, Florida, reprinted in full in the Daytona Beach News-Journal.

New South articles which received substantial attention include the Mississippi school crisis as reported by Wilson J. Minor, an analysis of the meaning of the Wallace election by Ray Jenkins, and the trial of Cleveland Sellers by Jack Bass. (Also excerpts of the book, The Orangeburg Massacre, by Mr. Bass and Jack Nelson appeared.)

Others included an exclusive interview by Willian Winn with Erskine Caldwell, an in-depth look at student activities by three University of Wisconsin professors; an evaluation of Southern churches by Donald W. Shriver, Jr.; an analysis of the "southern strategy" as it affects school desegregation by Hayes Mizell; a look at the religion of poor whites by Harry Lefever, an Atlanta University sociologist; an essay on the South and efforts to exploit its human development by Richard Goodwin, first given at the Memphis meeting of the L. Q. C. Lamar Society meeting; a report of hearings in Jackson on the violence at Jackson State by a Washington Attorney, Harry Huge; an analysis of the strategies available to poor whites in Appalachia by Si Kahn, a young community organizer; excerpts from the book, A Mind to Stay Here, dealing with the work of Lucius Pitts at Miles College; an article on the black writer in the southern experience by Alice Walker, Mississippi novelist; a study of the aftermath of a mill closing in a small Georgia town, by Kathy Kahn; a study of how blacks, whites and Mexican-Americans organized in Houston around a community issue by Professor Harold Nelson; and, an essay on the southern environment by Frank Smith, director of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

By special arrangement, New South is being received by all members of the newly formed L. Q. C. Lamar Society and has been chosen by the Department of Education of Georgia to be taped in their program for the blind.

(Research and Information)

This quarterly is the Council's effort to see that there is - from our particular perspective and concerns - one thoughtful and well written journal to reach the interested and the active. We are somewhat surprised, and very gratified at the volume and quality of manuscripts submitted to us and the affirmative response we usually get when some of the best writers and journalists are asked to prepare an article. Authors' fees are few and extremely modest.

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH:

In July, Dr. Paul Gaston, Professor of History at the University of Virginia and author of the book The New South Creed, joined the staff as director of research. This is an extremely important position within the staff structure, and we were all the more pleased that Dr. Gaston agreed to take a leave of absence from the University since the research position had been vacant for some time.

Dr. Gaston has worked with Mrs. Doris Reed, senior research associate, and her staff in making some basic changes in the methods by which we collect and file our materials. He has also made arrangements for temporary help to review and place in better order all SRC records before they are turned over to Atlanta University Library. Negotiations are now underway to have our very substantial collection of clippings and some other materials placed on microfilm (as New South now is through the University of Michigan) and offered for sale to universities and others who have need of them.

In cooperation with the editor, the research staff has done a major review of violence in the region during the past three years for a report which will be issued shortly. Tragically, the analysis and editing of this material has been slowed because of the sheer volumn of instances of violence which we found; the first draft of this report, tightly summarizing each instance, came to over 150 pages of single spaced copy.

(Office of the Director of Research)

Dr. Gaston has developed a major interest in the school desegregation process, and is preparing a major portion of the SRC report on school desegregation in 1970 which will appear in February 1971.

THE RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT CENTER:

1/2 Created in 1969, the Resources Development Center was functional for the first time during 1970. The Center is the Council's effort to bring more coordination to our work in those areas dealing with economic development and the development of the region's human resources.

At present we have staffed work in Housing and Planning, Community Organization, Manpower, and the Leadership Project. Additional areas of interest are concentrated on through consultants and temporary employees on a short term project basis. Dr. Emory F. Via directs the Center as well as our work in manpower and labor.

Housing and Planning

1 1/2 The Housing and Planning Staff consists of Moreland G. Smith, an architect and Arthur Campbell, a planner. On a temporary basis, Horace Barker serves the division, largely in a research capacity.

The group has undertaken a survey of regional and sub-regional housing groups working in rural areas and/or small towns to determine the extent of activity and those places where this staff might be of some significant assistance. Growing partially out of this has been a study of the housing policies and results of those policies of the Farmer's Home Administration. This will be released shortly.

(The Resources Development Center)

Consultative assistance is being given a group in Fairfield, Alabama which is interested in sponsoring a low-income housing program. Through the cooperation of the Foundation for Cooperative Housing a consultant has been provided to create a corporation and seek funds for a low-income housing project.

A study is almost completed on the problems and patterns associated with racial transition of residential neighborhoods over a ten year period. This information should be of considerable value to neighborhood stabilization groups such as the one in Jackson, Mississippi with which we are working.

Because of the requests for such information, we have collected materials on the problems of equal housing opportunities, a study of state and local fair housing laws in the South, and an assessment of enforcement of the federal open housing act of 1968. In this regard we are also doing background and supportive work toward the aim of organizing an entity to promote fair housing in the metropolitan Atlanta area.

We are hopeful of providing considerable specific assistance to the Panola Land Buyers Association, in developing immediate and long range plans for its 1164 acres in Sumter County, Alabama. Preliminary work of this nature has been done with New Communities, Inc., of Albany, Georgia in planning layout for land utilization for housing, light industries and commercial purposes in the implementa-

already provided some

tion of utility plans, sewer, water, electricity, and gas. (We have also given emergency assistance to families now living on that site.)

We have worked with Tuskegee Institute in their interest in Tuskegee's Model Cities program and in the Institute's attempt to establish a regional agrarian medical service delivery program in a five-county area.

Communication continues with the state and national offices of the American Institute of Architects and the American Institute of Planners to urge them to implement their avowed social responsibility.

With the Low-Income Housing Development Corporation of North Carolina, we have advised on land-banking operational techniques and how it might be used for housing development. Toward the end of the year the Council and the Low-Income Housing Development Corporation had tentatively worked out plans whereby the Council during 1971 would establish a regional Low Income Housing Development Corporation with considerable assistance from the North Carolina group. If established, the new regional housing agency would be independent rather than a part of SRC, and would seek very substantial federal funding.

The Leadership Project

2 1/2 (1/2 new)

Beginning in 1969 the Council created this program as a means of reaching the existing and emerging leadership with information they needed for intelligent decisions which they did not then have, and

(The Resources Development Center)

were not getting through other sources. The project continues to have this purpose but has added as well, a very substantial thrust in achieving program ends through investigative reporting. South Today, the 8 page monthly newspaper, is the primary means by which both efforts are carried out.

Reese Cleghorn has directed this project since its beginning, with Mrs. Kitty Griffith Terjen and Mrs. Betsy Fancher as Associate Editors of South Today.

In October Reese Cleghorn responded to a complimentary letter about a particular article with this observation: "South Today's best function so far, I think, has been in priming the press to do things it wasn't doing. We haven't yet had an issue that didn't produce some of this. Most surprising, maybe, is the extent to which these reports have been covered in some of the worst newspapers in the Deep South, which if the Associated Press picks up the report, frequently carry them just as nicely as a Washington or New York paper would."

This summarizes well, I think, one of the most significant contributions of South Today. Through this publication we have substantially increased coverage of our concerns and facts in the national media, but for the first time we have gotten this material significantly into the total southern media. And, frequently we see where the information is being used without direct reference to source, such as in a number of "moderate" to "conservative" editoral pages.

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Among the 1970 reports selected for program ends through publication in South Today were: those which critiqued Florida state programs dealing with migrant workers; disclosure of widespread ownership of slums by state and local welfare departments; exploration of the plight of local-government employees, such as garbage workers, and the need for better city hall methods of dealing with the lowest-income workers; revelation for the first time nationally of the Treasury Department's use of agents to obtain names of borrowers of certain library books; a report showing that "segregation academies" are busing more children and busing them further than public schools (one of only a number of reports on "segregation" academies), and more recently exposure of IRS tax-exempt policies toward them; an examination of racism in Hollywood films and in Southern college and high school athletics; a study of the Catholic Church's performance on Southern social problems; a report on the price of pollution and corporate collusion with government in the despoliation of Amelia Island, Florida.

To illustrate the program intent and the potential of this type reporting one of the above mentioned reports can be cited. The July-August issue's report on four state welfare departments' use of lien/claim laws to discourage people from being on the welfare rolls, resulting often in state ownership of slums, received widespread coverage. In North Carolina, the practices and the bad

ramifications were acknowledged officially, and there may be steps toward change. In South Carolina, the state welfare director disputed the report; but at least one local welfare director in his state then publicly disputed his contentions, agreeing with our conclusions.

From Florida, came a sad letter of appreciation from a Fort Lauderdale woman entitled to welfare payments who has refused to sign a statement entitling the state to her small home upon her death. She said she "went out at 72 years to clean homes" to avoid signing the papers. "My loved little home, bought with sweat and tears will not be taken away" she said.

Virginia, the fourth state, nullified all such liens on welfare recipients' property effective May 5. Our report noted the change, but it may not have sufficiently underscored the fact that Virginia hereafter will not be among the South's biggest slum owners.

The booklet on out migration, "The Chickenbone Special," by Dwayne Walls has been expanded to book length and will be published by Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, Inc. During the year the director of the project testified by invitation before the Mondale education subcommittee on the subject of segregated private schools. We continue to monitor the IRS and its tax-exemption policies with these schools.

Community Organization

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This division is headed by Clarence Wright, who joined the staff in September after John Lewis resigned to become director of the Voter Education Project, Inc. The primary focus of the project is to maintain a file on all significant minority oriented economic development programs and to provide assistance to them where possible, to assist emerging groups in organization and funding, and to encourage the use of indigenous resources in fostering community development.

The first months of the division director's time were spent largely in orienting himself to groups in the region, which has in turn led to much of our program in the latter part of the year. These included establishing a relationship with the Federation of Southern Cooperatives and attending their annual meeting in Selma. Relationships have been established with the Hilton Head Shrimp Cooperative and with the Jasper County Catfish Cooperative.

The division director has assisted in running a training program for the twelve community health trainees of the Beaufort/Jasper Comprehensive Health Center. This has included reviewing the training curriculum and supplying additional materials and information for training, and assistance with the recruitment of doctors for the program.

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Consultation has taken place with the St. Helenas' Farm Cooperative and if the land is secured by that group, we are prepared to offer technical assistance in developing 275 acres for low income housing and a shopping center.

Substantial association has taken place with the Clay County Economic Development Corporation, headquartered in West Point, Mississippi. In addition to other assistance, $10,000 was provided to the Corporation to assist in the rebuilding of the Corporation's community center after that building was burned, and we have provided $2,500 through a special grant to assist in the building of a home for the widow and children of a murdered civil rights worker. Also, we assisted in having the Ball Corporation provide a free cannery for the community.

The division has been providing ongoing technical assistance to the Black Appalachian Commission in cooperation with the Legal Defense Fund and the Southern Education Foundation. So far we have assisted this group in planning and writing a proposal and in planning meetings with the Appalachian Regional Commission concerning the lack of services and resources available to Appalachian blacks. As a result of these efforts, the Commission recently received a $25,000 grant to carry on their program for the next six to eight months.

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Following the opening of schools and growing out of a meeting in Beaufort, S. C., the division director became convinced that there was a potential for black and white high school students in new environments of desegregation to work out their differences. He further concluded that black and white college students could be of substantial assistance to these teen-agers in their own home towns. From these observations a special program was developed to recruit college students for this purpose. Mr. Leon Hall, former SCLC community organizer, was brought on the staff to direct the program.

The two staffers, Wright and Hall, have worked to establish first programs in Mississippi, Georgia and South Carolina with encouraging results. For instance, in Mississippi, the three participating colleges are Jackson State, Tougaloo and Millsaps. Fourteen students from Tougaloo have undertaken this program as their Interim Project of study for the school year. They will be working in their home communities full-time through January 22. Meetings with students have also been held in Florida, Alabama, and Virginia, in an effort to initiate programs in those states.

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Manpower Division

1/2 The manpower project focuses on three main areas: 1) labor education, 2) manpower practices, and 3) employment discrimination as a special part of manpower practices. Emory Via is the director of this division, was well as director of the center.

Labor Education

We recognize in the labor education activities that almost no agencies other than some unions endeavor to reach working people on matters that concern SRC. This is especially true in reaching white workers or workers in integrated situations. Our primary focus continues to be on an intermediate range of leaders. We have provided direct teaching services, usually meaning that the project director serves as an instructor. Included this past year have been participations in two one-week schools for young workers, in an institute for public employee representatives and public employers, a regional education program of a national ~~program~~ union for national union staff people with civil rights union responsibilities. We have arranged for other members of the staff to take part in education programs such as Paul Gaston's appearance before the Advanced Southern Labor School. The Manpower Program is frequently called upon to suggest resource people for educational programs, to assist in securing such people, to advise on program content, and to

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recommend and supply materials. We also attempt to expand the idea of labor education with unions and others. We have paid special attention to trying to interest southern universities in establishing full time programs. We envision this as a long run solution, providing a needed resource which can go far beyond the Council's capacities. We have had extended talks during the past year with several Georgia schools and preliminary conversations with representatives of other institutions. These efforts have been coupled with approaches to selected union leaders. In this same effort, the director arranged and chaired the Labor Education Section of the national meetings of the Adult Education Association; the meeting was held in Atlanta on the topic: "Southern Labor Education." The division director has been appointed to an advisory committee to the new Labor Education Department at VPI.

Employment Discrimination

In relating to problems of employment discrimination, the year has been an interesting one though perhaps too restricted to educational and consultative approaches as opposed to participating in the start of pragmatic efforts to attack the problems more directly. The director collaborated closely with the Louisiana Council on Human Relations in planning, supporting, suggesting resources, and by his own participation in their first equal

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employment opportunity conference. SRC was an important resource in this undertaking and it had educational value for those planning the program (and charged with on-going program activities) as well as for those attending it. Somewhat similarly, we jointly sponsored a program with the Arkansas governor's office aimed at showing the need for greater response by state and local governmental agencies in hiring and upgrading practices. Again we were full participants in planning, providing resources and in all aspects of the conference other than recruiting. The project director also participated as a staff resource in an Urban League sponsored program as part of their apprenticeship outreach effort.

The division director has conferred with senior management of a major national corporation on desirable hiring practices for a large factory which will be built in Georgia. This is largely a matter of manpower consultation, but something of the "leadership project" also in that this was something of an introduction to the region for these corporate leaders.

We have played a small part in attempting to get the various sides together in the controversy in Atlanta about adopting a "hometown plan" for increasing minority participation in the building trades. And we have been consulted by both management and union representatives about other problems related to discrimination.

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The director of the manpower project participated in a seminar for Southern public works officials sponsored by the University of Georgia. Although his discussion was concerned with several aspects of employee relations, a primary focus was on matters related to discrimination. We have assisted scholars on a number of occasions in their efforts to report particular aspects of employment discrimination. Similar services have been supplied for reporters on in-depth stories. The project director has participated in developing data and reports as parts of other studies.

Manpower Practices

The other kinds of manpower activities have been diverse and generally of minimal program consequence to date. The director has participated in a small national level manpower seminar. We are in the process of developing first a core of ideas, then a seminar, and later some action guidelines and proposals that relate to the implementation of new manpower policies. This effort is directed primarily toward the moves to decentralize certain manpower activities thereby placing greater responsibility in the hands of state and local governments. Although decentralization can assist the efficiency of manpower efforts, it can be done even better if there are reasonably sophisticated "watchdogs" (regarding adequacy and discrimination) and persons prepared to play advisory roles in such manpower efforts.

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In expanding the Manpower Project director's responsibilities to include directing the Resources Development Center, we have necessarily reduced the project's activities considerably. Our efforts to hire a manpower specialist thus far have failed.

Other Programs of The Resources Development Center

Largely through the work of Jim Wood, we continued in 1970 to give special attention to the relief and recovery efforts following Hurricane Camille in Mississippi. The U. S. Senate Public Works Committee held hearings, the subject of which was: "Federal Response to Hurricane Camille." We were invited to testify before the committee twice. First at the January hearings in Biloxi where we entered the joint SRC-AFSC Report titled "In the Wake of Hurricane Camille: An Analysis of the Federal Response." Our second testimony was made in Washington in May, and was directly related to proposed new disaster legislation. A new disaster law became effective on December 31, 1970. While this law does not contain all of our recommendations, it is a large step forward. We began in December to work with groups in Mississippi in an attempt to develop a strategy for economic development for low-income families with the ten (10) Mississippi counties most affected by the storm. In August, we went to Corpus Christi following Hurricane Celia. Here we found that administrative changes in the Federal and Red Cross response had brought about vast improvement in the delivery of services to the victims of the storm.

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Recommendations made by us and others have been accepted. Unfortunately, many similar recommendations are yet unheeded.

Through the use of consultants we have done further work in identifying poverty among whites in the region, including an unpublished background study of the characteristics of poor whites in an urban area. Other interests, largely in Appalachia, are referred to in our publications program.

The staff of the Center spent a day in Knoxville with the Senior staff of the Tennessee Valley Authority as a means of both staffs becoming more familiar with the work and resources of the other.

Research Seminar

SRC through its Resources Development Center and the Ford Foundation, through George Esser, held a research seminar October 9-11. A small group of scholars gathered at the Biltmore Hotel to consider research needs related to the economic and social development of the South. Discussion was not limited to those topics which SRC might undertake by itself.

A conscious effort was made to have a variety of disciplines represented. Nineteen persons accepted our invitation to participate. They came from 12 institutions of higher learning, and four agencies with research interests. The invitees were joined by two members

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of the Ford Foundation staff, and eight members of the SRC staff. About half of the participants were new to the Council.

The seminar was important in giving us a new opportunity to think through research needs with people of varying perspectives. It was not a seminar which laid out an agenda of research needs, even though this had been one original aim. It did underscore the utility of what SRC now does and pointed to the need to expand our interaction with existing research efforts. The researchers were, in general, pleased at the opportunity to get to know each other and the Council staff. Our staff has made valuable contacts through this effort with individuals and programs which have already led to idea and data sharing.

If financial resources could be found it would be most useful to carry through with one idea developed during the seminar. This would be to establish a research center as a part of SRC, which could help generate useful research ideas calling for more extensive research than is now generally possible for us, but which would still hold to standards of relatively quick production and high relevance to problems. By using an SRC based research center, we can better select those individuals in institutions and elsewhere who are most likely to be able to perform according to those standards, to insure application of findings, and to provide for more popular interpretation of results where that is indicated.

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Education

The Resources Development Center recognizes that there are crucial problems in education that must be faced. While we have been unable to find the funds for a permanent full-time staff member, we have been active. In the reports of the Community Organization Division and the Leadership Project, there are descriptions of a student desegregation program and efforts to expose and monitor the segregationist academies. We made a small grant to the Norfolk Committee on Improvement of Education. The purpose of this grant was to aid the committee's work in introducing Black History into the public school system.

We sponsored in January a meeting of several agencies, all of whom have at least a regional concern in the area of school desegregation. The discussion was around the immediate problems of Mississippi and the expected problems of the fall term which would come with greatly expanded school desegregation. In the spring, Professor Bickel of Yale announced his retreat. We assisted in seeing that he was challenged. The chief challengers were Charles Morgan, Pat Watters, Hayes Mizell, and Reese Cleghorn. In the fall we worked with HEW and private agencies in an effort to make the Emergency School Assistance Program effective. Closely related to this effort was the holding of several discussions about the creation of a Regional Education Institute that could express our kinds of concerns.

S T A F F

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

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PAUL ANTHONY, Executive Director

Mrs. Jerusha Brothers, Secretary to Director

JAMES N. WOOD, Executive Assistant

MRS. RUTH HOUSE VICK, Secretary-Treasurer

Miss Priscilla Eddy, Assistant to the Secretary-Treasurer

MRS. NOBBIE MORGAN, Administrative Assistant

Mrs. Bettye Childres, Receptionist

Miss Eugenia Kemp, Clerk-Typist

Jesse Hinton, Mailroom Clerk

Ronald Wray, Functional Machinist & Mailroom Clerk

MISS JANET SMITH, Publications - Distribution

MISS MARGE MANDERSON, Staff Artist, Special Research

RESEARCH & INFORMATION

Pat Watters, Director of Information

Robert Anderson, Editor (Editor of New South)

Paul Gaston, Director of Research

Mrs. Bernice Morrison, Librarian

Mrs. Doris Reed, Senior Research Associate

Miss Barnetta Jackson, Research Associate

Mrs. Joyce Meekins, Research Associate

Miss Lynn Bowker, Secretary to Department of Research

RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT CENTER

EMORY F. VIA, Director
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Miss Gwendolyn M. Sapp, Administrative Secretary

HOUSING & PLANNING DIVISION

Morland G. Smith, Director

Arthur C. Campbell, Associate

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION DIVISION

Clarence Wright, Director

Leon W. Hall, Associate (Temporary)

Miss Mozell Varner, Secretary to Divisions

LEADERSHIP DIVISION

Reese Cleghorn, Director
(Editor, South Today)

Mrs. Kitty Terjen, Assistant to the Director

Mrs. Betsy Fancher, Associate Editor, South Today

Mrs. Ruth C. Howard, Secretary to Division

THE STATE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS AND THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

In the early 1950's the decision was made by SRC to create in each of eleven states a state council on human relations. These councils were to have professional staff and were, in November 1956, to be autonomous and independent of SRC. They were, too, to be financially independent by that time.

SRC transferred its general membership to these councils, recruited staff, paid salaries and expenses for approximately three years and the state councils did become independent in November 1956. More than one million dollars had been expended on the effort. All was on schedule except for one basic and crucial part: the state councils were far from financially independent. In late 1956 not one of the eleven councils was in a position to survive without additional financial assistance. Integrated and integrationists organizations were operating literally in a sea of hostility and it was out of the question that a broad base of support, financial or other, could be found within the southern states.

In response to this crisis, in 1957 SRC created the "grants-in-aid" program, whereby SRC raised funds for the state councils. Since that time an additional more than one million dollars has been raised and granted to the state councils by SRC.

In this process an extremely awkward situation has inevitably developed. The state councils are independent, as indeed they should be. Yet, SRC "the parent" continued to raise funds for the "of age children." Relationships between the parent and the children ranged from close to distant and opinions of each other inevitably spanned the same range. And, money was most often the heart of the issue.

In 1968, after much deliberation, SRC determined that the grants-in-aid program should end. It was time that these independent agencies became independent financially and indeed, whether this decision was wise or not, we had been informed by the involved foundations that their support would end. Accordingly SRC announced a final, descending support grants program to end in 1971.

This decision was met by the state councils--in many instances--with misunderstanding, distrust, and anger. The "rich parent" was cutting off support although many state council people felt their programs were not only the most important part of all SRC activity but indeed the reason the parent was rich in the first place.

(Much blame from some quarters for misunderstanding was placed on Ed Stanfield, then SRC field director. Inevitably comparisons were made with Paul Anthony, the previous field director. What was not understood was that Anthony was operating at a time when the grants-in-aid program was not in serious question while Stanfield was charged not with making, but delivering a decision made by the policy group.)

In 1971 the state councils are vastly different. For all practical purposes the North Carolina Council is non-existent and the Florida Council is in the process of disbanding. Several others probably will do so by the end of the year or during 1972. The Alabama Council has a

new director after nearly going under and may now have a chance to survive. Several are vigorous with effective programs--Virginia, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Tennessee-but they will need considerable outside support if they are to continue. The South Carolina Council is likely to exist and expand as a major force in that state with continued and increasing foundation support. The Georgia Council will in 1971 receive more than one million dollars largely from the Ford Foundation and the federal government, for economic development work in Hancock County.

The state councils have now formed an association. The association has requested representation on the Review Committee and an opportunity to meet with the Executive Committee. The first request has been readily granted and the second will be. The association has also determined that if SRC does not continue its fund raising efforts in their behalf, they will do so independently.

We are faced with a considerable dilemma. Where the state councils are active, pertinent, important, they very much need to exist, and SRC for the very purpose for which it exists has an obligation and indeed a strong desire to see that these agencies do exist. In addition SRC--as well as the region--needs the resources of the strong state councils just as they in turn need the resources and support of the SRC.

Yet, the matter of financial support continues to cloud the issue. No foundation with whom we deal will provide additional support under the present structure of the grants-in-aid program. (Several will readily consider proposals from individual state councils.) And, by necessity and reality, financial support must be the obsession of state councils; this at a time when support is diminishing or disappearing from most agencies in this field.

In the Director's opinion, the SRC staff and the state council staffs and leadership must, on a state-by-state basis, work out a program relationship consistent both with the interests of the individual state council and their assessment of the mutual benefit of such an association. SRC on its part must be sensitive to using and encouraging these valuable resources.

This cannot be accomplished adequately until the matter of financial support can be resolved. SRC should readily accept as a serious responsibility assisting separately the several state councils in their fund raising efforts, particularly with foundations. The state councils--as a body--should make their own independent assessment of their fund raising potential. They are more than capable of making such an appraisal and should be encouraged to do so.

Thereafter--SRC and the viable state councils should proceed in good faith to keep the family together for mutual benefit, but more importantly for the benefit of the objectives we share.

Paul Anthony

January 21, 1971

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION DIVISION

As a division of the Resources Development Center, the Community Organization Program can be considered as one of the more "action" oriented or field arms of the Council, which is responsible, in many cases, for the utilization of the Council's research data and publications by all sectors of the community. Thus, the Community Organization Division seeks to promote the practical application and dissemination of the Southern Regional Council's more academic resources in mobilizing community based projects.

During the latter part of August, the director of the Community Organization Division scheduled orientation meetings with Atlanta-based regional organizations engaged in community organization in an effort to initiate contacts with other agencies working from a regional perspective, to gather information on potential resources, and to delineate possible areas of coordination/cooperation. The Federation of Southern Cooperatives, the American Friends Service Committee, the National Urban League, and the Southern Rural Project were some of the organizations visited. The information gathered from these meetings, conversations with various staff members and personal considerations were used in formulating the goals of the Community Organization Division.

With the initial assistance of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, field trips were scheduled in Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina to orient the director to some of the grassroot economic development projects in the region and to introduce the Community Organization Division of the Council to some local groups. The trips were as follows:

Selma, Alabama - The director attended the Annual Meeting of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives on August 28 and 29. There were at least 500 members of cooperatives from throughout the South in attendance. The director was able to initiate contacts with several cooperatives, to meet most of the Federation's staff, particularly the field staff in the various states, and to initiate contacts with several youth affiliated cooperative groups in the region.

Beaufort/Jasper, South Carolina - The Federation again provided initial assistance in developing the itinerary for the trip. The following cooperatives and/or community groups were

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visited during the three-day tour (September 15-17). In many cases, this was the first introduction of the Community Organization Division/Council to such grassroot groups.

On Tuesday afternoon, September 15, the director visited the Hilton Head Shrimp Cooperative and talked extensively with Tom Barnwell and other members of the managerial staff. That evening, the director attended a meeting of the fledgling Jasper County Catfish Cooperative and was given the opportunity to describe some of the Division's activities, resources, etc. to the twelve member group. As is customary, the members in attendance received the subsequent editions of the Council's publications as additional introductory material.

On Wednesday, September 16, the director assisted in running a training program for twelve community health outreach trainees of the Beaufort/Jasper Health Center. The director also reviewed the training curriculum and forwarded the information on updated training techniques and material at a later date; and, provided technical assistance to the project director in the area of recruitment of doctors by placing him in contact with two people who have extensive experience in this area: Dr. Regina McCormack, Martin Luther King Junior Health Center in New York and Dr. R. L. Crawford, Department of Health Development, University of Michigan.

Thursday, September 17 was confined to meetings with respective members of the St. Helenas' Farmer Cooperative, a group of six, headed by Mr. Lawrence Washington. Mr. Washington was also extremely interested in receiving technical assistance in developing a 275-acre tract of land for low-income housing and a shopping center complex. Further assistance hinges upon the purchase of the land by the group.

West Point, Mississippi - The last of the orientation/introductory visits was paid to the Clay Economic Development Corporation on October 1 and 2. The various economic development projects were toured extensively. The director met with approximately 22 residents to discuss SRC's programs and resources.

The Community Organization Division's director attended the following conferences during his orientation/introductory period:

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Penn Center - As a follow-up to the field trip to the Beaufort/Jasper area of South Carolina, the director attended an Economic Development Conference at Penn Center on September 17 and 18. On the evening of September 16, a planning meeting was held with the Center director, John Gadsden, at which time, possible program areas were drawn from mailings sent to Economic Development/Program Specialists throughout the country and the agenda for the conference was finalized.

The Conference was quite beneficial in that there was a wide range of resources and/or specialists in community development/community organization. Some of those present were: Carl Holman, National Urban Coalition; James Gibson, Potomac Institute; the Rev. Harry Bowie, Delta Ministry; George Esser, Ford Foundation; George Loft, Field Foundation; John Buffington, Clay County Economic Development Corporation and the Rev. Charles Sherrod, New Communities, Inc. The ensuing comments, theory and dialogue between specialist and residents provided a great deal of potential information to be utilized by regional organizations interested in relating to community-based groups.

Chicago, Illinois - The director attended a Minority Enterprise Conference at the Center for Continuing Education held at the University of Chicago.

This conference provided an opportunity for the director to review many of the more successful economic development projects in the nation. Representatives of these projects have been quite helpful in forwarding additional information and material to the Community Organization Division. One of the present Community Organization Division's economic development projects resulted from contacts made with Dr. Moss of the Rutgers University Minority Investment Program. An Atlanta firm, interested in establishing a minority trucking firm, is presently receiving technical assistance as a result of Dr. Moss's referral.

Another Community Organization Division endeavor in the area of economic development resulted from contacts made with representatives of the School of Business Administration at Miles College. The Community Organization Division is presently working with Dr. S. Pares in developing a Minority Investment/Assistance Center at the college which will be available to Birmingham residents.

In a culminating orientation/introductory effort, the Community Organization Division sent out a questionnaire to all Human Relations Councils in an attempt to find areas of mutual

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interest, ways of furthering SRC's local contacts, and to delineate possible areas of cooperation/coordination (copies of this questionnaire and responses are available). for ED

The Community Organization Division extended technical assistance to two other economic development projects. Black, Inc., a youth group in Miami, Florida. The director in coordination with several groups in Florida is assisting this group in expanding and refining their funding request. Terminal technical assistance was extended to an Atlanta group interested in organizing a community-based day care school.

Technical assistance related to other areas of community development was provided to Mrs. Mary Poole, a Sioux Indian who recently moved to Georgia had been unable to obtain medical assistance and Gisle Notvedt, an exchange student interested in working in Atlant on a hunger project. Mr. Notvedt has temporarily delayed his trip to Atlanta to continue his studies at Lawrence University. Hopefully, he will be able to carry out his program during the summer.

For various reasons, the Community Organization Division has expended a great deal of time over the past two months in the area of program development. The four projects are:

(1) Communications Project - the dissemination of information is a major problem in rural areas. Initial contact and research has been carried out with the assistance of Unity House in Washington, D. C. concerning federal regulations, courses of action, etc. The Division's director is presently awaiting follow-up information which will determine the feasibility of rural community based endeavors to make the various forms of mass media (particularly, radio and television) more responsive to the needs of poor people.

(2) Marietta Project - Early in December, two young ladies approached the Community Organization Division with a request for assistance in developing a "Big Sister" project in their community. These two young ladies have been placed in contact with two local counselors (employed through the Emergency School Assistance Program) who have

similar interests. The project will be initiated this spring.

(3) The Black Appalachian Commission - In coordination with the Legal Defense Fund, and the Southern Education Foundation, the Council convened a meeting of Black Appalachian leaders in Knoxville, Tennessee on November 6 and 7. There were 22 leaders representing six Appalachian states in attendance.

As a result of ongoing, coordinated, technical assistance, the group within a four week span of time pulled together a program which will enable them to:

a. Identify Black Appalachian leadership at the regional, state and local level.

b. Mobilize these leaders to utilize a uniform self-study kit in looking at the problems, resources, etc. in their community.

c. Pull this group together in early March to compile these studies and develop long-range proposals for the region.

d. Watchdog the major resources in the area of the Appalachian Regional Commission for civil rights compliance.

e. Develop a vehicle for determining problems affecting Black youth, particularly in the area of school desegregation.

This Commission recently received an eight month $25,000 grant to carry out their program.

(4) School Desegregation Project - Following the cooperative meeting in Jasper County on Tuesday, September 17, the director of the Community Organization Division sat in on a community meeting attended by at least 75 residents of the county. The meeting had been called to plan strategies for dealing with alleged insults and injustices arising from the

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desegregation of the schools. One of the main points of controversy was the charge that white bus drivers were not going into the Black neighborhoods to pick up students. The meeting was highly charged with emotion and several of the adults (one of whom was a teacher) immediately called for a boycott of the schools. At this point, two Black students attempted to shed a new light on the situation by pointing out that one of the main reasons that the drivers did not come into Black neighborhoods was because they were physically assaulted every time and no one would come to their aid. This statement was immediately shouted down by the parents who vehemently attacked the students as "Toms." With this experience, the director began to check out incidents arising from school desegregation in other areas of the South. He found that in most cases the adults, not the students, were participating or setting the stage for many of the incidents with the students bearing the brunt of the repercussions - both Black and White.

It was quite apparent that something was needed to get assistance and resources to those who have to endure the desegregation experience - the students. College students, Black and White, working in their respective home communities as facilitators of communication among youth, guides to other resources and advocates of reason held the key to providing youth with alternatives for dealing with their situation in the schools. (Additional information on the project is available.)

With the $3,000 advanced by the Council to initiate this project, Leon Hall, a former SCLC youth organizer, has been employed to coordinate the field operations. Utilizing the responses from a regional mailing to all Black and White colleges in the South, pilot projects have been established in three states and the seeds of an organization planted in seven others.

The status of the School Desegregation Project is as follows:

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Mississippi - We have a three college pilot project in this state with each school (Jackson State, Millsaps, Tougaloo) providing a state coordinator. Eighteen students from Tougaloo College are participants in a five-week interim program, while the activities of 21 students at Millsaps are coordinated by work study students, Tony Algood and Robert Ferguson. Claude McInnis, a student at Jackson State is the coordinator of their eight-man team. This project has the support of the Mississippi Teachers Association (Mr. Duckworth), the Educational Resources Center (Lee Dillworth), and the Mississippi Council on Human Relations (Joanne Bowman). They are willing to serve as resource personnel.

Leon Hall, the project coordinator, is presently working in the field with the Tougaloo team members as they wrap up their interim program.

Georgia - The response from Mercer College in Macon, Georgia has been quite encouraging. The Dean of the school, Joe Hendricks has enthusiastically supported the project. We also have two campus coordinators, Jimmy Samuels of the Black Students Association and Mike Richey. Because of the leadership potential, the response of the college community and the need in the state of Georgia, we have designated Mercer College as the home for one of our pilot projects. This will be one of the areas of special concentration for the next months. Within the next two weeks, these students will have biracial teams in the field.

For the next few months, Mercer program operations will be carried on at two levels:

1. Program expansion and recruitment on Mercer's campus and other campuses throughout the state.

2. Field operations - At present, the Mercer project has teams working in Macon and Columbus, Georgia.

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Other accomplishments registered thus far:

1. Formulation and publication of an introductory brochure.

2. Negotiation of $100 grant from a Macon civic group.

3. Establishment of a school supported office.

South Carolina - Our primary contact is Richard Gergel, a high school student who has organized bi-racial teams in the high schools in Columbia. Richard exhibits a great deal of drive and skill but needs information and technical assistance in the area of program development.

Recently, the team was confronted with a potentially volatile situation at Keenan High School in Columbia concerning the school election rules and an attempt to block Blacks from holding office.

The team immediately set forth a resolution decrying the move, generated outside pressure and squelched the potential confrontation by having the rule voided.

At the University of South Carolina, the Student Government Association has publicly endorsed the project through various articles in the school newspaper. An extensive report by one of the project members, Cynthia Murray, is being used by the Title IV center at the University of South Carolina.

Secondary Projects - Responses from groups in Virginia, Louisiana, Florida, Alabama, Texas, North Carolina and Arkansas warrant program development in these areas. Information concerning the status of the project in these areas is available upon request. Student groups and/or adult resources have expressed an interest in the project in these respective states. Unfortunately, time and staff limitations have forced the curtailmentof activities in these states.

(Community Organization Division)

In our forthcoming plans, program development in these states is our major priority.

Jim:
I hope these figures will help you. If this is not what you want let me know. Doris.

1965 MISSISSIPPI COUNTY POPULATION ESTIMATES BY AGE AND RACE AND FIGURES FOR 1960

Age	1965 Estimates			1960 Census		
	total	white	nonwhite	Total	white	nonwhite
Forrest						
Total	59,142	42,470	16,672	52,772	37,970	14,752
5 and under	7,737	4,873	2,864	7,227	4,670	2,557
6-14	10,951	6,809	4,142	9,587	6,358	3,229
				(10,405)	(6,721)	(3,684)
15-44	25,603	19,697	5,906	21,774	16,675	5,099
45 & over	14,851	11,091	3,760	14,134	10,267	3,867
Hancock						
Total	16,687	14,262	2,425	14,039	11,784	2,255
5 & under	2,457	2,017	440	1,956	1,568	388
6-14	2,950	2,429	521	2,868	2,346	522
				(2,868)	(2,346)	(522)
45 & Over	5,002	4,385	617	4,388	3,771	617
15 ~~10~~-44	6,278	5,413	847	4,827	4,099	728
Harrison						
Total	123,950	100,701	23,249	119,489	100233	19,256
5 & Under	18,748	14,192	4,556	19,597	15,704	3,893
6-14	24,104	18,712	5,392	20,018	16,123	3,895
				(20,397)	(16,444)	(3,953)
45 & Over	27,062	22,925	4,4137	24,789	20,875	3,914
15-44	54,036	44,827	9,164	55,085	47,531	7,554
Jackson						
Total	68,178	54,971	13,207	55,522	44,658	10,864
5 & Over	11,545	8,885	2,660	9,598	7,229	2,229
6-14	14,591	11,340	3,251	11,111	8,732	2,379
				(11,524)	(9.054)	(2,247)
15-44	28,608	23,542	5,066	23,000	18,781	4,219
45 & Over	13,434	11,204	2,230	11,813	9,846	1,967

Age	1965 Estimates			1960 Census		
	Total	White	Nonwhite	Total	White	Nonwhite
Lamar						
Total	15,237	12,578	2,659	13,675	11,443	2,232
5 & under	2,176	1,734	442	1,965	1,539	426
6-14	3,447	2,745	702	2,768	2,237	531
				(3,182)	(2,577)	(605)
15-44	5,813	5,050	763	5,053	4,359	694
45 & Over	3,801	3,049	752	3,889	3,308	581
Marion						
Total	23,091	14,829	8,262	23,293	15,408	7,885
5 & Under	3,076	1,676	1,400	3,457	2,014	1,443
6-14	5,328	3,106	2,222	4,814	2,896	1,918
				(5,556)	(3,230)	(2,326)
15-44	7,830	5,151	2,679	8,543	5,943	2,600
45 & Over	6,857	4,896	1,961	6,479	4,555	1,924
Pearl River	29,144	23,373	5,771	22,411	17,221	5,190
5 & Under	4,361	3,321	1,040	3,174	2,170	1,004
6-14	6,082	4,487	1,595	4,640	3,427	1,213
				(5,229)	(3,815)	(1,414)
15-44	12,445	10,542	1,913	8,484	6,704	1,780
45 & over	6,246	5,023	1,223	6,113	4,920	1,193
Perry						
Total	8,819	5,763	3,056	8,745	6,333	2,412
5 & Under	1,049	611	438	1,221	798	423
6-14	2,119	1,388	731	1,912	1,317	595
				(2,182)	(1,471)	(711)
15-44	2,663	1,863	800	3,124	2,351	773
45 & Over	2,988	1,901	1,087	2,488	1,876	621

Age	1965 Estimates			1960 Census		
	Total	White	Nonwhite	Total	White	Nonwhite
Stone						
Total	7,960	5,904	2,056	7,013	5,320	1,711
5 & Under	978	649	329	910	614	296
6-14	1,727	1,179	548	1,372	956	416
				(1,538)	(1,065)	(473)
15-44	3,007	2,378	629	2,731)	2,185	546
45 & Over	2,248	1,698	550	2,000	1,547	453
Walthall						
Total	13,759	7,665	6,104	13,512	7,412	6,100
5 & Under	1,838	775	1,063	1,907	828	1,079
6-14	2,992	1,234	1,758	3,016	1,291	1,725
				(3,151)	(1,303)	(1,848)
15-44	4,779	2,728	2,051	4,846	2,831	2,015
45 & over	4,150	2,918	1,232	3,743	2,462	1,281

With pending new manpower legislation the staff felt that a new effort to secure interest in implementation on the state and local level would be useful. This would especially be the case under proposed regulations that would greatly increase the role of states and localities in manpower programs. Accordingly, rough guidelines for possible action, information sharing, watchdogging, and certain forms of research(to reveal strenghts and weaknesses) have been drawn. Two reaearchers in the manpower field with action interests have been asked to use these guidelines and to think through more precisely what the proposed legislation would mean for action programs. Several nationally prominent figures in the manpower field have been ~~tentatively consulted~~ engaged in preliminary discussions as have several agency representatives. Tentative plans have been made for a regional manpower seminar wich would focus primarily on strategies related to the new legislation.

The legislation, of course, was vetoed. Plans will proceed on this undertaking, nevertheless. It is possible that legislation will still be forthcoming this year although many pundits point to 1972. For the moment we feel that we simply have a little more breathing space and can use planning for implementation of new legislation as a means for sharpening our approach under current programs.

~~We are proposing to better~~

During the past year we have been impressed with the number of young people seeking an opportunity for constructive service. We have long known that many self-help groups need technical assistance beyond the resources of SRC and other groups interested in them. We are proposing an Intern-Technical Assistance Program. It would utilize primarily the skills of graduate students in ~~are~~ subject areas whose skills are needed.

SPECIAL REVIEW COMMITTEE MEMBERS

		1	2
Ex (PA)	Mrs. Patt Derian (Member SRC Executive Committee) 2349 Twin Lake Circle Jackson, Mississippi 39211		✓
(PA)	Mr. Joel Fleishman Urban Studies 493 College Street New Haven, Connecticut		
✓ (FV)	Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr. Executive Director The United Negro College Fund, Inc. 55 East 52nd Street New York, N. Y. 10022	✓	
	The Honorable Howard Lee (Member SRC Board) Mayor Chapel Hill, N. C. 27514		
✓ Exe.	Mrs. Joan Cashin (Member SRC Executive Committee) 416 Owens Drive, S. E. Huntsville, Alabama 35801	✓	✓
✓ (EV)	Dr. John A. Griffin Executive Director Southern Education Foundation 811 Cypress Street, N. E. Atlanta, Georgia 30308	✓	✓
Exe ✓	Mr. Joseph Haas (SRC Legal Counsel) 2709 First National Bank Tower Atlanta, Georgia 30303	✓	✓
✓ (JW) (EV)	Mr. Aaron Henry (Member SRC Board) 213 Fourth Street Clarksdale, Miss. 38614	✓	✓

Special Review Committee - 2

1 2

Mr. Baxton Bryant ✓
(EV) Executive Director
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
818-B 17th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee 37203

Mr. Charles Silberman
Fortune Magazine
Time & Life Building
Rockefeller Center
New York, N. Y. 10020

Exec ✓ Mr. Frank E. Smith ✓ ✓
(SRC Vice President & Member Executive Committee)
Director
Tennessee Valley Authority
405 New Sprankle Building
Knoxville, Tennessee 37902

✓ Mr. Harold Fleming ✓ ✓
(JW) President
Potomac Institute
(EV?) 1501 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Exec ✓ Dr. Raymond Wheeler ✓ ✓
(President, SRC)
3724 Warrington Drive
Charlotte, N. C. 28211

✓ Dr. Vivian Henderson ✓ ✓
Exec (Chairman, SRC Executive Committee)
President
(EV) Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

✓ Mr. John Walker ✓ ✓
(Member SRC Board)
1304-B Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Miss Jean Fairfax ✓
(EV) Director
Division of Legal Information & Community Service
NAACP Legal Defense & Educational Fund, Inc.
10 Columbus Circle
New York, N. Y. 10019

what should (or might) SRC do —

Joan —

More Consultant Services [EV
Intern
New Staff

C.O. —

Based on Res & Demonstration

Use State Councils —

Special Review Committee-3 1 2

Mr. Will Campbell ✓
Committee of Southern Churchmen
P. O. Box 12044
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

Mr. John H. Wheeler
Exec. (Former President, SRC - Member Executive Committee)
President
Mechanics & Farmers Bank
Box 1932
Durham, N. C. 27702

✓ Dean David A. Shannon ✓
Faculty of Arts and Science
(PE) University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia 22903

✓ Mr. Paul Anthony ✓ ✓
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

✓ Dr. Herman Long ✓ ✓
President
Tuskegee College

Glen Graham (staff) ✓

Identification
Constituency
Structure

Delivery of Services (?) meaning everything SRC does is a delivery

Action — [Field, fringe, local protest, "demonstrations"]
w/in context of equal opp & justice —
Develop: insight, personal, programs (& organizing), convert decisions & policies

e.g.

~~op. 1)~~ Com. Org & desegr proj

plans op. 2) M.P. & focus on legis implementation

plans 3) Intern — Tech Asst. Program

op. 4) Bl. Appl. Com —

op. 5) H&P — Panola, Fairfield
Fm HA — Corp Housing Seminar

plans 6) MISS — Tenco —

plans 7) Delivery of medical Services

plans ~~8)~~ Regional Bd, Inst.

9) Popularized discrim. reports —

Hunger Committee

10) Poor whites

Relate programs to Constituency &/or audience —

Only outreach resources are SCHR —

(Re) affirmation of faith

Agenda for the Council Programs —

Staff plus J.B. & V.H.
Draft for 2nd meeting —

Role (& where declining) of other organization —

EV — will not rely on written materials alone for report to Com. —

Organization — influencing policies

Agency — delivering services

* How do programs fit policy or is each staff doing his own thing —

EV relate something to Training opportunities for younger people —

After lunch, the third group session was held, after which the group reconvened into the final general session.

It was moved, seconded and unanimously adopted: That the Executive Committee devise and initiate memorials honoring the late Gordon B. Hancock and James M. Dabbs, the first implementation if practicable, to be made in 1971.

A resolution was introduced to have a special committee of the Council appointed to do a thorough review of the program and structure of the Council. After considerable discussion, it was moved, seconded and adopted: That the President of the Council appoint a special committee to do a review of the programs and structure of the Council, such a committee to consist of a cross section of the membership, but to include also persons not formally associated with the Council, with the understanding that the report of the review committee shall be considered by the full membership in special meeting, hopefully, no later than the end of February, 1971.

****

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

Emory F. Via

EV – may talk with each staffer individually –

Reporting –

Sketches of Review –
make ups of Committee –

Grand Rules
Individual Reports – 5 mins
"Hard Sell" sense of purpose "optimism"

In discussion don't be afraid of problems –

* Rationale ~~for efforts~~ – sense of focus

Hard lines Don't want to hear brand new program ideas (except in most speculative sense in response to Com. member careful about saying that's what SRC should do – maybe consider.)

Self-Critical maybe ok. – don't over do –

Critical of SRC – don't –

If you do make sure you can back up & live with it EV

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

Emory F. Via

Censes — 1970
Availability — Printed, Tapes, (Hold up due to cities)
Contacts —
UNC Pop. Center
Univ of Iza. (Everett Lee
Emory — Ed'l Demographer
Oak Ridge AEC
Needed — kinds of info wanted
include cross correlations

They will: help refine
run either free or @ cost

For PA

Time of Exec. Com. — What stuff & when
Publications on hand —

MS — will not be @ meeting —

Smith
Griffin
Campbell
Bryant —

EV —
R.C.
K.T.
BW.
AC

L.A. — T
H.B — T
JW — 1/2
BF — 1/2
M.S. — 1/2

REPORT OF THE 1970 NOMINATING COMMITTEE

Your Nominating Committee met on October 15th to carry out its responsibilities. Members serving on the 1970 Committee were: Mrs. Jane Schutt, Chairman, Mrs. Helen Mervis, Mrs. Helen Howard, Mr. Robert Palmer, and Dr. Herman Long. All were present other than Mrs. Howard who could not attend because of illness.

The following are the nominations of the Committee:

President:	Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler
Vice Presidents:	Miss Josephine Wilkins Mr. Frank Smith Dr. C. G. Gomillion Dr. Lucius H. Pitts
Members of the Executive Committee:	Dr. Vivian W. Henderson, Chairman Mr. Hodding Carter, III Mrs. Joan Cashin Mr. Julius L. Chambers Mrs. Patt Derian Mr. Donald L. Hollowell Mr. Henry Marsh Mr. Robert Palmer Mr. John H. Wheeler Mr. H. Franklin Williams Mr. James Youngdahl Mr. Joseph Haas, Legal Counsel
For Re-election to the class of 1974:	Mr. Julius L. Chambers Charlotte, N. C. Mr. Edward E. Elson Chamblee, Ga. Dr. Edward E. Haddock Richmond, Virginia

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

For Re-election to
the class of 1974:

Mrs. Martin L. Harvey
Jackson, Mississippi

Dr. Vivian W. Henderson
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Harry Huge
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Earl Johnson
Jacksonville, Florida

Mr. Henry Marsh
Richmond, Virginia

Mr. William T. Mason, Jr.
Norfolk, Virginia

Dr. Samuel Nabrit
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. J. Allen Parker
Tuskegee, Alabama

Rabbi Jacob Rothschild
Atlanta, Georgia

The Rt. Rev. Msgr. Alexander Sigur
New Orleans, La.

Dr. Vasco A. Smith
Memphis, Tennessee

Mr. James Stokely
Newport, Tennessee

Dr. William H. Townsend
Little Rock, Arkansas

New Members:

Mrs. Anna Rubin
Sumter, South Carolina

Mr. Herbert Fielding
Charleston, South Carolina

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New Members Continued:

Mrs. Edith Dabbs
Mayesville, South Carolina

Mrs. Millie Charles
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dr. Aaron Shirley
Jackson, Mississippi

Mr. Henry Lambert
New Orleans, Louisiana

Mrs. Eva Clayton
Warrenton, North Carolina

Dr. Gary Lloyd
New Orleans, Louisiana

Respectfully submitted,

Mrs. Jane Schutt, Chairman
Mrs. Helen Mervis
Mr. Robert Palmer
Dr. Herman Long
Mrs. Helen Howard

S.F.V. [late '70? early '71?]

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL REVIEW COMMITTEE

[... In response to the directive from the 1970 annual meeting..." (see p.2)]

The Southern Regional Council came into being because Southerners of goodwill, both black and white, needed an organization through which they could work jointly for the elimination of racial discrimination and racial division in the South. The goal of the Southern Regional Council has always been equal opportunity for all citizens.

Black leaders from over the South, in their historic meeting at Durham, North Carolina, in October 1942, called for a "way of life...that will free us all, white and Negro alike, from want, and from throttling fears." This initiative led to the founding of the Council in 1944. In its nearly thirty years of existence, Southern Regional Council has played a major role in helping to achieve the changes that have moved toward implementing those goals.

Too broad

Today Federal law specifically forbids discrimination, thanks to action by the judicial, legislative, and executive branches of our government. Many imperfections remain in carrying forward the intent of law, but there can be no reversal of the commitment to full and equal opportunity.

[more detail how achieved & that it takes many a enforcement]

Much has been achieved, but much more remains to be done. It is obvious to all of us that all our citizens cannot have equal opportunity under the law unless they enjoy full economic opportunity. The letter of law may end overt discrimination, but the process of justice itself must provide equal justice for all in actual practice. The elimination

March shouldn't leave out - housing, voting, health

of segregation in education is a major step forward, but it must be matched by full education opportunity for all pupils within a school system that is structured to eliminate all possibilities of discrimination.

To meet the needs of a changing South, it is obvious that the Southern Regional Council must from time to time review and restructure its program.

Mark Prentiss Stewart must abogado

In response to the directive from the 1970 annual meeting, the special Review Committee spent many hours in a thorough program review and detailed discussion of the changes needed in the SRC program. The Committee arrived at a consensus recommendation for broad policy change, and decided to leave to the entire Council a decision as to specific structural pattern.

The consensus recommendation is as follows:

The SRC should not become exclusively a journalistic, investigative agency, nor solely a community action agency. Rather it should build upon its experience and its strengths, its reputation, and its channels of communication with social activists, to become a "mission oriented" organization. Its overriding purpose should be to develop and implement those strategies which can effect change in the social, political, and economic institutions which now dominate, to its detriment, the life of the Southern region.

Hallwell ?

In order to accomplish this purpose, there must be a more tightly integrated, better coordinated, more purposefully directed utilization of our major resources. This will require organization of the various talents

Social progress is seldom straight line

But some straightening is needed to force pace

SRC does both

[Banned from Partisan Politics & Voter Regist.]

Some gets attention — Some not (by design)

Action —

Ile-Seg proj

Bldg Trades

TEAM

Panola

Open Housing

Tenco —

Tornados

Corpus Christi

Hunger

School Study — integration

Min. Wage

Know your Rights

and functions of SRC staff around the planning and implementation of specific strategies directed toward specific results. This will also require involvement of individual Council members more deeply and creatively in policy decision making, program development and implementation. Such an organization would logically require the careful selection of objectives involving the most immediate and important problems of the region. Concerted, persistent, and effective effort could then be applied to the achievement of the objectives.

It was generally agreed that such a method of operation would require teams or task forces which would be composed of appropriate staff specialists and/or generalists, Council members selected on the basis of special interest and competence, and persons outside the Council and perhaps outside of the region who might bring special expertise to a given objective. These might include law students interested in investigative activity, State Council members with special knowledge of a local situation, or members of any grass roots organization who were able to aid in implementation of the project.

Such a team working together as a unit should employ all of the major staff functions, including:

(1) Field investigation - The analogy here is the approach popularized as "Nader's Raiders" which has provided an impressive demonstration of what can be accomplished by aggressive investigation, dramatic exposé, and follow-

through in concert with activist groups. This should be a distinct function, separate from information and research, the purpose of which would be to uncover facts that can be used in a variety of ways - for example, to support or generate litigation, to provide documentation for investigative bodies, commissions, legislative committees, to furnish ammunition for local action groups, and to prod influential leadership that has failed to take action in the best interests of its constituency. The limited professional staff engaged in such a function could increase its effectiveness by utilizing the help of Council members, state and local human relations councils, and any group of people eager to be involved in meaningful social change.

(2) Information - We have staff talent and capability in this field which are unexcelled. It is proposed that these skills be more effectively utilized in the implementation of specific strategies designed to achieve specific objectives. Given the scarcity of resources and the urgencies of the day, information for its own sake - however great its literary or humanistic merit - is probably a luxury that cannot be afforded. Not only should this function be concerned with the organization, writing, and publication of information but it should be employed to develop new methods to bring about maximum use of all forms of media, particularly television.

Increasingly, television is the medium of mass education and persuasion. Yet, the use of this powerful public property has been denied to most of the unrepresented groups of this country such as blacks, Chicanos, the poor, students, and other groups with a variety of cultural and political interests. An opportunity may exist here to effect significant institutional change.

(3) Research - Referred to here as the mechanism for substantiation, storage, and retrieval of background information. Research, in the context of the program and structure described here,would be issue oriented, used not only in the formation of long-range strategies but in the systematic assembling of facts about a given issue to back up the investigative and information functions.

(4) Community organization - It is not realistic to assume that the Council can deliver services or programs to community groups throughout the South. Only major public programs and funds can do that job.

This Committee believes that SRC should strengthen its working ties to activist groups at all levels - the community, the region, or the nation-for the following purposes:

(a) To identify those groups which share with us a common interest in the strategies with which we are at any point concerned.

(b) To organize or involve existing groups in a local study of the specific problem on which we are working, in order to monitor a program or to provide concerted follow-through essential to the action phase of our program.

(c) To utilize appropriate individuals within those action groups to supplement the investigative, information, and research aspects of the program.

(d) It is quite likely that involvement in the above ways with community organizations will afford the Council increasing opportunities to provide technical assistance where it can be maximally effective and where the Council, in return, can obtain information concerning the strengths and weaknesses of a given strategy.

(e) Opportunities may also arise for the Council, through its relationship to community organizations, to play a major role in the creation of new and independent organizations in such fields as housing where the substantial public funds, which are essential, can be sought and where those most directly concerned can have a major voice in the policy of the new agency.

Several corollaries should be attached to the above recommendations:

(1) Although emphasis has been placed on the desirability of better coordination and more specific long-range planning

in the use of our resources, it should be at all times our aim to retain the greatest possible degree of flexibility in both structure and function.

(2) Successful implementation of the concepts presented here depends directly on adequacy of funding. Of necessity, much of the planning of details must await more knowledge about forthcoming financial support.

(3) The final success of any given strategy will depend on a very finely balanced effort, in concert, of the staff, the Executive Committee, and Council members. This will require from all concerned a personal commitment perhaps more demanding than has ever been necessary in the history of the Council. The implications for change in these recommendations are wide ranging and serious. They must not be considered lightly in the final decisions of the full Council.

There is one further recommendation on which the Review Committee was in general agreement.

The first order of business for SRC is to redefine its own structure and function. The forthcoming special meeting of the Council should address itself exclusively to that task. Once that process is completed, top priority should be given to review and redefinition of SRC's relationship to the State Councils, through consultation between the SRC Executive

Committee and representatives of the State Councils. Three previously prepared papers on this subject are attached and should form the basis for deliberation by these two groups.

Three alternative structural plans for implementation of the changed program of the SRC were presented to the Committee by individual members, and the Committee decided to refer all three to the full Council for final decision, together with a brief outline of their obvious strengths and possible weaknesses.

The plans are presented here as A, B, and C. They are, of course, subject to change by the full Council. The Review Committee directed the chairman to prepare a brief listing of the advantages and disadvantages of the plans submitted. This summation is presented with each plan.

PLAN "A" -- A Strategy Model for Effecting Institutional Change

Advantages:

1. Makes greater use of all interested Council members in on-going Council programs.
2. Would offer best continuing use of the Council's information services which have made the greatest contribution to past success.

Disadvantage:

1. Does not detail an obvious great advantage of the plan: the opportunity to use each annual meeting as a means of reviewing work of task forces and establishing priorities for task forces in the coming year.

PLAN "A"

A STRATEGY MODEL FOR EFFECTING INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

At various times in its history, changing circumstances have confronted the Southern Regional Council with the need to re-examine its assumptions, structure, and functions in the light of new imperatives. This is such a time. Within the past ten years, the legal and political context within which SRC works has changed radically. The black community has developed new strengths and new dynamics; some former alliances have disintegrated and others are under severe strain; strategies and methods once generally accepted have come to be viewed as obsolete and ineffective; private resources for work in this field have been severely curtailed; the Federal Government has retreated from earlier policy commitments to affirmative action to a laissez-faire position or worse. These and other major changes require that all established organizations concerned with social change re-evaluate their roles and methods.

This is an attempt to suggest, in bare summary, a way of recombining and strengthening SRC's most valuable elements so as to achieve the following objectives:

1. Build on the demonstrable strengths that SRC has developed and for which it is publicly recognized.

2. Involve the members of the Council more deeply and creatively in policy decision-making, program development, and implementation.
3. Strengthen SRC's working ties to activist groups and grassroots work in community development.
4. Integrate the various talents and functions within SRC around specific strategies directed toward specific results, so that there will be concerted and persistent efforts to achieve clear-cut objectives.
5. Employ the many unused or under-used networks of manpower and potential commitment across the South.

Basic Operating Concept

The most suggestive analogy for what is proposed here is the approach popularized as "Nader's Raiders." Nader and his emulators have provided an impressive demonstration, especially in the field of corporate responsibility, of what can be accomplished by aggressive investigation, dramatic expose, and follow-through in concert with activist groups. SRC has well established competence in each of these areas. What is needed is a more conscious, planned, coordinated use of these competences. This will require changes in both policy and program procedures and in staff organization.

Policy Procedures and Program Development

The Council membership is an under-utilized body, a fact that has

always been a problem to some degree, but it has now reached acute proportions. This proposal envisions a role for members that will not merely ease discontent but will contribute substantially to the effectiveness of the operation.

Members should serve, not just at annual meetings but year round, on task forces selected on the basis of special interest and competence, to work with staff on the development of program strategies. If, for example, the Council decided to devote major and continuing effort to the issue of the "segregation academies," a task force for this purpose would be appointed, consisting of appropriate members (e.g., educators, school board members, journalists). The staff (in this case, perhaps the director of the Leadership Project) would prepare a working paper outlining the known facts of the situation, the investigative task to be done, methods of publicizing the results, key individuals and groups to be activated, target groups on whom pressure should be brought, estimated time-table and costs, and hoped-for results. The policy task force would then review, modify, or supplement the proposal in consultation with the responsible staff members. It would periodically review progress and make further inputs as the project unfolded.

The day-to-day work of the project would be carried on by a staff team including the requisite skills -- investigation, information, community organization, liaison with other groups, etc. The team would work together across "departmental" or jurisdictional lines under the director of the

designated project manager to carry out a closely coordinated effort. Whenever possible, professional staff would be supplemented by outside resources--e.g., law students for the investigative activity, state council members for local intelligence. The central service functions of SRC, such as the research and publications and information staff, would be available to this and other like projects.

Obviously, SRC could not simultaneously undertake programs of this kind addressed to every urgent problem of the region. Depending on budget and manpower, a rigorous and even painful degree of selectivity would be essential. It should be the function of the Council as a whole to consider and decide on the broad areas of program priority, leaving to the task forces and staff the development of detailed project strategy, and to the Executive Committee oversight of the total administrative and program operation between annual meetings.

Staff Organization

As previously indicated, the major staff functions (aside from administration) would be four: (1) field investigation; (2) information work through publications, the mass media, and other channels; (3) "research" in the sense of analysis, storage, and retrieval of background information; and (4) community organization in the sense of stimulation of, liaison with, and technical assistance to specific action efforts. The staff structure would logically be organized around these four basic

functions, although as pointed out above, major project teams would cut across these organizational lines. A word about each of these functions:

Field Investigation. This is by no means a new concept to SRC. But in the past, investigation has tended to be a mainly journalistic enterprise and has been intermixed with the research and information function. In this model, it would be seen as a distinct function (whether carried out by lawyers, journalists, or whoever), the purpose of which is to uncover facts that can be used in a variety of ways in addition to publications and mass media--for example, to generate and support litigation or administrative proceedings, to provde documentation for Congressional committees, to furnish ammunition for action groups, to undergird local community development efforts, or simply to prod influential leadership that has managed to keep itself comfortably uninformed and inert. In developing and staffing this function, SRC should add to its own experience that of the Nader operation and its progeny, such as the public interest law firms and the various new consumer-advocate groups. It should also increase the outreach of limited professional staff by tapping the supplementary manpower represented by Council members, State Councils, Law Students for Civil Rights and other young people eager to be enlisted in meaningful social efforts.

Information. SRC's staff talents and prowess in this field are unexcelled. This proposal requires only that this capability be meshed more integrally into result-oriented strategies. Given the scarcity of

resources and the urgencies of the day, information for its own sake--however great its literary or humanistic merit -- is probably a luxury that cannot be afforded. Information must be regarded as a tool to be applied, along with other leverages, to the achievement of overdue institutional changes.

Community Organization. This is a promising but relatively new program area for SRC, currently expressed in the multiple concerns of the Resources Development Center. Again, what is needed is sharper focus and integration with other SRC functions in carefully planned strategic projects. It should also be raised to parity, in terms of staff and budget, with the other functions of SRC. It would be totally unrealistic, however, to regard this function as one of delivering services to communities or community groups throughout the South; no conceivable amount of private resources can make a dent on this huge task; nothing short of major public programs and funds can do that job. Therefore, it is proposed that the community organization function be addressed to generating and rendering technical assistance to a relatively few, carefully selected community development activities in such fields as housing, education, and economic development. One aim, of course, would be to contribute to the success of the individual efforts. But the broader strategy would be to learn and document the ways in which the "system" works or does not work fairly and effectively for the black and the poor. The knowledge and specific examples thus gained should be grist to the program mill as described in this proposal.

A related function is "field work" -- maintaining liaison and benevolent conspiracies with the many other groups, black, white, and integrated, that are working in SRC's sphere of interest. This is essential to follow-through and action phase of the strategy programs.

Research. As already indicated, the research function would -- much as it does now -- undergird all of SRC's program activities. The difference would derive from the proposed changes in program development and implementation. For example, the emphasis may shift somewhat away from responding to ad hoc requests from staff and outsiders toward initiating more survey-type data collecting or more systematic assembling of information about a given issue to back up a longer-term effort.

One function that hopefully will continue and be reinvigorated is SRC's version of "think tank" activity. Thoughtful papers embodying analysis, commentary, and recommendations in important areas of public policy have been a major contribution of SRC. Some of the "Special Reports" and special documents, like The Federal Executive and Civil Rights, exemplify SRC's contributions in this field. Once more, it should be pointed out that this is not conceived of as a discrete, isolated staff function; it should draw on and feed into the concerted program activities that have been outlined above.

Other Considerations

State Councils on Human Relations. The knotty problems of SRC-SCHRs relationship are beyond the scope of this specific proposal.

But it can be said here that, where strong, functioning state councils exist, they should play an integral part in SRC's program strategy. This would suggest that, however the formal relationship ends up, it will be to SRC's self-interest in whatever ways are possible to nurture and work closely with the effective state councils; provision for this continuing involvement should be built into the field staff function discussed above under "Community Organization." In states where there are no successful SCHR operations, and no apparent prospect of any, SRC should seek other organizational relationships that will give it access to the kind of people who constitute state council membership elsewhere.

Structure. Aside from the reorganization of staff function previously recommended, this proposal would impose no specific need for change in the SRC structure. A membership of one hundred is clearly an arbitrary figure, and might be altered somewhat, upward or downward. But the plan outlined does imply the need for a policy group of substantial enough size to provide a variety of representation--in skills, interest, and geographic location--so that appropriate membership task forces can be established to guide project activities. Moreover, the Council should be large enough and representative enough of SRC's natural constituencies to provide the right kind of deliberative body for the determination of policy and program priorities. These considerations suggest the desirability of retaining the present structure, but with emphasis on utilizing it more effectively. Finally, it might be noted that

there is nothing in this proposal that points to the desirability of SRC reverting to its earlier pattern of a general membership organization.

Staff and Budget. Any attempt to translate this proposed method of operation into precise staff and budget figures should await the Council's decision on this and other possible alternatives. It should be understood, however, that there is no set level of staffing or funding implied by this plan; many or few programs can be concurrently pursued, depending on the resources available. To use an extreme case, if SRC had sufficient funds to employ only one professional for each of the program functions indicated, it could conceivably undertake two or three major program ventures per year. In the interest of success of the operation, as well as for other reasons, it is essential that SRC implement the Review Committee's recommendation that senior black staff be employed, perhaps particularly in the Community Organization function.

Flexibility. This proposal is not meant to suggest that SRC's program activities should be limited to long-term immutable projects. One of SRC's strengths has been its capacity for "guerrilla" activity--flexibility to respond quickly to unexpected developments and new opportunities. In setting program priorities, the full Council will be well advised to allow for resources, staff time and discretion to respond swiftly to critical needs. Flexibility will also be enhanced by adopting the policy task force approach described above in preference to standing committees or other bodies. Times change and standing committees become obsolete, but they are seldom abolished. A form that can tailor structure

to current needs and is adaptable to change as the needs change is far preferable.

PLAN "B" -- Proposed Model for the Southern Regional Council as a Community Action Agency

Advantages:

1. Commission staff members would have an opportunity to gain a thorough knowledge of the entire field of responsibility of the commission--not only the direct subject matter, but various related factors, such as government officials working in the field, journalist specialists, private organizations with special relationships.
2. Commission members (from the Council)would have similar opportunities.
3. Commitment of the various commissions to specific overall issues would insure that none are overlooked by the Council.

Disadvantages:

1. The entire plan involves a rigidity that could offer many problems to the Council as problems and emphasis shift. There is a far greater opportunity for staff domination than exists even today in the Council operations. The temptation for "empire building" on the commission would be great--i.e., the advantages of having an information staff for each commission might lead to a separate public relations staff for each.
2. The plan does not offer sufficient potential for influencing action at the annual meeting of the Council.

PLAN "B"

Proposed Model for the Southern Regional Council as
a Community Action Agency

Rationale:

1. Legal victories and the civil rights laws of the past decade have not substantially changed the status of Americans at the bottom of the heap relative to other Americans. A permanent black underclass in America is a frightening possibility.
2. The increasing despair about the viability of the American system can be counteracted only by visible and measurable improvements in the status of minority group citizens and the poor which they experience as the closing of the gap between themselves and affluent white Americans.
3. This will require the identification of key issues, the careful selection of targets, the development of sophisticated strategies, the mobilization of resources for change agents and maximum use of the mass media as vehicles for the restructuring of the economic and social order.
4. It is futile to expect that the "revolution," interpreted as the restructuring of the South's social and economic system, will come about from efforts to persuade current power structures to reform themselves.

Such modest hopes as we have lie more in:

(1) Empowering the powerless

Knowledge is power; i.e. insight into what is wrong with the system and information about citizens' constitutional rights can be a powerful tool for change. The sharpening of skills, the strategic use of information and the mobilization of human and technical resources can be translated into power.

(2) Strengthening the hands and securing the power of new leadership

It is essential to secure the tenure and the power of newly elected Black office-holders and of whites who are committed to economic development, shared power and equal opportunity. Unless they have the confidence and support of a broadening constituency and can produce results, their ability to effect change will be limited.

5. SRC brings the following strengths to this task:

a. Commitment to change and to the "New South" - whatever that means!

b. Channels into many "communities" of change agents;

c. Credibility with national foundations, the mass media, universities and other resource producers;

d. An enviable reputation for fact-finding, documentation, analysis, interpretation;

e. Although SRC may not have the confidence of the activists or the poor (many of whom do not even know of SRC's existence), it does not seem to be the target of their hostility either!

Structure and Program

Grant

1. The Council would be reorganized into a series of panels or commissions around such issues as: education, urban affairs, rural development, housing, land use, and economic development, manpower, health, the administration of justice, etc. These units would be composed of Council members plus specialists or laymen who would be officially appointed on the basis of their anticipated contribution.

Table

2. ~~These advisory bodies~~ The Task forces would work with staff in developing an active on-going program in the ~~above~~ selected areas. ~~which would involve: advising citizens of their rights, monitoring key Federal programs, identifying major policy issues, developing strategies to achieve specific objectives, etc.~~

Table

3. Each year the Council would choose two or three areas for major focus. "Major focus" in contrast to an "on-going program" would mean significant investment of SRC resources for: an in-depth study of a problem and a publication; a monitoring project which could involve local citizens in a self-study of a problem or of the implementation in their communities of a key Federal program, the results of which would be released as an expose; extensive use of

mass media (television documentaries, feature stories, radio shorts); testimony before Congressional committees, strategies focused on state capitals, etc. ~~Within a 3-year period each Commission would be cycled in at least once for major focus although some projects would be more extensive than others.~~

4. From time to time SRC would convene a special task force on a public policy issue which has South-wide implications and which cuts across the above program units. These task forces would get the facts, develop a position and then educate and mobilize citizens for action on a South-wide basis. For example, in the winter and spring of 1971 two task forces could play an important role in raising the level of public discussion: a task force on revenue sharing which would produce an analysis for public debate by concerned Southerners and a task force which would conduct its own investigation on the Appalachian Regional Commission, hold hearings and then make recommendations about its future. In recent years task forces on hunger and on income maintenance could have contributed a Southern perspective to a national debate. The work of a task force would have an action goal: to develop or change public policy, in re a particular issue or institution. In contrast to a Commission, a task force would have a limited life which would be determined by its purpose to educate and mobilize public opinion about an issue of concern to Southerners. Some

task forces would deal with issues under state or local control and might develop model state statutes or municipal ordinances.

5. SRC's research function would be a back-up for community action. Research and information staff would do the in-depth studies needed for community action projects, service the task forces, prepare community action kits for field work, get the stories out.

Omit

Omit Clarify

6. The annual meeting would be more like a convention; i.e., working sessions for the Commissions and a business meeting for the Council. Commissions would have the right to propose (or elect) members to the Council. Perhaps 1/3-1/2 of the Council could be directly nominated or elected by the Commissions.

Staff

Omit

1. Each Commission would have a staff person who would have the responsibility to implement the action programs. In addition, it would be highly advisable to have a few community organizers who are generalists and skilled in community development in the broad sense. Their job would be to help communities establish their own priorities - perhaps developing programs which overlap the specialities of the Commissions - pulling in the SRC specialists at the points where they can be more relevant with their technical assistance.

2. Research, information and publications would be one unit with staff chosen for their skills in action-oriented research and information.

3. SRC should build into its operation a first-rate internship program which would provide opportunities for young Southerners to develop skills in effecting change.

PLAN "C" -- Recommendations for Structure and Participation of Southern Regional Council Membership

Advantages:

This paper is not so much a plan for a new structure but suggestions for meeting the obvious problem of broader participation in the Council's program by all Council members. The advisory committees suggested are not too far removed from the task force and commission concepts of the other papers.

Disadvantages:

Much of the structural proposals, as indicated in the paper, involve such detail that they could best be handled through the Executive Committee.

PLAN "C"

Recommendations for Structure and Participation Of

Southern Regional Council Membership

I. Introduction - Present Structure

A new structure for SRC can only be dealt with in detail after deciding what kind of organization or agency SRC will be. However, there are some basics which would be beneficial to any new concept.

I think it is important to clarify the initial and present role of Council members. As I understand it, the Southern Regional Council evolved when black and white Southern leaders came together to sponsor information and action projects, to be carried out by a professional staff. This occurred at a time when the mere existence of an interracial group which sought to educate the South on justice, civil rights and equal opportunity constituted a courageous act. The role of Council members has been similar to that of a prestigious honorary committee which endorses a worthy cause, with no real policy-making power and no participation as board members usually have. The Executive Committee, elected by the Council, makes policy and functions as a board of directors ordinarily does in other organizations, in accordance with the present Constitution and By-laws.

Therefore, any criticism about the lack of participation by Council members should be based on dissatisfaction with the present

structure of SRC, not on the performance of the staff or executive committee.

It is clear that in this "age of action" there is a need for re-structuring the role of Council members in order to utilize the talents of the activists in the Southern Regional Council.

II. Proposal for New Structure

I suggest that Council members become involved by volunteering and/or being recruited by the executive committee to serve on advisory committees for all of the SRC programs and projects. Choosing their special interests, members should assist in program planning, budget development and project implementation. The committees would serve as liaison between staff and the Council. Their advocacy of certain programs would also be a tremendous boost to staff morale.

These committees should also encourage communication between the Atlanta office and Southern communities by holding sub-regional or state conferences, involving members of State Councils or other organizations.

The committees should receive detailed reports from staff before the annual meeting, meet with their program staff members near the opening of the annual meeting and give concise reports to the whole Council during the business session of the annual meeting.

This mode of operation will eliminate time-consuming reports and questions at the annual meeting, while giving assurance to the Council that each program is being closely monitored by interested people. In this proposal any lack of involvement on the part of Council members will be by individual choice.

P. Hs Plan A makes Bd more responsible

T.H. — We have new "actors" that can be stimulated

Mark

Could combine
Best rationale of Plan "B"
Which part of each do we want
recognize time lack for "Commission"
"A" needs parts of plan B
B — greater use of medicine —

Can do the same thing with Task Force & Commission

In addition all advisory committee chairmen should be ex-officio members of the executive committee and meet with them quarterly.

Other exploratory ideas expressed were:

1. Should we expand the Council membership, applying responsibilities for affiliation?
2. Should the Council require paid membership to encourage active participation?
3. Should the Constitution and By-Laws be revised, changing the Executive Committee to a Board of Directors?
4. Should there be more diversity in Council membership, involving low-income and more militant people?
5. Should we determine new criteria for the nominating committee?
6. Does the Council want a broader membership, a self-perpetuating board, contributing (non-active) members, solicitation of funds to supplement foundation grants?

III. Council Role in Relation to Staff

The Review Committee received written and oral reports from the Director and staff on the progress and problems of the SRC. It appears to me that the staff:

1. Expressed a need for solid, reliable contacts in each state, possibly with more field workers doing out-reach from the Atlanta office or more Council members acting as volunteer resources.

A. Williams
Plan A says "most of the same"

Cashin

Don't shift back to top heavy rec & info

Charity —
Basically plan A
Some ideas of B & C
see p 25 & 29
more communication
TV — 1/2 of audience

Cousins
Same old stew warmed over

Becker —
moved Plan A open to amend

Hallowell —
Said what "both plans say"
Difficulty of getting time from Bd. members — busy
most of work will come from Staff —

2. Indicated a need to tighten staff communication/co-ordination, selection of priorities and planning of yearly program goals, with focus on crises as they arise. This could be facilitated by Council members working on program or project advisory committees.

IV. Conclusion

Implementation of some of these ideas will certainly aid any new thrust for SRC. We should use all available human resources - SRC and CHR members, other activists and constituents - to support two major needs:

1. Co-operation - With SRC staff on research, projects, monitoring, whatever we decide to do.
2. Communication - Wider dissemination of information and research findings to community people; encouraging local follow-up of needed services and pilot projects conducted by SRC.

Scull — Something left out of general statement

better mobilizing (catalyzing) of institutions of the South —
academic — financial —

nature of bi-racial, integration

Cashin — not "mission oriented" but "action oriented"

Remove racism from U.S. & religion

Lloyd
Jurisdiction —

Col — action towards elimination of racism

Plan A
Hagge — Pub Int Law
Segur — keeps abreast grant
allows new efforts / N Chys

Illinois
F. Williams
Task force — flexibility

Mr. Howard — go where you can get help & are welcome

Dreyer — yes, task force, but SRC is urgent & big picture / don't lose it.

Lloyd —
Brooks

New File Commission on Human Rts — Newsletter

HUMAN RELATIONS IN BRIEF

A Monthly News Digest

FLORIDA COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS

VOLUME I, NO. 5
MARCH, 1973

p3,1

NIXON PROMISES HOUSING PROGRAM--Miami Herald, 3/9. "WASHINGTON--President Nixon Thursday promised to submit a new housing program to Congress within six months and declared, 'Americans today are better housed than ever before. . .' By committing the administration to the six-month deadline, Nixon apparently sought to reassure the nation's urban officials, who had feared he might wait a year or more to propose substitutes for the subsidized housing programs now frozen until July 1974. . ."

GROUP TO CONSIDER 'HUMAN RIGHTS' PLAN--Florida Times-Union, 3/26. "TALLAHASSEE (UPI)--A state commission is expected today to urge the legislature to enact a law that would allow the state to take back from the federal government the job of enforcing bans against discrimination based on sex, race or religion. . . . 'It's really a human rights bill and a state's rights matter,' said (Commission director Robert) Rackleff. 'It's really a very conservative bill. It fits in well with the new federalism.' Rackleff said federal laws prohibiting discrimination against women, racial minorities, Jews and other religious groups supersede state antidiscrimination laws--except in states having laws equal to or more strict than the federal measures. 'What we would be doing is taking back from the federal government the enforcement of all these rights,' Rackleff said. The state plan 'says what the constitution already enunciates --equal rights for all,' . . . "

Copy to SDP

STUDENTS TO PREPARE RIGHTS LIST--Palm Beach Post, 3/9. "BOCA RATON --Boca Raton High School's Human Relations Committee, a racially mixed student group, will prepare a student bill of rights for the troubled school. Principal Harry Benson. . . has been handed a list of grievances from another student group. . . . The grievance list was prepared by black students who have been boycotting classes this week. . . . They charged that students were suspended on the basis of hearsay evidence following last month's racial violence, a situation they said was created by 'day to day frustrations of the students.' Among other problems cited were a shortage of teachers who can relate to black students and a lack of information in the black community about school activities. . . . 'The music played by the school band is always white-oriented and no soul music is played by the band,' they added, in recommending the naming of a music committee to help solve the problem. . ."

This document was promulgated at an annual cost of $1,470, or 17.5 cents per copy to provide a monthly overview of human relations news.

FEDERAL WOMEN RIGHTS UNIT OPENS--Miami Herald, 3/29. "WASHINGTON, D.C.--Women have a new friend in the federal government--the women's rights program unit of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. It's getting under way with Carol Bonosaro Kummerfeld, a young career civil-service employee, as its first director. A major focus of the commission has been race discrimination, she pointed out in an interview here. The Commission has investigative but not enforcement powers. . . . Tops on the list is a federal women's rights enforcement-effort report, similar to the commission's federal civil-rights enforcement-effort reports. . . .Other program ideas include: A legal status-of-women study. It would be a compilation of all federal statutes discriminating on the basis of sex, with suggestions on how to conform these laws to nonsexist provisions. A series of regional conferences on women's rights, perhaps starting in the spring. A study on possible race and sex discrimination in both television--starting with cable television--and access to business credit and venture capital. . ."

ASKEW GIVES ADVICE ON EQUAL RIGHTS BILL--Pensacola Journal, 3/8. "TALLAHASSEE (AP)--Gov. Reubin Askew told the state Commission on the Status of Women Wednesday that it could help pass the Equal Rights Amendment by working behind the scenes to allay fears about the amendment's effect. 'This country has wasted a lot of talent, stifled many careers and perpetrated a lot of economic injustice because of discrimination against women'. Askew said at a commission conference. . . . 'It is difficult for me to understand why any woman would object to putting into the constitution that no one can be discriminated against on the basis of sex, race, creed or color,' he said. . . . 'This and its support by effective action are long overdue,' he said. . ."

ATTORNEY CLAIMS STATES CAN'T REVERSE ERA VOTE--Pensacola Journal, 3/18. "WASHINGTON (AP)--Once a state decides to ratify a constitutional amendment, it can't change its mind--Nebraska notwithstanding --a Common Cause attorney says. The Nebraska legislature, which had approved the proposed amendment. . ., voted last week to take back its ratification. And several other states are reported willing to follow suit. . . . But David Kendall, an attorney for the citizens' lobby, said . . . states may first reject and later approve a proposed amendment, but they can't reverse the process. . . . Kendall said, 'the Constitution only gives the states the power to ratify a constitutional amendment; they have no corollary power to reject their ratification once it has been given . . .'"

U.S. ORDERS NEW INTEGRATION PLANS--St. Petersburg Times, 3/30. "WASHINGTON (AP)--Prodded by a federal court order, the Nixon Administration is ordering 25 school districts in a dozen Southern and border states to draft new desegregation plans immediately or lose federal funds. They are among more than 200 districts that a federal judge ruled last month have one or more racially segregated schools. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) . . . has sent letters to 25 districts requesting new plans by April 10 'to eliminate vestiges of your former dual school system,' to 17 other districts informing them that they are not affected by the court order, and to 10 states asking status reports on their desegregation progress in higher education systems. . . . Among the counties ordered to take further integration steps was the Marion County School District in Florida. . ."

WOMEN FIGHTING CREDIT BIAS--Daytona Beach News Journal, 3/25. "NEW YORK--A revolt against what many women and civil rights lawyers perceive to be sex discrimination in the extension of credit is gathering momentum. Under the slogan 'give credit to a woman where credit is due,' the assault takes two forms: a search for legal redress and well publicized pressure tactics against the business community. . . . There have been these developments: Sex discrimination in the granting of credit is under attack pending in both houses of Congress and at least half a dozen state legislatures including New York. . . . The National Commission on Consumer Finance, which held hearings on the subject last May in Washington, D.C., recommends a recently released report that states review and amend laws that inhibit the granting of credit to women. . ."

BLACK OFFICIALS FORM FLORIDA ORGANIZATION--Florida Times-Union, 3/13. "TALLAHASSEE (AP)--The organization of Black Elected Officials was formed Saturday to encourage more blacks to seek public office and to oppose discrimination in state government employment. A white newsman from the Associated Press was asked to leave the meeting after welcoming speeches and was told information would be released later on decisions made. . . . A source in the meeting said the members voiced strong backing for Gov. Reubin Askew's order to department heads to end discrimination against blacks and women in hiring. . . . He said the organization . . .'do not want to insulate themselves but are only seeking an exchange of ideas. . ."

PANEL SUGGESTS PROGRAM SAVER--St. Petersburg Times, 3/27. "TALLAHASSEE (AP)--The Florida Human Relations Commission Monday urged city and county governments to use federal revenue-sharing funds to save programs being cut back by the Nixon Administration. Commission members expressed concern about the future of employees in the federal programs as well as of the 'human services' of such programs as Head Start and Day-Care centers. The Commission also voted 10-1 to urge passage by the Legislature of the Equal Rights Amendment. . . . The commission also discussed a proposed bill for the state to assume antidiscrimination enforcement from the federal government with the Human Relations Commission as the enforcing agency. Actions on recommending the bill were delayed until a commission meeting April 26. In order to make more detailed requests to local governments, the commission ordered staff members to gather data on revenue-sharing in Dade County, Jacksonville, Pensacola, The Tampa Bay area, the Broward and Palm Beach County area and the East Central Florida area around Orlando. The staff was told to determine how much each area is receiving in federal revenue-sharing, what it is being spent for and other programs in the area needing funds. . ."

Copy to Consultation on Textbook

2'BIASED' TEXTS TO BE SCRATCHED FROM STATE LIST--St. Petersburg Times, 3/3. TALLAHASSEE--"Two textbooks of Florida history that the State Human Relations Commission says are biased apparently will be scratched off the State Department of Education's list of approved texts. Both books--'The Story of Florida' and 'La Florida: Its Land and People'-- are used in . . . virtually every county in the state. The State Courses of Study Council already has decided to recommend to the State Board of Education (the Cabinet) that contracts with both publishers be allowed to expire June 30. . . . They predicted that both books will be dropped. . . . In both books, there is scant mention of either the accomplishments of blacks or how the events of history affected blacks' lives. . ."

UNIT TO DEAL WITH RACIAL STRIFE URGED--Sarasota Herald-Tribune, 3/7. SARASOTA--"A field representative for the State Commission on Human Relations urged Sarasota Mayor Fred Soto Tuesday to create a local community relations commission to mediate racial problems. James E. Noble of Tallahassee, who together with John Rivers, executive director of Sarasota United Need (SUN), met with the mayor for 45 minutes to discuss creation of the new commission. Noble told the mayor that an 11-man commission operating with two staff workers could operate on a budget of less than $12,000 a year. . . . Noble presented the mayor with a proposed budget for operation of such a commission together with a sample ordinance which would create the agency under city law. Mayor Soto assured Noble that the topic will be placed on the city commission agenda within the next few weeks, and that City Manager Kenneth Thompson will study the proposal and will make recommendations on it. . ."

RIGHT-TO-WORK BILL IS REJECTED--St. Petersburg Times, 3/21. "TALLAHASSEE (AP)--A House Committee Tuesday rejected a right-to-work bill that attracted massive opposition from the United Farmworkers Union. Commerce Committee members voted 10-5 to kill the measure by Rep. Lewis Earle, R-Maitland. Earle immediately declared, 'the bill may be dead, but the issue is not'. . . . The measure called for $1,000-a-day fines against labor leaders or employes who forced employes to join unions. The thrust of the measure was to prevent making union membership a condition for employment. Rep. Frank Carlucci, D-Jacksonville, accused the bill's authors of trying to discriminate against farmworkers--a charge that was leveled in thousands of letters from UFW members. 'This bill is not a right-to-work bill,' said Carlucci. 'It was designed to perpetuate something that has been in existence for hundreds of years. . . it was sponsored by the silk-stocking interests in our state--by people trying to help themselves, not the workers.' . . ."

ERA SUPPORTERS BLAST 'FLIP-FLOP'--Tallahassee Democrat, 3/28. TALLAHASSEE (UPI)--"A woman's group supporting the Equal Rights Amendment accused two senators today of 'flip-flopping' on the measure and indicated they will campaign against them next time they run. Spokesmen for 'Citizens and Organizations for ERA' singled out Sens. David McClain, R-Tampa, and Don Gruber, R-Miami, who joined with GOP Sen. Charles Weber, Fort Lauderdale, to reject the measure on a 3-3 tie in the Senate Judiciary Committee. Gruber campaigned on a platform of support for the amendment banning sex discrimination, the women said, and McClain was a co-introducer of the bill that he ultimately voted against. . . . Said Jo Ann Lordahl of Tallahassee, state coordinator for Citizens and Organizations for ERA, 'we were badly disappointed at the flip-flopping of Senators Gruber and McClain. . ."

ERA HITS SNAG--IS BEATEN TWICE--Tallahassee Democrat, 3/4. "The Equal Rights Amendment to the U. S. Constitution, approved by four more states in February, hit a snag last week when two other states rejected it. Actions by the Nevada and North Carolina legislatures pushed to eight the number of states to say no so far to the amendment that President Nixon has called essential 'so that no American woman need ever again be denied an equal opportunity.' . . . Reasons for rejecting the amendment have varied. Opponents most often claim the result would be 'chaos' in the nation's legal system, including the necessity of drafting women alongside men in time of national emergency. . . . The amendment--which took Congress 49 years to approve--still has six years to win ratification. . ."

RYAN ON RACIAL INCIDENT: 'A CLASSIC CASE . . . , NOT TO BE REPEATED' --Air Force Times, 3/7. "WASHINGTON--'A Classic Case, Not to be Repeated' is the head on a recent article in the (U.S. Air Force) Policy Letter for Commanders. It contains a commentary by AF Chief of Staff Gen. John D. Ryan. . . .'On 19 September, 40 minority USAF airmen locked themselves in an Airman's dining hall. . . They sought to publicize their grievences to news media and to Congress. . . .The grievances . . . included: (1) bad community relations between Mexican-Americans and Blacks. (2) Undue harassment on and off base. (3) Lack of minority music, food and supplies in the BX and on base. (4) Higher and unreasonable minortiy haircut prices. (5) Unfair minority disciplinary practices. . . . Investigation by the . . . commander revealed that: (1) The demonstration was spontaneous. . . . (2) Virtually all grievances were warranted in some significant degree. (3) There was an obvious lack of communication and evident management apathy. (4) Irritants were not of recent origin. . . . 'Our people should not--and will not--have to put up with inequalities like these in order to serve their country by working with us in the U.S. Air Force. . ."

EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT GETS HORNE SUPPORT VOW--Orlando Sentinel Star, 3/24. "TALLAHASSEE--Senate President Mallory Horne pledged all-out support Friday for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment ratification bill in the opening week of the April session. He said he hoped the persuade members of the senate commerce committee which killed the bill earlier this week to change their votes. 'But if they don't, I'm prepared to do something that I prefer not to do--use my presidential powers to ramrod the thing through the floor,' he declared. He would do this by appointing Sen. Lori Wilson, I-Merritt Island, to the commerce committee to break the apparent tie vote. 'And everyone knows how she feels on this issue,' he said, The committee voted 4-2 against the bill earlier this week. But its chairman, Sen. Dan Scarborough, explained he had himself recorded in the negative only to be on the prevailing side so he can call for reconsideration when the committee meets again April 4. A tie vote would have killed the bill. . ."

SCHOOLS' RACIAL TENSIONS EASING--Miami Herald, 3/5. "TALLAHASSEE (AP) --Racial tensions in Florida schools have eased during the past two weeks because 'people have been sitting down and talking to reach reasonable compromises,' says Woodrow J. Darden, state elementary and secondary education director. But Claud Anderson, Gov. Reubin Askew's education advisor, says the end of Black History Week 15 days ago also played a large part (in) calming racial strife. 'As soon as they take black history out of the special category and make it an integral part of the curriculum, it will have the low profile that keeps down these kinds of confrontations,' Anderson says. . ."

SOME A & M GRADUATES FINDING JOB PLACEMENT EASY--Tallahassee Democrat, 3/29. "TALLAHASSEE--Opportunities for Florida A & M University graduates are on the upswing of the employment curve at the mid point of the college recruiting season, according to Clinton C. Cunningham, FAMU director of placement. 'Students in certain areas can just about write their own ticket,' said Cunningham. 'For example, we can place just about all of our students in the technical, accounting, agricultural, home economics and nursing areas.' Cunningham said there is a lesser demand for students in the liberal arts. . ., but that on an overall basis FAMU graduates can afford to be optimistic about their employment future regardless of their major discipline. . ."

HIGH-WAGE BIAS MUST END: ASKEW--St. Petersburg Times, 3/2.

"TALLAHASSEE (AP)--Saying employment discrimination is widespread in state government., Gov. Reubin Askew Thursday ordered all state agencies to start actively recruiting blacks and women for top-paying jobs. Askew also told all department heads to submit plans for ending inequalities based on sex and race in their agencies. He said his action was aimed at establishing 'goals, not quotas' and that they should be met within four years. A recent survey by the Florida Human Relations Commission and the Department of Administration showed few non-whites and women held high-paying white-collar jobs in state government. . . . The plan requires the following actions: Each department must 'actively recruit minority group members and women,' especially for higher-paying job categories. Education and skill requirements that tend to 'perpetuate discriminatory practices' must be abolished. Each department must compute the percentage of minority group and women employees on a yearly basis and work toward correcting any inequalities. Each department must appoint an equal employment opportunity officer to make sure that discrimination is not being practiced. Progress of each agency in ending discrimination will be reviewed every year by the . . . Division of Personnel and the Human Relations Commission. . . . He said the new employment practices will not alter the rights of any current state employee. . ."

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HUMAN RELATIONS IN BRIEF

A Monthly News Digest

FLORIDA COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS

VOLUME I, NO. 7
MAY, 1973

NOW IN ALL-OUT DRIVE FOR ERA RATIFICATION--Tampa Tribune, 5/22.
"CHICAGO (UPI)--The National Organization for Women yesterday announced a two-year national plan to obtain ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. . . . Ann Scott, NOW vice president for legislation, said that by law the ERA has 6 more years to gain ratification from the eight more states needed to enact the amendment. But, she added, 'we're not going to need them.' Ms. Scott said that the two-year campaign calls for a policy of pressure politics rather than electoral politics, and would be aimed at the 1974 elections. She said NOW would start an intensive grass-roots campaign to learn everything possible about every state legislator in the nation. 'We're going to make the Equal Rights Amendment the key issue in 1974,' Ms. Scott said."

ANTI-BUSING MEASURE FAILS TEST IN HOUSE--Tampa Tribune, 5/17.
"TALLAHASSEE (AP)--The House Education Committee yesterday defeated a senate-passed measure urging Congress to convene a constitutional convention on school busing. The committee voted 12-11 to reject the bill, which proposes a convention to draft an amendment to the U.S. Constitution 'to prevent the assignment of students based on race, religion, color or national origin.' Rep. Murray Dubbin, D-Miami, charged that the proposal by Rep. Lewis Earle, R-Maitland, showed 'a lack of confidence in the way Florida is handling the reform of its education system.' . . . Arnetta M. Brown of St. Petersburg, representing the League of Women Voters of Florida, said her organization opposed any legislation which would prevent desegregation of Florida schools . . ."

BLACK MAN TO HEAD CITY'S RACE GROUP--Fort Myers News-Press, 5/9.
FORT MYERS--"Percy Jones, a black former Lee County juvenile counselor, was named director of the Fort Myers Community Relations Commission Monday. Jones, most recently a member of the Community Action Migrant Program at Immokalee, will assume his new duties today, Mayor Oscar Corbin said. . . . Jones said his job will be to direct activities of the commission members and 'work toward better race relations in Fort Myers.' . . . Jones, 39, is a Fort Myers native and a graduate of the Old Dunbar High School. He holds a degree in sociology from Wiley College at Marshall, Texas and was a juvenile counselor for nine years. . ." EDITOR'S NOTE: Mayor Corbin is a member of the Florida Commission on Human Relations.

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RADIO SYSTEM FOR BLACKS IS ANNOUNCED--St. Petersburg Times, 5/15. "NEW YORK (AP)--The National Black Network (NBN), which describes itself as the first black owned and operated radio news network, announced Monday that it will go on the air by July 1. Eugene D. Jackson, President of Unity Broadcasting Network, Inc., which will operate NBN, said at a news conference that 38 stations have already signed contracts to affiliate with the network. He said the total is expected to be 50 or 60 by July 1. . . . Bank loans and private and venture capital investors have provided more than the $1-million to underwrite the network, which expects to make a profit in its first year of operation, Jackson said. . . . Although news broadcasts will be the staple of the network's programming, public affairs shows, sportcasts and live coverage of events of special interest to blacks, such as the Urban League national convention in Washington later this year, are also scheduled. . ."

CIVIL RIGHTS EDICT: BRING MORE WHITES INTO FAMU--St. Petersburg Times, 5/25. "TALLAHASSEE (UPI)--Florida has been told that it must make the curriculum at predominantly black Florida A & M University more attractive to white students or face the possible loss of millions of dollars in federal funds to higher education. The eight predominantly white universities in the state system also must be made more attractive to students of a disadvantaged background. . . . The orders came from Civil Rights Director Peter E. Holmes. . . . 'We will give serious attention to the statement by (Holmes) that in order for A & M to attract students and faculty of both races on a racially non-discriminatory basis its programs should be broadened, enhanced in quality and differentiated from that of the other institutions,' (Chancellor Robert Mautz) said. . . . The state's long-range plan for FAMU is to train students to achieve leadership in minority communities. But it has not allocated resources to the university for this purpose, Holmes said. . . "

PRESBYTERIANS TAP BLACK MAN--St. Petersburg Times, 5/11. ST. PETERSBURG --"For the first time in the 82-year history of the Presbytery of the Florida Synod a black man has been chosen moderator-in-nomination. Rev. Irvin Elligan, pastor of New Covenant Presbyterian Church in Miami and a former associate pastor in St. Petersburg, was elected Tuesday at the synod's annual session. If tradition holds, he will become the synod's presiding officer for 1974. . . . 'I am highly honored by my new position,' Elligan said, 'but also a bit frightened by the awesome responsibility and the fact that I am the first black man to become moderator-in-nomination. The church today must continue to act in social areas, basing their moves on religious conviction.' . . . He has tried to bring together blacks, whites and Cubans through programs of social action. Among them are a Village Youth Club program aimed at ghetto youth, a day-care program and a music-enrichment rpogram for gifted but poor children. . . "

BLUE KEY TO KEEP MALE MEMBER RULE--Florida Times-Union, 5/9. "GAINESVILLE--While a small band of women marched to the tune of 'I Am Woman' outside their meeting place, active members of the University of Florida Blue Key Chapter voted against allowing women to join that group. The vote was 29 in favor and 32 against a constitutional revision of the club's constitution that would allow women to become members. A vote held not more than two weeks ago by the group was closer, but negative also . . . ."

PANELS TO REVIEW DISCRIMINATION AT FSU "SLOWLY" BEING IMPLEMENTED--Tallahassee Democrat, 5/9. TALLAHASSEE--"Two separate review panels to investigate discrimination against minorities and women are in the works at Florida State University but their implementation has been slow in coming. The two panels--one of which would review departmental policies and procedures and another which would investigate individual complaints of discrimination were first recommended by FSU's special assistant on Minority Affairs (Dr. Freddie Groomes). The antidiscrimination review panels are part of an affirmative action plan to insure equal employment opportunities for university personnel. . . . Both panels would have nine members and include a cross-section of faculty, staff, administrative and student personnel. . . . 'Once we have activated the overall plan, I'm certain we will satisfy many of the concerns which have been voiced,' she said. And, once activated, FSU's affirmative action plan will be on trial for possible use on a systemwide basis."

DIXIE BLACKS EXCEL AFTER GOING NORTH--Florida Times-Union, 5/4. "WASHINGTON (AP)--A new Census Bureau study shows that black migrants from the South are more likely to be economically successful in the North than blacks born in the North. A survey of six Northern cities showed that blacks 'who are most likely to be poor and on welfare are those born and raised in the city and living there at the time of the 1970 census,' the report said. . . . The study was prepared by Larry H. Long of the population division of the Bureau of Census. It was based on 1970 census information from six cities with at least 500,000 black population--New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles and Washington, D.C. . . . 'The important consideration of this study is that black migrants have accounted for a less than proportionate increase in the welfare rolls, for the migrants are less likely to be on welfare than the urban natives.'"

WHEELCHAIR USERS ASK ACCESSIBLE COMMUNITY--Tampa Tribune, 5/16. "OTTAWA (AP)--If architects, city planners and politicians had to spend a little time in wheelchairs, they would build buildings and plan cities that would be easier for everyone, says Tony Mann of Winnipeg, executive director of the Canadian Paraplegic Association. A 'totally accessible community' need not cost more if the planning for wheelchairs is considered from the first stages of any new development, he said. . . . Advances in medicine mean that more and more handicapped individuals will be around, he said. . . . If cities were better planned, wheelchair people could hold jobs instead of being unemployed. If there were subsidies available, such as tax exemptions on cars with hand controls or on hearing aids, handicapped persons might be more independent. Some progress is being made, he said. At least one school for architects now requires its students to spend a day or two confined to a wheelchair just to see how difficult most buildings are for the handicapped."

HUMAN RELATIONS GROUP ELECTS COOK--Fort Pierce News-Tribune, 5/24. "FORT PIERCE--The Human Relations Commission has elected Peter Cook chairman. The HRC also chose Bob Bennett, another new member, as treasurer. The reorganization of the group with more new members also led to a few new methods. The members decided to conduct interviews with city employes to learn their complaints and their working conditions. The members will compile a list of questions to ask the employees. Cook was designated to hear the city administration's views on personnel practices. The group was formed to investigate charges of discrimination made by the State Human Relations Commission staff. . . "

DADE'S BILINGUAL CODE ELATES LATIN COLONY--Florida Times-Union, 5/7. "MIAMI (AP)--Dade County has been officially declared bilingual and bicultural, but no one is really quite sure what it means. 'But we'll almost certainly have all street and office signs printed in both English and Spanish and have bilingual people in all the government offices,' (Mayor Jack) Orr said. . . . Despite the uncertainty, the Miami area's huge Latin colony of 300,000 was delighted by the decision. . . . The prime mover behind the resolution, Cuban-born banker Bernardo Benes, told the Commission, 'Today is a beautiful day for Dade County and its Spanish-speaking people. You are making official what is already a fact of life, that Dade County is already a bicultural county.' . . . Dade County is home for almost half of those who fled Cuba following the Fidel Castro takeover in January, 1959. The . . . exiles constitute about one-fourth of the county's population. . . . Latin leaders feel the Dade County resolution is a big step forward in community involvement--if only a symbolic one at present." EDITOR'S NOTE: Dr. Benes is a former member of the Florida Commission on Human Relations.

REVENUE SHARING BILL CLEARS FLORIDA HOUSE--Tampa Tribune, 5/29. "TALLAHASSEE (UPI)--Getting up a head of steam as it began the final week of the legislature, the House passed a revenue-sharing bill yesterday giving cities and counties $225 million in state funds. Sponsors called it 'tax relief' for property taxpayers. . . . The bill provides $155 million for cities--an increase of $23 million over the current year's $132 million. Counties would get $70 million, a $31 million hike over the current $39 million. . . . The city increase comes from larger allocations of cigarette tax receipts and $8 million left in the current revenue sharing fund for cities." EDITOR'S NOTE: This bill was subsequently passed by the Senate and becomes law effective July 1, 1973.

WOMEN'S GROUP PLANS TO ORGANIZE BANK--Tampa Tribune, 5/18. "NEW YORK (AP)--A group of women, some 'liberated' and some not, said yesterday they plan to form the First Women's Bank and Trust Company. It would be run mainly by women and cater to their financial needs. . . . Eileen Preiss, coordinator of the bank group and vice chairwoman of the state Democratic Committee, said the fledgling bank hopes to open its door as a full-service bank in mid-Manhattan early next year. The group plans to apply soon for a charter from the state. . . . Banks frequently discriminate against women seeking credit, loans and mortgages, (Betty) Friedan said, adding that the proposed bank 'will take women seriously and force other banks to do the same.' The bank will actively recruit women for officers and top management and provide a consultant for women who start businesses. . . "

MOTHER IS WORTH $8,320 A YEAR?--Florida Times-Union, 5/14. "STORRS, Conn. (AP)--Mothers are worth more than the $8,320 they could get if they were paid minimum wage, according to a family relations expert. . . . The Hartford Insurance Group estimates that the average American mother with two children devotes a minimum of 100 hours weekly to her family, or 5,200 hours a year. No overtime. No pay. If she were paid the $1.60 minimum wage her salary would be $8,320. If Congress approves a $2 minimum wage, the mother would be worth $10,400. The insurance company said that if the mother dies the family has to finance the jobs of housekeeper, cook, laundress, governess, practical nurse, social secretary, confidant, seamstress, teacher, protector and chauffeur. It's very difficult to find a housekeeper, especially one who is willing to rear children too. . . "

RELATIONS PROPOSAL SCHEDULED--Sarasota Herald-Tribune, 5/13. SARASOTA --"A request for both the City of Sarasota and the county to fund a local community relations commission to mediate racial problems will be presented to both commissions later this month. James E. Noble of Tallahassee, field representative for the State Department of Community Affairs, said . . . that he will appear before the Sarasota City Commission on May 21, and before the county commission the next day. . . . In outlining plans for such a proposed local commission, . . . Noble presented a proposed annual budget of $18,413 to staff such a commission with a director and a secretary. 'It will take a lot of pressure off city officials,' said Noble, who added 'I don't think it will do the city any harm--it may help it.' . . . Noble stated that the average white person does not realize the desperation and poor living conditions which many blacks face, and stated 'there are too many restrictions.'" EDITOR'S NOTE: The Sarasota Community Relations Commission was formed at a meeting of the City Commission on June 4.

FIRED BLACK CHARGES RACIAL BIAS--Tallahassee Democrat, 5/18. TALLAHASSEE --"The 22-year-old son of the president of the Key West NAACP today charged the Division of Driving License Examination with discrimination against blacks. Emory S. Major said he was being fired today in Tallahassee because of a sparse line of hair on his upper lip 'but the real reason is because my father is president of the Key West NAACP.' Major began his job March 12 and he said he had a moustache then. It was only after he came to Tallahassee for a seminar that he was told that it was against division policy. . . . (Division director C. W.) Keith said Major was asked on three occasions . . . to shave. 'He asked for a copy of the policy, written out, and when we gave it to him he refused to accept it, so we had no other choice but to terminate him,' Keith said. Major, however, said he refused the policy because he wasn't told what it was. 'They just handed me an envelope without telling me what was in it. I wouldn't accept it and then they handed me the letter telling me I was fired,' Major said. . . "

FLEEING FELON LAW CHANGE PROPOSED--Tampa Tribune, 5/6. TAMPA--"A proposal to change Florida's fleeing felon law to allow policemen to shoot to capture only persons suspected of committing a crime involving physical threats will be submitted to a legislative committee this week. (Ms.) Janet Reno, a senate judiciary-criminal committee staff attorney, said last week the proposed law parallels an Illinois statute which provides that an officer is justified in shooting a fleeing suspect only when the officer believes such force is necessary to prevent death to himself or others. . . . Current Florida law allows the killing of a suspect fleeing the scene of any suspected felony. . . . The governing section of the proposal is lifted exactly from the Illinois law. EDITOR'S NOTE: The change, which was proposed by the Florida Commission on Human Relations and which was part of an overall criminal code revision, was defeated by the House of Representatives and will not reappear until the Legislature reconvenes.

UF PLANS TO END SEX DISCRIMINATION--St. Petersburg Times, 5/20. "GAINESVILLE-- . . . The University of Florida (UF) turned in its three-month-old revised equal opportunities plan to the regional civil rights office last week hoping for an 'A.' The plan . . . outlines UF's plans to end discrimination on campus. The non-discrimination goals cover students and employes of the university

in the areas of race, color, religion, sex and national origin. The report also sets a blueprint for actively seeking qualified women and blacks as students and employes--whom HEW had found the university discriminated against. The plan is the university's second try. . . . HEW (had) found '. . . women and minorities still are either under-represented or not represented at all in the majority of the key administrative and professional positions throughout the university structure.'"

BLACK CAUCUS REVIEWS STANCE--St. Petersburg Times, 5/4. "WASHINGTON --After setting itself up as national spokesman for blacks, an investigative body and a clearinghouse for black concerns, the Congressional Black Caucus has decided to do that which its members were elected to do--legislate. . . . Rep. Louis Stokes, chairman of the caucus, said in a recent interview, 'we now feel we can best serve black America through our legislative efforts. . . most controversial legislation is passed or defeated by a margin of 10 votes or less, . . . so a bloc like ours (14 members) can provide the pivotal vote on an issue.' . . . Perhaps the foremost task facing the caucus as it shifts its emphasis from the convener of meetings to that of lawmaker is organizing a good supportive staff."

TWO COUNTIES SUED FOR BIAS IN JAILS--St. Petersburg Times, 5/25. "JACKSONVILLE--The U.S. Department of Justice has filed suit to force Polk and Sumter Counties to halt allegedly discriminatory practices in their county jails. The suit filed in U.S. District Court in Jacksonville alleged that the two counties have assigned inmates to jail cells by race and thus discriminate against black inmates. The suit was filed under the U.S. Civil Rights Act and named the counties, county commissioners, and county sheriffs as defendants. The Polk County case was assigned to U.S. District Judge Ben Krentzman in Tampa and the Sumter County case to the federal court in Ocala. . ."

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HUMAN RELATIONS IN BRIEF

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A Monthly News Digest

FLORIDA COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS

VOLUME I, NO. 8
JUNE, 1973

JOB DISCRIMINATION 'BAD FOR BUSINESS'--St. Petersburg Times, 6/29. "FORT MYERS (UPI)--The director of the state Human Relations Commission said Thursday discrimination in employment is not only unfair to women and blacks, but is bad for business. 'To me, equal job opportunities mean good business,' said Robert B. Rackleff. 'Any time an employer discriminates against a person because of irrational attitudes about the person's skin color, sex, or background, he is mis-allocating his human resources. Often, white men are given jobs which could be done better by someone who's been discriminated against.' Speaking at an equal employment workshop for Southwest Florida businessmen, Rackleff said white men are a minority in American society, but hold a vastly disproportionate number of well-paying jobs. He said black men with four years of college earn about as much as white men with high school diplomas in Florida. He said women who finish college earn about the same as a man who drops out in the eighth grade. . . . Rackleff said the Human Relations Commission is emphasizing job discrimination because 'once you give a person a decent job other discrimination problems such as housing . . . tend to work themselves out.'"

JUDGES RULE OUT REVERSE JOB BIAS--St. Petersburg Times, 6/29. "WASHINGTON--A three-judge federal panel has ruled that the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 bars 'discrimination in reverse' in federal promotions, training and other personnel actions just as strongly as it does other types of discrimination. In the first federal court ruling on the application of the 1972 law, the U.S. District Court for New Mexico referred to the 'broad sweep' of the act and said it was 'a clear, emphatic directive by Congress that all positions in the competitive service of the federal government should be filled without regard to race, religion, sex, color or national origin.' . . . The court's decision has great application regarding charges by white employes that agencies are engaging in 'discrimination in reverse' when they deny them promotions and training opportunities in favor of less qualified blacks and other minority group members."

HYPERTENSION CALLED MAIN KILLER OF BLACKS--St. Petersburg Times, 6/25. "LOS ANGELES--Hypertension is the No. 1 killer in the black community and not sickle-cell anemia, which is a 'political football,' a black doctor said Saturday. A large number of young blacks suffer from the disease but are not treated until they are much older, said Dr. Richard O. Butcher, vice president of the Golden State Medical Association, a California organization of black doctors. Black physicians have been working on the problem, Butcher said, but their efforts have been overshadowed by sickle-cell anemia research."

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HE'S GOT POVERTY AID IN HIS HANDS--Fort Lauderdale News, 5/27. "TALLAHASSEE--One hundred days into his new job as secretary of the Department of Community Affairs, Ed Trombetta feels only the frustrations of trying to sell new state programs to a tradition-bound Florida Legislature. 'The most frustrating thing you have is trying to pass a bill you feel is the most important thing in the world, . . .' Trombetta said, 'and learning it is not.' . . . Still alive in the two houses . . . are half a dozen major bills in the Askew program which directly affect Trombetta's department, including one which would create a state division of housing. . . . Trombetta has also been lobbying for a 'human rights' bill in the Senate. . . . Whatever bills in his package do not become law this year won't just fade away. 'We'll just come back next year and correct whatever needs to be corrected,' Trombetta said. . . . As secretary of the department, one of Trombetta's functions is to sit as chairman of the Human Relations Commission, a 19-member body responsible for promoting equal opportunity and eliminating discrimination. . ."

STATE AGENCY REPORT ON TAMPA CHARGES JOB BIAS ON RACE, SEX--St. Petersburg Times, 6/21. "TALLAHASSEE--A preliminary report to the State Human Relations Commission said Wednesday the city of Tampa is guilty of 'widespread race and sex discrimination' in hiring and promoting city employes. . . . 'Excluding the MDA (Metropolitan Development Agency), city agencies employ blacks in greater proportion to their numbers in the Tampa labor force; 23 percent of the employees are black, while 15 percent of the labor force is black,' (Commission director Robert) Rackleff's report said. 'However, they are concentrated in the lower-level positions.' Rackleff said 57 percent of the city employes in the lowest pay grades are black and there are no blacks in the city's top 10 pay grades. Rackleff said the city agencies, not counting MDA, show a similarly discriminatory pattern against women--who make up 40 percent of the available labor force, but hold only 15 percent of the city jobs. . . . Tampa Mayor Dick Greco, Jr., attacked the report as 'just a bunch of statistics. . .'"

INTEGRATION SAID HARDER BECAUSE OF SCHOOL FRATS--Tampa Tribune, 6/11. "TALLAHASSEE (AP)--School integration is being hampered by high school fraternities and sororities that practice racial prejudice, says state Education Commissioner Floyd Christian. Christian said these organizations, formally banned in Florida's high schools in the mid-1950's because they glorified social snobbishness, are reappearing and either directly or indirectly fostering teenage racism. . . . 'At least part of the problem at Boca Ciega High School and other high schools may have stemmed from the organized resistance of such socially oriented groups to integration of our high schools,' Christian said. . . . Racial violence has also torn high schools in Pensacola, Boca Raton and other Florida cities in recent months. . . . He said parents who join antibusing groups and politicians who take various sides during school disruptions are making matters worse. . . . Senate Education Committee chairman Robert Graham, D-Miami, said he was not convinced that social fraternities and sororities were a direct cause of racial disruption. . . . He said racial prejudice in schools probably couldn't be entirely eliminated while the same prejudice existed among adults. . ."

CROSS BURNED AT FLORIDA GUARD CAMP--Tallahassee Democrat, 6/6. TALLAHASSEE (AP)--"Gov. Reubin Askew has asked the Florida National Guard to investigate a cross-burning incident that four black Guardsmen say was part of harassment by white soldiers during training exercises last week at Camp Blanding. . . . The four black guardsmen, the only blacks in the 149-man company, told authorities some white soldiers said they were members of the Ku Klux Klan. Spec. 4 Sherman Weaver of Lake Wales, a white soldier, said the cross was burned after a 'drunken party' in the company area. . . . Weaver said none of the black soldiers were present when several whites 'made a cross out of an oak branch, put pillow cases over their heads and lit the cross with lighter fluid. Then they danced around with it, all of them drunk, and planted it next to the blacks' tent. . .'"

CROSS-BURNING IS MILITARY BUST FOR GUARDSMAN--St. Petersburg Times, 6/27. "ST. AUGUSTINE (AP)--The Florida National Guard reported Tuesday that it took away the stripes of a Polk County sheriff's deputy who reportedly burned a cross at Camp Blanding May 28. His company commander, 1st Lt. Donald W. Gay of Cocoa, was admonished for failing to provide proper control and supervision of his unit, the Florida Department of Military Affairs reported. The report said an investigation determined that 'Spec. 4 Kenneth A. Davis, after duty hours and in the company area, burned a unit sign and displayed a burning, small crude cross while wearing a hood.' He was reduced to the rank of private first class. . . . The state military department said it has submitted a report of its investigation to State Atty. Don Nichols and U.S. Atty. John Briggs, both at Jacksonville . . ."

BIAS CUTS FUNDS AT BOYS RANCH--St. Petersburg Times, 6/16. "Although there still are no blacks at the Boys Ranch and Girls Villa, the decision of Florida sheriffs to integrate their children's homes continues to hurt the ranch and villa financially. Executive Director Harry Weaver said the number of people who donate money, clothing, food, plants and animals to the two homes has declined at least 25 percent since the sheriffs' vote in February. . . . Until February an unofficial policy kept black youngsters out of the Boys Ranch, which opened in 1959 near Live Oak, and the Girls Villa, which opened last fall near Bartow. There still are no black residents or applicants, Weaver said. . . . 'We knew it (the sheriffs' decision) would have an impact,' he said. 'When people support the ranch or the villa, it's sort of like a vote--private and personal. They're basically conservative people. . .' . . . The ranch and the villa take children between 8 and 18 who have been orphaned or pushed out of their homes and put them in cottages under the care of a husband-wife team. . ."

BIG COMPANIES DO BATTLE FOR WOMEN EXECUTIVES--Tallahassee Democrat, 6/17. "The president of a heavy equipment manufacturing firm in Cleveland summoned an aide to his office early in 1972 and instructed him to 'do whatever is necessary' to add three women executives to the company's marketing staff. Three month later, the crestfallen aide returned to report total failure. 'If you really want to hire women, we'll have to steal them,' he said. 'What's more, you'll have to pay them more than you're paying me.' The president's response: 'Do it.' A week later, a $22,000-a-year offer (amounting to a $3,500 raise) lured a 39-year-old woman marketing expert away from one of the company's largest competitors. The company expresses no particular pride in the coup, since such piracy of personnel is generally frowned upon. But a company official contends that 'pirating is the only way you can hire a woman executive these days. . .'"

FLORIDA UNIVERSITIES ANTICIPATE INCREASE IN NUMBER OF BLACKS--St. Petersburg Times, 6/19. "Desegregation forecasts for Florida's nine universities over the next five years show that some institutions, like the University of South Florida, will more than double the number of black students while the larger and older University of Florida will inch from 3.4 percent to 4.2 percent black in the same period. . . . HEW ordered Florida and 10 other states to prepare statewide desegregation plans by June 11 or face losing as much as $70 million in federal funds. Florida's main problem, HEW said, is that mostly-white Florida State University and mostly-black Florida A & M University are less than a mile apart in Tallahassee. . . . HEW probably also will take a hard look at projections at other universities around the state. . . . As part of the state desegregation plan, university officials have agreed to study the senior test to determine if it discriminates against blacks, promote more counseling for blacks and produce more scholarships for disadvantaged students. . . "

ORLANDO FACES DISCRIMINATION PROBE--Orlando Sentinel Star, 6/21. "TALLAHASSEE--The state human relations commission plans to investigate the hiring practices of the city of Orlando. 'We haven't zeroed in on Orlando yet, but we will soon,' said (former) Rep. Robert Milburn, D-Winter Park, appointed one of the 18 members of the commission by House Speaker Terrell Sessums. Robert Rackleff, executive director of the commission, confirmed Milburn's statement. 'A local level study was done by the city of Orlando last year, but only of blacks,' Rackleff said. 'It doesn't meet either our needs or those of the federal equal employment opportunity commission.' 'As far as I know,' (said Orlando Mayor Carl Langford) 'we are the only city in Florida that has such rigid antidiscrimination ordinances, and we are, to my knowledge, the only city in Florida with a civic board with subpoena powers to investigate discrimination in any form. . .'"

CITY PASSES ORDINANCES ON CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUES--Sarasota Herald Tribune, 6/5. SARASOTA--"The Sarasota City Commission Monday night took far-reaching liberal action on two civil rights matters. The commission, in a unanimous vote, passed two new ordinances, one creating a five-member, non-salaried community relations board, and the other setting up an open housing ordinance. . . . James E. Noble, field representative for the State (Commission on Human Relations), . . . stated he would go along with it as long as there were members representing youth and senior citizens on the board. . . . Sam Lewis, on leave of absence from the city police department, (said) that the city does have some serious racial problems, 'problems that are just below the boiling point and are ready to explode.' . . . A similar string of proponents of the open housing measure came before the commission and many were the same people who spoke in favor of the previous ordinance. . . . 'This (housing) ordinance has teeth in it,' said (Mayor) Saprito. Commissioner (Ted) Sperling said one of the strongest points of the open housing measure is that it gives the community relations board the opportunity to arbitrate problems. . . "

EMPLOYE POLICIES TO CHANGE--Tallahassee Democrat, 6/2. TALLAHASSEE--"State employes leaving work for up to four months to have a baby will be guaranteed their old job back when they return under revised rules and regulations to be presented to the Cabinet Tuesday. State personnel director Conley Kennison said the revision was partly housekeeping, partly compliance with federal law. 'This is the first revision of the rules since 1969 when the division was changed from the old Personnel and Retirement Division,' he said. Many of the old laws continued to refer to the personnel and retirement

division, and are in conflict with federal laws. . . . A major revision of the rules and regulations was the allowing of sick leave to be maternity leave. The guaranteed return to work provision is probably the greatest change in the regulations, however, Kennison said, although it eliminates the excuses used by some employers to get rid of employes. . ."

UNIVERSITY DESEGREGATION PLAN GETS THOROUGH REVIEW--Tallahassee Democrat, 6/24. "Federal officials will respond to Florida's plan for desegregating its state universities 'as soon as possible,' a spokesman for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) said. A special task force has been assigned to 'review thoroughly' each of the plans submitted. . . . Florida's public higher education system was one of 10 affected by a U.S. district court order requiring HEW to speed up desegregation enforcement beginning June 16. However, an appeal of the order by HEW resulted in what appears to be a 10-month extension on implementation of the order. . . .The SUS (state university system) plan includes a wide ranging series of recommendations--most of them aimed at bringing more black high school graduates into Florida's predominantly white universities. Equal focus is given in the plan to attracting more white students to predominantly black Florida A & M University through strengthening its undergraduate curriculum and adding more graduate level programs. . ."

MOST REVENUE SHARING DOLLARS GO TO LAW AND ORDER--Tallahassee Democrat, 6/3. "WASHINGTON--Big cities, beset by fear of crime, are using more than half of their federal revenue sharing funds for public safety, mostly police. Smaller towns, where crime is less of a problem, are using less . . . for law and order and more for transportation, recreation and projects to protect the environment. These are the key findings of a preliminary survey of 127 cities who have received nearly half a billion dollars in revenue sharing checks since the historic new program took effect six months ago. . . . A questionnaire mailed to a sampling of cities. . . showed that by far the largest part of revenue-sharing money has gone for better police and fire protection. . . . The next most common expense among big cities is for environmental protection--20 percent. Then come transportation, 8 percent; financial administration, 4 percent; health, 4 percent; recreation, 3 percent; libraries, 2 percent; community development, 1 percent, and social services, one half of one percent. Some criticism is expected from spokesmen for underprivileged groups who wanted more of federal revenue sharing to be spent on additional services for the poor. . ."

ELKS TURN ON LODGE WITH BLACKS--Tallahassee Democrat, 6/21. "KENOSHA, Wis. (UPI)--The Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks has troubles in Wisconsin. Lodge No. 750 of Kenosha could lose its charter because it has two members who are not white. Since Jan. 27, 1971, the lodge here has been on record in opposition to the national Elks' rule admitting only whites as members. . . . This spring, the national group revoked the Kenosha club's membership and sent a representative to bring back the charter and the other Elks' property. The club went to court to keep its charter. It won a temporary injunction and is after a permanent injunction. . . . When the lodge took the decision to oppose the exclusionary rule in 1971, (spokesman John) Malloy said the membership was 'virtually unanimous' in agreeing to it. . . . Recent court decisions have given the states the right to take away licenses and tax exemptions from private clubs if they practice discrimination in their membership."

WOMEN'S RIGHTS NOT NEEDED!!??!!--Tallahassee Democrat, 6/15. "The most effective argument against passage of the Equal Rights Amendment goes like this: women don't need it. They already have all the civil rights they need under the 1964 Civil Rights Act. . . . What are the economic results of the 1964 Civil Rights Act? . . . Let's start with some Labor Department statistics. In 1958 working women made 39.2 percent as much as men. In 1970, only 38.2 percent. Thank goodness for the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Whoops. In 1966, women were still making only 38.5 percent as much as men. In 1970, only 38.2 percent. . . . Something must be wrong. Let's try 'managers and executives.' The women who work in corporations. In 1958, these women made 51.5 percent as much as their male counterparts. Then came 1964 and the Civil Rights Act. . . . By 1966, women were making only 45.6 percent as much as their male counterparts. . . . In 1962 the typical woman teacher made 67.8 percent as much as her male associate. In 1972 her percentage had fallen to 66 percent. . . "

WIMBISH: STOP STATE JOB DISCRIMINATION--Tampa Tribune, 6/18. "TALLAHASSEE (UPI)--On the job two months, labor administrator C. Bette Wimbish is trying to eliminate discrimination in state hiring right in her own offices. A black and the highest ranking appointed woman official in state government, . . . Mrs. Wimbish (was) appointed associate director of the State Commerce Department's labor division on April 16. . . . Mrs. Wimbish said she had stopped all new hiring 'until we can assess where we are and decide what to do.' . . . She said she 'rather suspects' the same pattern of absence of racial, ethnic and sex minorities exists in all state government. But the former St. Petersburg city councilwoman . . . said she feels Gov. Reubin Askew is trying to assure 'adequate representation' of minorities on all levels of state government (through the newly implemented affirmative action plan). 'There should be more women, black and white, at decision-making levels of government,' she said. 'There should be more involvement of ethnic minorities--Indians, Spanish surnamed and others. . .'"

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HUMAN RELATIONS IN BRIEF

A Monthly News Digest

FLORIDA COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS

VOLUME I, NO. 9
JULY, 1973

14 WOMEN'S GROUPS DECRY MONTGOMERY STERILIZATIONS--Florida Times-Union, 7/10. "WASHINGTON (UPI)--Fourteen women's groups, decrying the sterilization of two girls in Alabama, Monday urged passage of legislation outlawing the use of public funds for such purposes. . . . The Alabama incident came to light when the father of two young black girls brought a $1-million damage suit against the federal government for what he alleged was involuntary sterilization of the daughters. 'Asking Congress to amend the Family Planning Services and Population Research Act, the groups said: 'We strongly support the right of any mature, informed adult to choose any available method of family planning, including sterilization, . . . but we urge . . . strict, comprehensive statutory prohibitions on the use of federal funds to refer minors for sterilization or to perform sterilization on minors.' . . . Joining in the statement were . . . Church Women United, . . . National Council of Jewish Women, National Council of Negro Women, National Organization for Women, National Women's Political Caucus, . . . Women's Equity Action League, and Zero Population Growth."

PRISON SYSTEM HIRES BLACK--Tallahassee Democrat, 7/26. TALLAHASSEE (UPI)--"The state prison system announced today it is hiring a black man, Macon Williams, whose job will be to promote good relations between inmates and the community and among the prisoners themselves. Williams, 52, a former assistant football coach at Florida A & M University and now an employe of the state Economic Opportunity Division, will become the prison system's inmate relations and volunteer services coordinator Aug. 1. 'He will work with local community organizations, stimulating interest in helping with the inmate situation,' said Jim Ball, prison personnel director. Ball said the prison already has blacks on its staff, but that Williams will be the highest ranking black."

MOST NEWSPAPERS DROP ADS BY SEX--Tallahassee Democrat, 7/25. (AP)--"Most American newspapers surveyed from Honolulu to New York and Detroit to Dallas have stopped classifying help wanted ads by sex. Most did it before the Supreme Court upheld a Pittsburgh ordinance forbidding the practice. 'We did it because we saw the handwriting on the wall,' said an executive of the Miami Herald which dropped such labels in April, 1972. The court ruled last Tuesday. Some newspapers with undifferentiated headings still permit individual advertisers to designate whether they want a man or a woman, but many, like the Chicago Tribune, advise them not to. . . . So far there has been no concerted protest by publishers over the constitutional question. . ."

This public document was promulgated at an annual cost of $1,152, or 13.7 cents per copy to provide a monthly overview of human relations news.

REVIEW OF FLEEING FELON LAW CONSIDERED--Palm Beach Post, 7/31. "TALLAHASSEE (AP)--The state's 'fleeing felon' rule needs to be reexamined in the wake of recent fatal shootings by police, the chairmen of the House and Senate Criminal Justice Committees said yesterday. . . . Gainesville City Commissioner Russel Ramsey called for repeal of the rule Sunday at a memorial service for Gerald Thornton, a black social worker shot to death by a Florida Highway Patrol trooper near Lake City May 9. . . . Thornton, 23, was shot in the head while attempting to flee three pursuing Highway Patrol troopers following a wild 17-mile chase along north Florida's Interstate 75. A Columbia County grand jury Friday ruled the shooting was justifiable homicide because troopers had reason to believe a felony or felonies had been committed and used all other methods to apprehend Thornton. . . . The fleeing felon rule, part of common law, allows a police officer to use the degree of force necessary to stop someone the officer believes has committed a felony against person or property. . . . Deputy Atty. Gen. Barry Richard said he favored limiting the law so an officer could fire only when his life or health was threatened or when he had reason to believe a serious felonly against a person had been committed."

STATES' MINORITY HIRING CHECK WANTED BY FEDS--Tallahassee Democrat, 7/16. TALLAHASSEE (UPI)--"The federal government is double checking on minority hiring in state jobs and Gov. Reubin Askew has asked department heads to come up with their 'affirmative action plans for female and minority hiring.' A year after he first took office Askew had the personnel division take a survey of the job situation. These were some of the results: 79.9 percent of the black employees in the state government were concentrated in pay grades 'slightly below the poverty line. . .' 60 percent of the women employees earned subpoverty level wages. . . Black women are the victims of 'double discrimination, filling only five percent of the state jobs. . . The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) requires the state to file by late October a report on how many members of minority groups and how many women it has on its payroll as of Aug. 31. The reports now arriving in the office of Harry Douglas, coordinator of the State Personnel Division's hiring effort, will give Gov. Askew a preview of what the EEOC will receive. . ." EDITOR'S NOTE: The Florida Commission and the Division of Personnel will be the agencies monitoring the Affirmative Action Plans.

QUINCY MEN FREED IN KILLING--Tallahassee Democrat, 7/20. TALLAHASSEE --"Stating that the strain of a retrial would endanger the health of two of its principle witnesses, State Attorney Harry Morrison yesterday said he had dismissed the first degree murder charges against two Quincy men in the 1970 shooting of Thomas Revels. Affected are defendants Dave Roby Keaton and Johnny Frederick. . . . Both men were tried and convicted of the murder in May 1971 but new evidence leading to the conviction of three Jacksonville men for the same murder prompted the Florida Supreme Court to grant them a new trial. That trial had been scheduled to begin July 24. In a 12-page statement Morrison said that 'two very material eye witnesses' in the case were now seriously ill and that doctors had advised them not to testify. In light of this and the continuing expense to the state--there had been five other trials involving the case, plus numerous appeals--Morrison said that the retrial would no longer serve any public interest. . ."

WOMAN COLONEL: MILITARY STILL DISCRIMINATES--St. Petersburg Times, 7/29. "WASHINGTON (AP)--The military uses stiffer rules in choosing women that it does for men, and then limits the job options and benefits of those it accepts, a retired Army officer has told Congress. . . . (Lt.) Col. (Jacqueline G.) Gutwillig (said) the most damaging hindrances to women are higher entry standards, limits on job assignments and infrequent promotions. . . . Col. Gutwillig said women rank above the military average in education and test scores, but lag in promotions. There is one woman for every 66 men in the Army, she said. But she added: 'There is one woman brigadier general for 255 men brigadier generals; one woman colonel for every 500 army men colonels. . .' Colonel Gutwillig recommended these changes: Prenatal, delivery and post-natal care should be provided by the Veterans' Administration. . . . Congress should prohibit special privileges and services to organizations such as the Veterans of Foreign Wars, that deny membership to women veterans."

BLACK HISTORY GROUP FORMS--Tallahasse Democrat, 7/26. TALLAHASSEE --"A group which will study the history and life of black Americans has been established in Tallahassee. The Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History (ASALH), dedicated to improving the understanding and appreciation of black Americans, held its first meeting Tuesday night. The group, headed by Audrey Randolph, state director of branches, discussed the value of having such an organization in Tallahassee. . . . (Ms.) Randolph said that many historical and interesting facts surrounding black history can be found right here in Tallahassee. Information would be gathered by the group and placed in a library type facility. The ASALH is a national organization with headquarters in Washington and includes members of all racial groups interested in the study of black Americans. . ."

JUDGE BANS SYMBOLS OF CONFEDERACY--Florida Times-Union, 7/25. "PENSACOLA (AP)--U.S. District Judge Winston Arnow Tuesday permanently banned the use of Confederate symbols at Pensacola's racially troubled Escambia High School. Arnow said the name Rebels for the school football team and the use of the Confederate flag were and still are 'racially irritating' to a substantial number of black students. . . . He said the racial disputes gained momentum with the continued use of the symbols, which became a focal point. . . . He said the use of the symbols would be likely to continue to be a source of racial tension and a cause of violence."

"DIME EATERS MUST GO" IS RESTROOM BATTLE CRY--Milwaukee Journal, 7/24. "DAYTON, OHIO--They call themselves the men and women of CEPTIA--the Committee to End Pay Toilets in America. . . . The organization claims 1400 members, mostly college students, and has active chapters in Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Chicago, Boston and Dayton, where it all began. A young Daytonian named Ira Gessel was annoyed by the lack of free toilet facilities on the Penn. Turnpike, and formed the group. . . . Legislation banning pay toilets has been introduced in the states of Florida, California, Oregon, Nevada, Illinois, and Massachusetts. . . . Carla Pavone (of White Plains, N.Y.) sees pay toilets as a discrimination against women--and against parents. 'I've never heard of a pay urinal,' she says simply. 'We are considering a law suit claiming that pay toilets discriminate against women.' . . . 'Most legislators are men,' she says. 'If they had to pay too, we might get quicker action.' . . ."

ELKS CLUBS WILL ADMIT BLACKS?--Tallahassee Democrat, 7/26. TALLAHASSEE --"A 105-year old discrimination clause may be dropped by the Elks Clubs, but it could be some time before blacks are admitted to the fraternal organization. The national body of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks voted by a 3 to 1 margin at their convention to disban a membership rule excluding non-white persons. Membership policy still requires prospective Elks to be referred by other members, which may delay the acceptance of blacks. T. C. Fortson Jr., president of the Tallahassee Elks Lodge No. 937, admits that some problems may occur when the new policy goes into effect. However, Fortson said the Tallahassee group is 'progressive' and the new change should not disturb many of the members. . . . The Elks organization is non-political. It is a civic group which donates time and money to charity. One of the group's stated basic principles is to exhibit brotherly love. . ."

ASKEW REJECTS PRISON SEGREGATION--Tallahassee Democrat, 7/12. "BUSHNELL (AP)--Segregation of black and white prisoners is not the answer to rising racial tensions at Florida prisons, Gov. Reubin Askew says. 'While it might appear to solve the immediate problem, it might create more in the future,' Askew said Wednesday after touring Sumter Correctional Institution where 400 black and white inmates battled last May. Seven prisoners were hospitalized and several injured in the fighting which erupted following the stabbing of a black inmate by a white convict. . . . Prisoners who talked with a newsman said the tensions were still high at the modern, secluded prison. . . 'We still have problems in close living areas even without racial difficulties,' Askew said. He said construction of adequate housing and hiring of more black guards would help ease racial tensions."

STATE TO START DISRUPTIVE STUDENT STUDY--Tampa Tribune, 7/6. "TALLAHASSEE (AP)--A statewide survey of disruptive students and their problems in public schools will be conducted over the next six months to a year, Gov. Reubin Askew's education adviser, Dr. Claud Anderson, says. Anderson said the survey would concentrate on students 14 through 18 years old and would gather data from student records rather than personal interviews. The information is being collected for use by Askew in recommending positive steps to reduce disruptive behavior and improve the treatment of disruptive students, Anderson said. Dr. Stephen Rollin of Florida State University will direct the Governor's Task Force on Disruptive Students to be financed by a $44,857 grant from the Governor's Council on Criminal Justice, Anderson said."

BLACK TV STATION APPROVED--Tallahassee Democrat, 7/23. "DETROIT-- . . . . Locally produced television programs, the hallmark of TV's early years--will return to Detroit when the nation's first black-owned station begins broadcasting in 1974, according to the station's executives. George E. White, vice-president for programming for the new station, WGPR-TV, said Tuesday that the station will produce 90 percent of its programs live from a Detroit studio. . . . White said that the station planned a wide range of programs, including two 30-minute newscasts per day, which will emphasize events of interest to black people. Dr. William V. Banks, president and general manager of WGPR, Inc., said Tuesday in a prepared statement that the new station will be 'especially dedicated to serving the black community and other minority groups.'"

PRIVATE SCHOOLS RULING MAY GIVE SOUTH A TEST--St. Petersburg Times, 7/31. "ALEXANDRIA, Va. (UPI)--A federal court decision forbidding private schools to deny admission to blacks appeared likely Monday to inspire challenges to admission policies in seven southern states. The ruling was issued over the weekend by U.S. District Court Judge Albert V. Bryan Jr. It requires two northern Virginia schools to cease discriminating against blacks in their admission policies. . . . The seven states are affected because the Southern Independent School Association (SISA), representing 395 schools in the states, intervened as a party to the Northern Virginia suit and is bound by Bryan's decision. (Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, and South Carolina, Virginia). . . Attorney Allison Brown, representing the parents, said Bryan's ruling was 'a break through for eliminating discrimination and some of the practices of these southern white academies that flourish in the South.'. . ."

SESSUMS STUDYING PROGRAM FOR RECRUITING BLACKS--Tallahassee Democrat, 7/26. "House Speaker Terrell Sessums is reported considering adopting a proposal to seek out and hire blacks as legislative analysts and research assistants. Dr. Roger Nichols, Sessums' assistant, said the speaker was to have met with Nat Tindall, one of the drafters of the proposal, Tuesday afternoon. . . . According to Nichols, the proposal calls for the hiring of at least four blacks as research assistants and analysts with three major committees. Those committees were identified as Appropriations, Governmental Operations, and Education. The four would be placed in the speaker's office. . . . The proposal was drafted by Tindall and Sam Taylor, former student body president at the University of Florida, . . . 'It was their feeling that not enough blacks are aware of the opportunities for employment available with the legislature,' Nichols said. 'The speaker is sympathetic to their requests, but I don't think he's going to force the issue with any committee chairman. We would just like to make them aware that if a black is qualified we would like to see him recruited,' Nichols said . . ."

EQUAL RIGHTS SUPPORTERS START NEW PUSH--Tallahassee Democrat, 7/17. TALLAHASSEE (UPI)--"Supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) plan to begin a second effort for Florida ratification of the embattled amendment with an Aug. 4 reception for Congresswoman Patsy Mink, D-Hawaii, a prime mover of the ERA at the federal level. State Rep. Elaine Gordon, D-Miami, filed a ratification resolution in the House Monday and said she will sponsor the reception in Miami next month for Rep. Mink to speak on 'The ERA in 1974.' The Florida House rejected the ERA 64-54 last spring, in the initial round of the ratification fight. Supporters of the ERA have six more years to get it through the legislature. Thirty states have ratified the amendment. It takes 38 to insert the amendment into the U.S. Constitution. . . . The legislature does not meet for another eight months, but Ms. Gordon said the timing of her ratifying resolution is an indication that 'the ERA in Florida is not only alive and well, but very much forward in the minds of the people as well.' . . ."

BETTE WIMBISH IS TOP WOMAN IN STATE GOVERNMENT--Tallahassee Democrat, 7/22. TALLAHASSEE--"A woman who knows who she is and where she is going--that's C. Bette Wimbish. She has broken all racial and sex barriers to become the highest ranking woman in Florida State government as assistant director of Labor with the Department of Commerce. . . . Before entering politics she was an instructor at Florida Memorial College in St. Augustine, then taught school in Tampa for five years. 'I entered politics because I felt there was a need to have black input in municipal, state and national levels of government,' she said . . . . Under her jurisdiction is the supervision of personnel, finance and planning matters for the bureaus of workmen's compensation and apprenticeship. Her staff is basically concerned with providing decent wages, proper enumeration for accidents on the job and training of personnel to participate in the laborfield. . ."

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November 24, 1965

Mr. Baxton Bryant
Executive Director
Tennessee Council on
Human Relations
1106 Nineteenth Avenue South
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Baxton:

My recollection from your annual meeting was that a committee was set up to prepare something on the jury system and that I promised to send over some materials. Two items are coming to you under separate cover which you can pass on to the committee. One is the SRC report, "Southern Justice: An Indictment," and the other is a brief filed in the Fifth Circuit of the U. S. Court of Appeals in the Billingsley case.

If the committee goes very far with this matter they might wish to consult with Charles Morgan of the Regional Office of the American Civil Liberties Union here in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:js

MRS. MARTHA RAGLAND
PRESIDENT
NASHVILLE

LEWIS S. SINCLAIR
VICE-PRESIDENT
KNOXVILLE

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DR. G. J. TARLETON, JR.
TREASURER
NASHVILLE

File

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1106 19th Avenue, South • Nashville, Tennessee 37212 • 297-6568

BAXTON BRYANT
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

MISS KATHERINE JONES
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

November 29, 1965

Mr. Emory F. Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Thanks for the contribution you made at our annual meeting in Memphis. We were disappointed that Paul was unable to attend, but he could not have sent a better replacement.

I think you kept us out of a lot of trouble by giving some timely and expert advice on the resolution offered at our business session Friday morning. I hope you will be coming our way again soon.

I appreciate very much the material you have sent us. It seems that police brutality and justice in the courts will have high priority with us this year.

I thought the annual meeting of SRC was great. Paul has gotten off to a great start, and we look forward to these new relationships.

Sincerely,

Baxton

Baxton Bryant

BB:jw

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Phone: 539-4277 or 539-5496

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

2809 GOVERNORS DRIVE, SW HUNTSVILLE, ALABAMA - 35805

J. EDWIN STANFIELD, Executive Director
ROBERT S. VALDER, Associate Director

February 14, 1966

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Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory,

How goes all with you? I'm wondering if you might ~~have~~ some time to talk on Friday of this week?

Lewis Black, our new Rural Advancement Project Director and I will be in Atlanta ~~on Thursday and Friday of this week. We~~ will spend Thursday with Jac Wassermanand Friday knocking aroung SRC. I'm wondering if you would be available sometime on Friday to talk to Lewis and I about job training programs and related items? We'd like information on MDTA, OJT and things of that nature as well as what kinds of services employment (state, that is) service centers have available, how to start vocational guidance centers, what Labor Department money is available and for what, etc.

Rather than write to me could you check with Ed Stanfield? I've asked him to coordinate our Friday schedule with the SRC staff.

Sure do hope you can fit us in.

Sincerely,

Bob

Bob Valder

RAC

Discussion
Lab. Dept materials —
Eliza Paschal
Invite to 3/23/ Regional
Labor Dept. Conference

February 23, 1966

Ohio Civil Rights Commission
603 Schmidt Building
431 Main Street
Cincinnati, Ohio 45202

Dear Sirs:

I was pleased to see your recent press release regarding the building trades journeyman testing program. I would be most interested in hearing what results you have had in terms of the number of applicants, whether they successfully entered the trade, which trades they applied for, and through which chanels (i.e., union, Urban League, Employment Service, or your Commission) they made application.

Any other information which you have on this or similar programs would be most welcome.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

March 7, 1966

Mr. Robert J. Coates
Deputy Executive Director
Ohio Civil Rights Commission
603 Smhmidt Building
431 Main Street
Cincinnati, Ohio 45202

Dear Mr. Coates:

Thanks so much for sending the Commission's report, "Racial Discrimination in the Cincinnati Building Trades". It will be quite useful.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

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SOUTHWEST REGIONAL OFFICE
603 SCHMIDT BUILDING
431 MAIN STREET
CINCINNATI, OHIO 45202
TELEPHONE 241-6605

March 3, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director - Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Thank you for your letter concerning the journeyman testing program. As a result of our efforts approximately 120 persons have expressed interest in one of the many crafts in the Building Trade Unions in Cincinnati. As yet the testing has not begun so I cannot speak to the successfulness of the effort in its entirety. The first test, Structural Iron Workers is scheduled for March 17. The electricians will hold their test on March 30. I plan to observe both tests personally.

With regard to assistance in this effort, our greatest help came from the Neighborhood Houses working in the Anti-Poverty Program. Also the Ohio State Employment Service, Cincinnati Human Relations Commission, and to a lesser degree the Urban League, Unions, and other organizations sent a few persons to us. The great majority of persons found out about the program through the newspaper stories and came into our office for applications.

Enclosed with this letter is a copy of the Commission's Comprehensive Report of its investigation in this matter. I believe you will find it most interesting reading.

Please let me know if there are any other questions you might have concerning this effort.

Sincerely yours,

Robert J. Coates

Robert J. Coates
Deputy Executive Director

RJC/aw
enc.

State Conn

March 9, 1966

Miss Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director
South Carolina Council on
Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Alice:

Your letter about O.E.O. and labor education arrived today. It reminded me of our too brief conversation on February 28th. I am sorry we could not have scheduled a longer time on this while you were here.

I do have some thoughts about this whole matter. They are complicated a bit by a regional proposal now before O.E.O. This proposal has many things in it useful as a guide, but if it is granted (to the National Institute of Labor Education) it might foreclose state proposals. Maybe not.

It would perhaps be mutually helpful to explore further the South Carolina Council's relation to such a project. I hope we can do so soon.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET
Columbia, South Carolina

mailed 3/2/66

Feb. 24, 1966

Mr. Emory Via,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Emory Via:

I hope to see you in Atlanta on Monday, Feb. 28th. Whether or not I do, I still want you to have what I shall say in writing and shall appreciate as prompt and full a response as you are able to give me.

Last November I heard Hyman Bookbinder address a banquest at the Adult Education Association of America. His address was nostalgically reminiscent of my own worker's education days spent here in South Carolina.

After Mr. Bookbinder's address I raised the question with him as to whether he thought some type of worker's education might be funded under the Economic Opportunity Act. He stated that he felt sure that a good proposal would be given serious and, hopefully, favorable response by OEO. With this in mind, I am writing to ask if it might be possible for you to come to South Carolina and work with us in making necessary investigation as to the need for such a program and help us make recommendations as to the form in which it would be most effective. I shall look forward to hearing from you and to having you suggest several alternate dates on which you might be available to come and work with us. The sooner, the better!

Gratefully yours,

Alice Spearman

Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director

ANS.em

May 27, 1966

Miss Cathy Tyler
Coordinator of Orientation
SPEED-UP
South Carolina Council on
Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Miss Tyler:

Enclosed are vita sheets for Vernon Jordan and myself. Vernon Jordan says that he will be happy to participate in your conference but that it will need to be on June 8th. I would suggest that you confirm a time on that day for him.

I look forward to being with you for this program. You will note that in each case the vita sheets include more information than you will want to use in an introduction. Select from them what you think useful.

Sincerely

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosures

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET
Columbia, South Carolina

May 18, 1966

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Via:

In an effort to find out about consultants and fees for the Council's summer project, SPEED-UP, Mrs. Alice Spearman talked with Ed Stanfield. He suggested that you might be available to help us with the orientation program to be held at the Columbia Hotel June 5-11.

This orientation is a vital part of the project, and we would be deeply indebted if you could possibly talk to the participants Tuesday morning, June 7, about 9:30 am. Since the remainder of the week will largely be devoted to workshops and the mechanics of tutoring, citizenship education, etc., I think some sort of economic overview might be of great help to them. From the various recommendations I have received about your knowledge, experience, and ability, I think you could offer the participants some really good and concrete ideas and thoughts to carry into the communities.

If you can not come at this time and there is another time that would better fit your schedule, please let us know as soon as possible because we do want you to be a part of the program. Your help will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Cathy Tyler

Cathy Tyler
Coordinator of Orientation
SPEED-UP

Who is attending

Change South

9:30-11:00 speech & discussion

Speech & discussion? Total Time for EFV?

128 students (175 people) will go to Knoxville, Columbia, Small town not so much in general

Orientation Students

Warren Haggstrom — Syracuse, Univ.

Emphasis on S.C.

Sandy Paul — poverty in S.C.

June 7, 1966

Mrs. Frances Pauley, Director
Georgia Council on Human Relations, Inc.
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Frances:

The name that I was to give you in Cordele, Georgia was that of Mrs. Ozie Lockett. She appears to be a grass-roots type and I could not determine any organizational identification for her. She had become interested in the plight of several elderly blind persons and had made an approach to the welfare department. She saw to it that the forms were filled out and turned in to the department but has heard nothing since. I think she probably needs to check back with the welfare department to see if they will give her any definite answer as to what they propose to do. She, of course, is concerned that it's just an outright matter of discrimination.

I urged her to be in touch with the welfare department again to get a clear-cut answer and if it were negative to be in touch with some other organization. I don't think either of these are things that she's used to doing. Unfortunately, I have no further address for her. But what are the chances that a letter sent to her at Cordele would in fact reach her?

Sorry to give you one more. Better you than me.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director, Labor Program

EFV:jb

June 9, 1966

Mrs. Frances Pauley, Director
Georgia Council on Human Relations, Inc.
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Frances:

I have your invitation to participate inyyour next statewide meeting at Jekyll Island on June 9 and 10. There are a number of reasons why I would greatly like to be with you on that occasion. Your offer of neither honorarium or travel expenses seems most appropriate and I would be delighted to spend some of my budgeted money for such a purpose. But, alas, the schedule will not allow for it.

I will be out of town the complete week preceding your program and for the whole week following your program. I do not think it would be possible to conjure up a schedule that would get me into Jekyll Island on the 9th, even if there were no problems of worrying about how to keep mind, soul, body, and my end of the office intact.

Frances, I am very sorry not to be able to join with you. Perhaps if the subject matter is simply unions and employment and not specifically concerned with my SRC program that Al Kehrer would be a valuable substitute. And of course to some degree he is quite familiar with my program as well.

Good luck for a successful meeting.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:JB

Georgia Council ON HUMAN RELATIONS
52 Fairlie Street, N. W. • 404/525-6468 • Atlanta, Georgia 30303

June 1, 1966

Mr. Emory Via
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Via:

The Georgia Council wishes to ask another favor of you. Our next state wide meeting will be held at Jekyll Island, July 9 and 10. Since our membership is becoming more and more interested in the area of your work, we request your presence and participation. There are many details of your program that our members need and want to know.

We hope you can remain with us for the entire Conference, but we particularly need you for all day Saturday when we will have our workshops.

Because of our limited budget the Council will be unable to pay either Honorarium or Travel Expenses. However, we do believe this meeting will give you the opportunity of giving valuable information to many Georgia Leaders. It could easily save you several field trips.

We look forward to seeing you at Jekyll.

Sincerely,

Frances

Mrs. Frances Pauley
Executive Director

FFP:web

MR. JOSEPH HENDRICKS, PRESIDENT
THE REVEREND AUSTIN FORD, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
REV. C. S. HAMILTON, SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
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MR. JOHNNY GLUSTROM, TREASURER
MRS. FRANCES PAULEY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
THE REVEREND OLIVER W. HOLMES, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

June 10, 1966

Rev. Glen A. Crofton
Box 242
Cordele, Georgia 31015

Dear Rev. Crofton:

Could you track down this lady and see if you can help her?

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Frances Pauley
Executive Director

FP/es
cc: Emory Via
enc: (1)

[redacted] I sent your letter about Mrs Lockett —

SPEED-UP

File
S.C.H.R.

1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

254-7608 "Program for Progress" 256-8808

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Bishop of the Diocese of Charleston

June 13, 1966

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Emory:

Thank you so very much for your role in making the SPEED-UP Orientation a meaningful experience for the students and other people involved. Now that we are really beginning the summer's work, your ideas as well as the thoughts of the other speakers seem even more helpful in trying to combat some of the basic causes of poverty in South Carolina.

Sincerely yours,

Cathy Tyler

Cathy Tyler
Coordinator of Orientation

CT/vlj

Georgia Council ON HUMAN RELATIONS
52 Fairlie Street, N. W. • 404/525-6468 • Atlanta, Georgia 30303

June 21, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

We will miss you at Jekyll. I was in hopes the Johnsons would be back and you and Margaret would be there also.

Al Kehrer is coming. I am enclosing the program for your info.

Sincerely yours,

Frances

Mrs. Frances Pauley
Executive Director

FP/es
enclosure

MR. JOSEPH HENDRICKS, PRESIDENT
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COOPERATION

SPEED-UP

NEWS LETTER

Vol. 1 No. 3 June 24, 1966 Page 1

SUMMER '66 SCHEDULES TAKE SHAPE

Schedules begin taking shape as teams hold classes, organize softball teams and prepare houses and centers for the summer '66 session of SPEED-UP (Student Project for Economic and Educational Development), sponsored by the South Carolina Council on Human Relations.

Approximately 140 students, from pre-school to high school age, have been registered by members of the Abbeville team. This group is concentrating in the areas of math, reading, citizenship education, history, composition, recreation, and arts and crafts.

Each member of the team will have his particular class, alternating as needed in math and composition.

Classes for pre-schoolers through ninth graders will be held from 9 to 12. Tenth through twelth graders will meet 2-4 p.m. These meetings will also include classes for persons who need special tutoring in chemistry, algebra, English and creative writing.

Bamberg

Fifty-three students in a SPEED-UP class in Denmark are meeting in the sanctuary of the Rome Baptist Church. The remaining 120 students are meeting in the Sunday School Building.

"You could say that we are crowded, but you can also say that we are enthusiastic," said Hanna Englehardt, Model Teacher. "The children come real early in the morning, and the only way to keep them out of the center is to bar the door!"

The other SPEED-UP center in Bamberg is the Thankful Baptist Church where about 100 students are registered for the classes.

Both groups hold tutoring from 9 to 12 in English, math and history. Recreation, held in the afternoon, includes softball and badminton.

Charleston

The Charleston Advisory Committee had planned for SPEED-UP to become assimilated into several local programs underway in the area.

These included SAIL (Summer Advancement In Learning) and the Saturday Youth Forum of the Neighborhood Youth Corps and sponsored by the local chapter of the Council on Human Relations.

However, in keeping with the purpose of SPEED-UP in using local resources and in having the volunteers work as a team, David Orr, team reporter, wrote that the team and the Advisory Committee have made plans for a SPEED-UP project on John's Island at the Progressive Club Gymnasium and at Shaw Center in Charleston.

In addition, SPEED-UPPERS will work with the Saturday

(Continued on page 3)

DR. TOPPIN TO SPEAK HERE

Dr. Edgar Toppin, professor of history at Virginia State College in Petersburg, Va., will speak to the Richland County Citizenship Education groups in a joint meeting July 13. His topic will be "Myths of the Reconstruction in South Carolina."

Dr. Toppin received his B.A. and M.A. Degrees from Howard University and his Ph.D from Northwestern University.

A specialist in American history, he has published numerous articles and a book, Patriots and Pioneers.

This meeting, tentatively set for the Zion area, will bring together the citizenship education groups in Richland County. Other interested groups will be invited.

Cathy Tyler, director of citizenship education for the state, expressed hope that this would be the first of several joint meetings utilizing resourceful speakers and bringing together groups in other counties as well as those in the Columbia area.

SPEED-UP VOLUNTEERS LEARN BY DOING

"Roughing it" is the best way to describe the first few weeks of a project that calls for the transition of college students from quiet libraries and cool classrooms to rural community centers, torid baseball fields and strange doorsteps.

Orientations and text-book-classes can only do so much. The rest is being learned as SPEED-UP volunteers meet the problems of building a place for themselves--whether it be in do-it-yourself housing or make-it-yourself acceptance in a community.

"We found, on the whole, favorable response from the community," wrote Carol Tumlinson from Laurens. "We found a neglected community center and an uncleaned athletic field. We have made announcements in the different church groups, and we have cleaned up the community center, clearing out grass, glass and debris."

WOULD YOU BELIEVE?

"We know that all of you heard a few rumors about Reeder Point during Orientation Week. Well, when we got here, we found that every one of them was absolutely right," writes Pat Smith.

"That first night we just threw the furniture into the house and went to bed. After we had gotten over the initial shock, we set to work to get the house in livable condition. It's impossible to tell everything we did those first few days. Let's just say we improvised a great deal.

"ANYWAY, by Thursday all the rooms had been painted, screens had been nailed to the windows, shelves had been built for the kitchen and dining room, and nine people had been crammed into a six-room house--not to mention three humendous dogs belonging to our team leader.

"We are proud to say that, after living with an outside hand pump and an outhouse for a week, we are still healthy. Have you ever noticed how many buckets of water one has to heat to wash dishes or how much water one has to pump to cook supper?

"We knew we had made it one night when, coming back from Columbia, one of our members began singing 'Home again, home again, rig-a-jig-jig!' We are now one big happy family in our little Abode of Everlasting Felicity (we have a bathroom, even), and Project 'Shang-Hai' is just our cup of tea."

CARS AND CONCEPTS

"In Sumter County, our biggest problem was transportation," Cleveland Lee wrote from his team working in two communities thirty miles apart.

Since the team had no car, they tried renting one from a member of the community, but the car's owners often needed the car at the same time that SPEED-UP did.

Team leader Ben Tate finally contacted 1330 Laurel St. , and a car was secured for the summer.

Before the team arrived, they envisioned work with culturally isolated children in an atmosphere that was not altogether receptive to the program. However, the community is in much better condition than expected, and the group was "greeted very well and is getting along fine in the community."

INTANGIBLE PROBLEMS

"Our problems are intangible. It is election time, feelings are running high, and so we may be in a powder keg. On the other

(Continued on page 4)

KID'S KONTRIBUTION KORNER

My Dog
By a third-grader, Oconee County

My dog is red
he Look like a cow
he run from home
but that is a bad dog
I dont Like my dog
he is going to get kill
We going to give him away
We dont Like him
he dont stay home
he dont stay home anyway
We going to get a Good dog
We going to get a girls dog
he going to be a good dog
1. he eat cook
2. he eat apple
3. he eat candy
4. he eat cake
5. he eat babby Food

Any and all "kontributions"will be appreciated from you.

SCHEDULES TAKE SHAPE...
(Continued from page 1)

Youth Forum as planned by the Advisory Committee.

Darlington

"The response to our program in numbers of people has been incredible. While at first we worried about not having enough, now we worry about having too many," wrote Susan Lunney, reporter for the Darlington team.

Over 150 children and adults registered for the program. In the mornings, children will be receiving tutoring in math, reading and writing. The six SPEED-UP teachers will each be working with two groups, one containing first through seventh graders and one made up of the high school students.

Recreation will be held 2-3 p.m. During this same time, there will be a story hour for pre-schoolers. Arts and crafts will be held 2-3 p.m. on Monday and Wednesday.

A class in biology will be held for some students 3-5 p.m. "Students have shown interest in this, and they have agreed to take the course every day since there is so much they want to learn. Their eagerness is really exciting and infectious," Susan said.

Florence

Renovating an old nine-room house which will serve as a community center has been the work of the Florence team. Furniture has been donated by the community, and students are cleaning and painting the building.

Students had been registered in advance and were ready and waiting when the team arrived. The volunteers have been doing some follow-up recruiting, and classes are beginning in the new center.

About Eighty-five students are registered at the center in The Greenville Tabernacle Baptist Church. Registration for the other center, Fieldcrest Housing Project was scheduled for Friday.

Greenville

The team has also visited agencies to gain first-hand information about available services.

"Among those with which we were most impressed were the Greenville Technical Education Center and STEP (Special Training for Economic Progress) where basic skills are taught," wrote team leader, Bob Simpson.

(Continued on next column)

MATERIALS SECRETARY IS ADDED TO STAFF

Added to the staff since Orientation is Curtina Moreland who will be serving as Materials Secretary.

She is now in the process of ordering films covering topics ranging from political science to home economics. She is investigating the availibility of pamphlets and other materials which can be used in SPEED-UP work and checking on possible areas that may be of interest for field trips.

(Continued from col. 1)

The team is collecting a library of pamphlets to distribute to the people they serve.

Laurens

"Cleaning the community center proved to be the first order of business for the team," wrote Carol Tumlinson. The group set to work scrubbing and cutting the grass.

After the center was "made livable", the team concentrated on recruiting. An open house was held Tuesday, June 21 at 8 p.m. Registration for the tutoring program began the next day.

In addition to the SPEED-UP tutoring work, Doodle Dingle (PC) and Evangeline Riley (Benedict) are working with Mrs. Dollie Hill in the First Day of Tomorrow program which reaches pre-school aged children in the community.

Oconee

The two centers in Oconee are now serving about 90 students, aged 5 to 19.

At each center, there are three groups of tutees: (1) those who have completed no school work or work to grade 4, (2) those entering grades 4-7, and (3) those entering grades 8-12.

Each of these groups has at least one reading and writing tutor who works with the children for two hours. For the third hour, each group meets with the center's math tutor. With this system, the eight Oconee workers (two in math and six in English) can staff tutoring programs in two separate areas.

After lunch each day, a period is spent in "making things", followed by two hours of supervised recreation.

Orangeburg

"There has been unusually enthusiastic response from the

(Continued on page 4)

L E A R N B Y D O I N G . . .

(Continued from page 2)

hand, it may stay just as peaceful as it is now on this Monday afternoon as we look foward to our classes.

"If it is left up to us workers, our program could be the most successful in the state, but, even as we are trying to be considerate of the feelings of the community, we are having trouble finding out what these feelings are.

"I'm sure that the SPEED-UP personnel expected an integrated program to have problems, especially in small towns. We will sit tight and do our job and will begin enjoying every minute of it now that we are finally settled and have started teaching," writes Susan Lunney from Darlington.

The impetus for these remarks came from some misunderstanding about living accomodations in which Negroes and whites were to live together. Plans have been changed now in accordance with wishes of the community, as they have also been altered in Abbeville.

AND WE HAD TO MAKE DO...

The SPEEDY Rock Hillers, as they have named themselves, have found that where there is no steak, there may be peanut butter and where there are no cars, one has to make do with feet.

After a recreation session in which college students try to keep pace with the grammar school set, "we tread home to prepare the most festive of all feasts. Would you believe a dinner consisting of baked potatoes, cornpie and eggs? This was quite a treat considering our usual peanut butter and jelly sandwiches," writes Mickey Dakers from York.

"Supper is our most exciting meal. It is held any time between 5 and 10:30 p.m. If you're not there when it's served, you might as well forget it.

When the team doesn't have something it needs, the members use their ingenuity to procure it. "A rather pathetic sight was Susan Fagan (USC) running up and down the street trying to find a bathroom plunger!" writes Mickey.

SERVICE AND SURPRISES

"In Clemson, our first problem has been need for community volunteer assistance. We have three centers eager to participate in the program, but our limited number of team members will only allow us to staff two of the centers."

In spite of this, the group was pleasently surprised at their reception into the community. "The entire program here is organized more than we expected. The children are eager to learn, and we were accepted right away," said John Nelson (Johnson C. Smith University.)

"We all expected to have to beg parents to let their children join our program," said Ann Reese (Columbia College), "but when we arrived, the entire community had been surveyed, and they knew about the program.

SCHEDULES TAKE SHAPE...

(Continued from page 3)

students," said Program Director Cathy Tyler after a visit to the project.

Enrolled in classes are about 100 in math, 15 in algebra, 100 in remedial reading, 18 in typing, 11 in history, 9 in arts and crafts, 50 in English and 115 in recreation. Some students are enrolled in more than one class.

Future plans include a swimming class and a history club for high school students.

Pickens

The Pickens team was greeted by an old school building which had not been used for five years except by a small library in the front rooms. A room was selected, and the neighborhood children were enlisted to help with the cleaning-up project. Work was broken now and then by softball games in the field behind the school.

On Thursday, June 16, a get-together was held for those who helped with the cleaning, and registration was set for the next day.

Fifty-six have been enrolled in the Pickens program.

Richland - Reeder Point

The Reeder Point team holds tutoring in math and reading from 9 to 12. Pre-school art classes begin at 1 p.m., and junior art sessions are held at 2 on Monday, Wednesday and Friday.

Recreation includes practice for volleyball and softball teams plus less competitive activities.

For the evenings, junior

(Continued on page 5)

SUMMER '66 SCHEDULES TAKE SHAPE...

(Continued from page 4)

and adult sewing classes. Citizenship education has evolved into a lecture series in order to meet the needs of the community.

A social hour for teenagers is planned for every Friday night.

This schedule is the product of a week's work, beginning with the remodling of a house, recruitment, visits to elementary and secondary school principals, and the changing of the project's name to Shang-Hai, a "local name suited to local needs," according to team members.

"We were overwhelmed with the warm reception we received from the community. Attending church has been especially rewarding since we met so many new people," wrote Pat Smith.

Richland - Zion, Camp Fornance

The Zion and Camp Fornance team lives together in a house in the middle of Columbia. After fixing up their summer home, recruiting and registering and planning, SPEED-UPPERS spent the weekend becoming familiar with materials such as the SRA Reading Lab.

At Camp Fornance, the enthusiastic youngsters are tutored at the New Hope Baptist Church. There is a class in the pews, one in the choir stalls and one on the floor with others in small adjoining rooms. In addition to the scheduled classes, field trips will have high priority at this center.

At the Zion Baptist Church, the response has been somewhat less, possibly because of the large area being covered and the other things to do in this in-town area. Another factor, according to team members, is that the center is not usually used by people in the neighborhood.

Sumter

Seventy-five students, aged 8 to 18, have enrolled in the Sumter County tutorial programs in reading and math. These classes and recreation will be held each morning from 9 to 12. In addition, a citizenship education class will be held on Monday nights from 8 to 9:30.

"The team did not have to do any painting or repairing. A little cleaning had to be done to one of the centers, but, otherwise, they are in good condition. One of the centers did not have rest rooms, but the community has provided for one to be installed at once," writes Cleveland Lee from Sumter.

York

"At the end of the two-day registration period, we had about 200 tutees requesting everything from learning to 'write my name' to philosophy and data processing!" writes Mickey Dakers from the SPEEDY Rock Hillers.

"After much consideration on our part, we limited the scheduled classes to reading, math, arts and crafts, and recreation. Extra classes that are being worked-in include foreign languages, piano, special education, history and higher math," he continued.

The average class is set up on a 5 to 1 ratio, although the groups vary from as few as one to as many as twelve students.

FROM THE STAFF

THE DIRECTOR COMMENTS

Generally, reports of the teams have been favorable. Of course there have been other scattered remarks. From one team, "the hamburgers and french fries are good--but for nine days straight!" And, "We've enjoyed our housing, all four places we've lived."

It has been almost impossible to have just 10 children in each class, but, through volunteers and a few afternoon classes, most do not exceed 12. While many of the teams are sticking to the basics, classes have been started in philosophy, typing and French.

The Advisory Committees vary so much from county to county that it is hard to make any generalizations. Certainly, most of them gave untold hours in preparation. Out of concern for team members and the project, a few Advisory Committees have made changes with which the team members did not agree and vice-versa. These should be worked out through a closer relationship and consultation between teams and Advisory Committees.

One thing to avoid is tutoring so many students that no time is left for other aspects like field trips and, most importantly, individual help and attention.

Brad Poston
Project Director

SPEED-UP
1330 Laurel St.
Columbia, S. C.

Non-Profit Org.
Postage Paid
Columbia, S. C.
Permit No. 758

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

STATE Councils

SCCHR

SPEED UP

Vol.1 No.5 July 8, 1966 Page 1

TUTORS COMPARE METHODS

"In tutoring, we seek to close educational gaps."

"Our aim is to get children to think critically."

"We think that the most important things needed now are basic lessons in such things as how to apply for a job."

"Well, we feel that, if children can't read and children can't think critically, there must be something wrong with the educational system. We would like to look at this system as well as tutor.

These were the opinions of various individuals presently directing tutoring projects and who met in Washington, D. C., in mid June. SPEED-UP Director Brad Poston attended the meeting and gave a report to the staff and team leaders at a meeting June 30 at the Columbia Hotel.

Team leaders agreed that each approach had its merits, but SPEED-UP favors a total approach to tutoring. This approach would encompass many of the new techniques suggested at the Washington meeting plus other responses to needs in the community.

For example, parents could be invited to hear poetry read or to see their children in a play. These parents could then be the spear-head for a Parents' Committee on Tutoring which may do any number of things--from sponsoring a lecture series to supporting tutorials.

(Continued on page 2)

CAREER CONFERENCE TO BE HELD AS PART OF SPEED-UP PROGRAM

Herbert M. Grooce, Jr., Special Assistant to the Vice President of the U.S., will be one of the featured speakers at the SPEED-UP Career Conference July 30.

The conference, initiated to salvage and direct talents of South Carolina students, will be held in two to four

(Continued on page 4)

VOLUNTEER VISITS MAY HELP IN TEAM EXCHANGE OF IDEAS

A Team Exchange Program has been suggested as a way for teams to share ideas.

Through this program, a student chosen by his team could make arrangements for his Friday classes so that he could spend Friday through Sunday with another group.

Food and housing could be provided by the host team. Transportation would be provided by the visiting team.

"This program would be invaluable in building closer ties and a firmer program. We hope it can soon go into effect," said Brad Poston, Project Director.

FAMILY LIFE MEETING TO PROVIDE INFORMATION ABOUT FOOD, HEALTH

A Family Life Conference will be held July 23 in Rock Hill in cooperation with the York County SPEED-UP team to give families information about health, nutrition and other areas.

Serena Staggers, director of the program, announced that the meeting will be held either at the SPEED-UP center or possibly at Clinton Junior College.

"We want to make families aware of where they can go to get help if they need it and how they can better plan a household," Miss Staggers explained.

George Bennett of the S.C. State Health Department and Francis Walsh, a nurse with the Department, are two of the Consultants scheduled to attend the meeting.

TUTORS COMPARE METHODS . . .

(Continued from page 1)

The parent group could have the immediate job of helping recruit and direct student volunteers from near-by colleges to carry on tutoring in the fall.

Tutors must also be aware of the needs of the community if the tutoring is to be a total thing, team leaders said. Reports should be written concerning housing, people who need welfare and are not getting, and areas which could use SPEED-UP in the future.

SPEED-UP in the present is trying to be creative, perceptive and one step ahead of the kids.

One machine which lends itself to creative uses is the tape recorder, according to team leaders in Richland and Bamberg Counties.

"You are going to try and sell an old car with lavendar running boards to an old lady," is one assignment to a student who stands with microphone in hand.

"I am going to interview you for world-wide press coverage. Can you tell me how it feels to be the first woman to swim the Atlantic Ocean," said a tutor to a student whose comments were about to be put on tape.

The machines have been used to tape a class which can then be reviewed with the tutor by the team leader and model teacher.

Students can read stories and interview each other. In this way, they learn to express themselves, ask questions and get the facts straight. Then they can hear their own performance.

Using the machines of pencil, paper and brains, students have been asked to write compositions on "If I had $100" or "If I were a tree."

The Rock Hill team has found that, if they tutor only three days a week, they can move into other areas where work is needed.

Students have been traveling to out-lying areas that are not served by existing programs. Here volunteers hold classes on porches or in living rooms for special students who are handicapped or who have never been to school.

Volunteers from the community are being incorporated into the program. In Florence, college volunteers have been willing to give 8 to 12 hours in one day to help with reading or home economics.

Darlington neighborhood volunteers are being trained to take over tutoring "so we won't even be missed in September when we go back to school," said team leader Mary Carlton O'Neal.

POVERTY . . .

Our minds are sensitive to poverty like raw finger tips are sensitive to the slightest pressure.

As we sat in classrooms, poverty was always something across town. Even when it was something right outside our windows, it was still outside.

This is what SPEED-UP volunteers are now saying. For some students, life has already meant poverty, and they watch as others come to know the smell, the feel, the mind of it.

"Poverty is not just lack of money, but all the things that go with it--no magazines, no books, no decent work, no hope, no future. I'm overwhelmed," said one student.

"I've finally realized the effect of poverty on the personalities of its victims. Poverty is not usually due to laziness--the cards are stacked against these people from birth."

Students are beginning to feel the frustration of their own helplessness.

"I am now a part of poverty with one exception. I can leave in two months."

Yet, there is inspiration.

"I want to help more than ever before, though it does look hopeless sometimes. But not with the children. The look in their eyes makes me realize that I represent hope. And there is hope."

And, finally, a new view: "Many of these people prove that <u>we</u> are the poverty-stricken ones."

WHO IS THIS GIRL ?

An ambiguous picture, paper, pencil and a creative tutor produced the compositions that tells a story about this girl.

The junior high students first answered a series of questions: How old is the girl? Where does she live? What time of year is it? What kind of house does she live in? How large is her family? What is she thinking about and what is she going to do about it?

After answering these questions, the students wrote paragraphs....

A STORY OF DEATH

about 8 or 9
Alabama
Winter
apartment
3 children
yes I think she so to school
no she don't have a job
she to young
I think something has happen
she'll probably call the police

She was probably 8 or 9 years old. Her home town was in Alabama. It was a very cold winter that part of the year, the apartment which she lived was

WHAT IS SHE THINKING ?

very cold inside. The family was poor and had little food to eat. She had to go to school with nothing to eat. When she came home that day she found her brother dead from hunger.

EVICTED FAMILY

12 years old
Mississippi
Winter
apartment
6 children in her family
yes, I think she goes to school
no job
she's thinking what's going to happen to her
she might try to run away

Juanita, a young girl from Mississippi is thinking of what is going to happen to her and her family. Since they were living in a small apartment house, and the size of their family was too large for the house. The father maybe had gotten killed about three months ago. The mother a widow about forty was about to be put out of the small apartment. And the young girl Juanita was thinking of what's going to happen to the family.

ALL ALONE

She is eight years old
She is from Africa
time of year - winter
five children
no she don't go to school
no she don't have a job
running away from home
pack her clothes
she live in a house

Mary Bell was travel with her family. They had stop in town for a while. Mary Bell went wonder off. And her family left her their. it was cold in the winter time. They was on there way home. she had live in Jacksonville. she was only eight years old. and she didn't have no where to stay.

...Such as the thoughts of young people.

THE BAD TIMES AND THE GOOD TIMES COME

A worn and dusty team leader drives a dusty car down a worn road. He reaches his destination and jumps out of the car like a general jumps out of his jeep and begins snapping out orders about the strict schedule to be followed in using the one car serving a team spread out over 30 miles.

A groggy team stumbles down to a breakfast of peanut butter on spoons and carries away a lunch of peanut butter sandwhiches to sustain them through the day until they return for their real treat of supper of peanut butter and jelly sandwhiches.

Another team holds daily funeral services for the unfortunate animals that have been brought to the center's "science museum."

And so goes the SPEED-UP project, at least this is the way things sound for a while.

But there are brighter sides, lighter sides, more encouraging sides.

For one thing, the general has gotten another car, so that means that one car serves about 15 miles instead of 30.

The peanut butter has been cashed in for spare ribs and pizza.

The children are learning that, if they don't feed the animals in the science museum, they really will die, and so now no one eats until the animals eat.

The numbers game is going strong in some areas. One team is waiting for tobacco season to open so that their gargantuan number of students will fall to a more reasonalbe number. Another team rejoices because the size of the arts and crafts class trippled in size during the first week.

After some measure of haranguing, a team finally convinced the powers that be that a softball team could not practice on a field full of trees. Now the trees are gone.

The bad times and the good times come.

CAREER CONFERENCE...

(Continued from page 1)

centers, probably in Columbia, Sumter, Greenville or Orangeburg.

Lacey Myers, Director of Counseling and coordinator of the conference, said, "We want to give information about college to those who have the potential and we want to introduce various trades that are open to those who cannot go to college."

The day will begin with a general session witha keynote speaker in each center. Students will then break up into smaller groups to confer with visiting officials from trade schools, colleges, and professions. A social hour will follow.

SPEED-UP volunteers are serving on planning committees.

SPEED-UP
1330 Laurel St.
Columbia, S. C.

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Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Rorsyth St.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ... 30303
JAckson 2-3764

PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

September 15, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: State Council Directors and SRC Staff

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: CHANGES OF ADDRESS

Your attention is called to certain changes which have occurred since we issued a new state council directory in August:

Elijah Coleman has been made Acting Director of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. Nat Griswold has resumed his leave of absence.

The Louisiana Council has opened their new office. Materials should now be sent to 7986 Scenic Highway, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Telephone (504) 775-8048.

The North Carolina Council has moved its office to Greensboro. The address is 233-1/2 Greene Street, Greensboro, Telephone (919) 275-6589.

The Houston Council has named Mrs. Frances Dukler Acting Director, pending employment of a new executive director.

October 3, 1966

Mr. Baxton Bryant, Director
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
1106 - 19th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee 37312

Dear Baxton:

It was good, as always, to see you in Atlanta. Let me know when you would like for me to make a move regarding Memphis.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

hj

ARKANSAS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

6 October 1966

Mr. Emory Via, Director
Labor Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

I was talking to Jim Youngdahl, the labor attorney from Little Rock, the other day, and he mentioned that he had discussed with you the possibility of calling a meeting of several knowledgeable people from around the country to discuss the seniority problem in adjusting wage contracts under the Civil Rights Act.

He reminded me that he was still interested in working out this problem outside the courts. As you know the legal support for adjusting seniority problems is very weak, but I believe he discussed all this with you when he was in Atlanta.

I just wanted to drop you a note to tell you that ACHR would be glad to help arrange such a conference or assist you at arranging one at Atlanta.

We are also very much interested in the problem of apprenticeship programs for the training of skilled workers here in Arkansas and the possibility of using manpower redevelopment training funds in such a program. If you have any information that would be helpful in this regard, I would very much appreciate it. We are in conversation with some state labor leaders about the possibility of a meeting over the state on this problem.

Thanking you for any consideration you may give us, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Walter B Clancy

(Rev.) Walter B. Clancy
Chairman, Board of Directors

WBC:cit

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A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples

October 14, 1966

The Reverend Walter B. Clancy
Chairman of the Board of Directors
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Father Clancy:

Your letter and offer of assistance are most appreciated.

I am still working on the Seniority Conference idea. It would be a small working group and probably would meet here in Atlanta unless some other spot proves to be even more central to the participants.

I am glad to hear of your interest in apprentice programs. Do you already have a committee or someone developing ideas in this regard? If so, how far have they proceeded and with whom have they had contact? For example, have they been in touch with labor department people and if so, who are they? If you have already had some positive response from state labor leaders, could you fill me in a little more on this, too?

You may note from the memorandum which Ed Stanfield and I sent to the state councils that SRC is prepared to offer certain kinds of assistance in programs directed at apprenticeship. We can certainly offer some outside consultative help. This could be possibly done in meeting your present request for information about using Manpower Training Funds for developing skilled workers. Your answer to the questions above will help guide me in making a suggestion of a consultant,

I look forward to hearing from you further in this regard.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Babor Program

hj

Tennessee Council On Human Relations

~~1106 19th AVENUE, SOUTH~~ • NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE, 37212 • TELEPHONE 297-6568
1207 18th Avenue South

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October 18, 1966

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
BAXTON BRYANT
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HARRY WIERSEMA, JR.
RESEARCH AND COMPLIANCE
MRS. JERI WIERSEMA

Mr. Emery Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emery:

I have spent the last few days in Memphis and had an opportunity to look into the Negro labor situation. Take what I say with a grain of salt, but it seems that there is a loss of faith on the part of labor in some of the Negro political leadership.

It would seem that we must develop a broader base of Negro leadership than now exists. Some of the relationships have been caused by political campaigns jointly conducted by labor and Negro leadership, how funds are handled, and a spirit of reciprocity on various causes. This is especially true in regard to the selection of members of the committee that drew up the new plan of city government that is being submitted to the voters on November 8.

Most of my conversation was with labor, but knowing what I do about the total situation I feel pretty strongly that they have adequate reason for their doubts. I think it would be good if you could visit Memphis and talk privately with the Negro and labor leadership. The council has developed a close relationship with a broader based Negro leadership in the community than the present political leadership and may be of help in this direction, if you concur that this might be helpful.

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MISS LOUISE YOUNG, NASHVILLE
C. E. YOUNG, LEBANON

Dan Powell would be a good person to start talking with. Let me know your thoughts and come to see us.

Sincerely,

Baxton

Baxton Bryant (jw)

BB:jw

VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
17 EAST CARY STREET
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23219
TELEPHONE: AREA CODE 703—648-4444

26 October 1966

ALEXANDRIA
ARLINGTON
BLACKSBURG
CHARLOTTESVILLE
COVINGTON
DANVILLE
FAIRFAX
FRANKLIN
FREDERICKSBURG
GILES
HANOVER
HOPEWELL
LANCASTER-NORTHUMBERLAND
LEXINGTON
LOUDOUN
LYNCHBURG
MERCER-TAZEWELL
NORFOLK
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PETERSBURG
PORTSMOUTH
PRINCE EDWARD
PRINCE WILLIAM
RADFORD
RICHMOND
ROANOKE
ROCKINGHAM
VIRGINIA BEACH
WARRENTON
WILLIAMSBURG
COLLEGE COUNCIL

Mr. Emory Via
Labor Project
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

The VCHR plans to hold its Annual Meeting on Saturday, January 14, 1967. During the morning, we will have a brief VCHR Board Meeting and the afternoon will be devoted to SRC and VCHR Staffs' presenting a joint workshop for the 1967 Program.

We would desire as many as possible of the SRC Special Project Directors present for this workshop, briefly stating the purposes of their work and raising serious challenging questions and issues with us. If you cannot come, please send a representative from your department.

The place of the workshop will be announced later, but the date and time will be Saturday, January 14, 1967, at 10:00 a.m.

We thank you for your fine cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Robert Lee Combs

Robert Lee Combs, Executive Director

RLC :rbm

November 1, 1966

Mr. J. Donald Jenkins
Presbyterian Distribution Service
225 Varick Street
New York, New Yorkm10014

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

Can you tell me, if the master print of "Face of the South" is still available and in good condition? This film was produced by the United Presbyterian Church in 1957 and featured the late George S. Mitchell, Executive Director, of the Southern Regional Council.

The prints which I know of are in poor condition. I believe there would be an interest in four or five prints and perhaps more, if word got out that new prints were available.

I believe that the original sponsorship of the film came from the Department of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education at 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Frank Willard, here in Atlanta, who made the film is under the impression that the master print may still be with the Broadcasting and Film Commission of the NCC.

Any information you can provide in this matter would be most appreciated.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

hj

November 1, 1966

Ideal Pictures
133 Nassau Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Do you distribute the film "Face of the South" which was produced by the United Presbyterian Church? Do you have, or know of, a print which is in fairly first class condition? The film was produced in 1957.

It would be even more useful to know where the original master print is now located and if it is in good condition. Any assistance you can give in this matter will be most appreciated.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

hj

Telephone (205) 887-3438

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

POST OFFICE BOX 1310 AUBURN, ALABAMA 36830

DR. C. G. GOMILLION, President

BOB VALDER, Associate Director LEWIS BLACK, Director, Rural Advancement Project

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Alfred Radney, Talladega

November 3, 1966

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I am writing to remind you of my interest in the mininum wage program which we discussed earlier.

I am really not sure of how to proceed from here, but I hope you have some ideas on that. I guess I am thinking right now of getting together some local chapter, probably in Auburn or Tuskegee, to see what we can come up with.

Of course, you will need to provide whatever literature you think best in terms of clarity, comprehensiveness, etc.

Let me hear your ideas and we can proceed.

Sincerely,

Bob

Bob Valder

BV:mee

cc: J. Edwin Stanfield

November 9, 1966

Robert Valder
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Post Office Box 1310
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Dear Bob:

Thanks for your letter regarding the Minimum Wage Program.

I hope to soon find someone to develop the appropriate materials. If you feel one of your groups is already set to move, I would consider coming over with someone from the Wage and Hour Division and simply get them started from scratch. Ideally, it would be better to wait until we have had the materials prepared.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

hj

MEMO

from Alice N. Spearman

Alice

To Emory Via Date 11-29-66 Time

We'd "love" to have you but hope to "dig" into your area after this scatter-gun approach is over.

Come if you can!

Alice

☐ Reply ☐ Initial and return ☐ See me

SCCHR

CHALLENGE TO CITIZEN INVOLVEMENT

IN SOUTH CAROLINA

You are invited to participate in one of the simultaneous workshops being sponsored by the South Carolina Council on Human Relations with the cooperation of leaders from many organizations, institutions and agencies.

Wade Hampton Hotel, Columbia, S. C.

December 6, 1966 10:15 - 12:15

The workshops will give an overview of each of the areas of interest listed below--present programs, needs, problems, resources--and plan programs of study and action, involving citizens.

I. THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

What do we know about problems of youthful offenders? magistrate courts? prisoner rehabilitation? legal aid services? the jury system? the rights of the accused?

What can we do about law enforcement? penal reform? the dual system of justice? aiding released prisoners? youthful offenders?

II. ECONOMICS AND EMPLOYMENT

What do we know about family incomes in South Carolina? training and retraining programs? credit unions? job opportunities for Negro citizens?

What can we do about motivating more citizens for training? getting to the people who need help most? bringing South Carolina standards of employment and income in line with the national level?

III. EDUCATION

What do we know about bold new programs to raise the educational level for pre-school children? in-school children? adults? drop-outs? the non-enrolled child? about vocational and technical education and progress in school desegregation?

What can we do to develop broadly-based citizen commitment to quality education at all levels? effect maximum citizen involvement for setting goals, priorities, insuring adequate financial undergirding? a law for compulsory school attendance with supportive services? other?

IV. THE ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAM

What do we know directly of persons who live in poverty? about the present status of anti-poverty funds, programs, personnel problems? about specifics of community action?

What can we do to become active personally? interpret and involve others in meeting the number one challenge which poverty makes to affluence?

V. WELFARE

What do we know about the extent of malnutrition? recipients of welfare? problems of the aging, the physically handicapped? the unmet needs of children?

What can we do to insure a state-wide surplus food program? see that unemployed parents are trained for jobs? provide more adequate community resources for the persons who need special assistance? supplement the services of professionals by the involvement of trained volunteers?

VI. HOUSING

What do we know about urban renewal, public housing, housing codes for cities and counties? the availability of low-cost housing in rural areas? construction costs? the housing market? zoning? changing neighborhoods?

What can we do to improve standards and assure the availability of adequate housing at fair prices to low-income families? to assure a non-discriminatory housing market? other?

VII. THE CHURCH AND HUMAN RELATIONS

What do we know about the pronouncement of the churches on social issues? programs of involvement of the church in meeting human needs? pressures for maintaining the status quo in our churches?

What can we do to bring practice in line with profession? to minister with relevance to the whole man and to all the needs of the community? to restore again to the church moral leadership in race relations? to develop churches open to all?

SCCHR REVIEW

November
1966

1330 Laurel St.
Columbia, S.C..29201

* *

YOU ARE INVITED

to the Twelfth Annual Meeting of the

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Tuesday, December 6, 1966 Wade Hampton Hotel, Columbia, S.C.

9:30 Registration
10:15 Workshops in the following areas:

I. The Administration of Justice
II. Economics and Employment
III. Education and the Schools
IV. The Anti-Poverty Program
V. Welfare
VI. Housing
VII. The Church and Human Relations

12:30 Lunch - everyone on his own

2:15 Registration
2:30 Afternoon session will feature Paul Anthony as speaker, special reports and the annual business meeting.

6:00 Registration
Dinner - Ballroom of the hotel
Address: LESSONS FROM ATLANTA, Dr. Vivian W. Henderson, President of Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia

* *

Please detach and return not later than December 2, 1966, to

S. C. Council on Human Relations, 1330 Laurel Street, Columbia, S.C. 29201

Name _____

Address _____

_____ I plan to attend Workshop No.

_____ Please reserve ____ tickets for the dinner at $3.25 each.

_____ Payment enclosed _____ Will pay at banquet

MORE ABOUT THE ANNUAL MEETING

Citizen Involvement in growth and development is basic to continuing and increasing the tempo of progress in South Carolina. This challenge will underlie all aspects of the 1966 annual meeting on December sixth.

Plan Car Pools of SCCHR members and other alert citizens from your community. Arrange to spend the entire day and to participate in the workshops, the afternoon session and the evening dinner meeting! Please send in your reservations for dinner promptly.

THE 1966 REPORT OF PROGRAM: PAST -- PRESENT -- PROPOSED

The report for this year is appearing in two parts prior to the annual meeting so that informed member participation may be increased. For the report on such administrative matters as finance, membership, organization, and staffing see the September-October issue of SCCHR REVIEW.

Workshops to be held on Tuesday morning, December 6 from 10:15 to 12:15 o'clock will highlight and detail the program emphases of SCCGR and a growing number of other agencies, organizations and individuals. Proposed new study and action programs will be projected around the following concerns: The Administration of Justice and Law Enforcement; Anti-Poverty Programs; Welfare; and Housing.

Workshop programs in any of the areas scheduled I through VII will be mailed to those requesting same.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

Special Surveys to determine conditions and number of low-income families have been conducted during 1966 in Holly Hill, Elloree, St. George, and in Dillon and Calhoun counties.

Delegations to the South Carolina General Assembly have been approached by special committees of Council members and urged to institute county-wide food distribution programs in several counties.

To Determine Compliance with Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, a survey was made this year of leading industries in nine (9) counties.

Farmer Cooperatives and Credit Unions are being encouraged, and a few are being organized.

Participation in ASCS Elections (Agriculture Stabilization and Conservation Service) by farm operators was actively promoted prior to the September elections.

RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECTS VITAL

Program Activities of the Rural Advancement Project have included reorganization of county groups for better attendance. The number of counties served increased from twenty-four (24) to thirty (30). Ten meeting centers were established convenient to three-county groups. Emphasis has been placed on informational and referral services, and on leadership training.

Projected Programs include efforts at continuous economic development with added emphasis upon 1) low-income housing at minimal costs under FHA (Farmers Home Administration), 2) diversified farming and assistance available for its increase.

UPGRADING EDUCATION AT ALL LEVELS: AN EMPHASIS IN SCCHR

SCCHR and Local Councils have a long standing and continuing involvement in educational programs and projects. Basic has been the process of defining needs and problems and keeping abreast of the bold new programs designed to meet them.

Implementation of Programs such as work-study for college students; work-training for high school youth; summer job opportunities for youth, which emphasize training; the Neighborhood Youth Corps which engages school drop-outs in a combination of work and study etc., have been given priority.

Recruitment of Trainees continues for job training at all levels through adult education, technical and vocational education and the STEP program (Special Training for Economic Progress).

Special Preparation Through RAP (SCCHR's Rural Advancement Program) and its tri-county organizations is being made for recruitment of under-employed and unemployed rural people in the massive training program proposed for Project T-Square hopefully to be launched in South Carolina soon.

Dissemination of Information through group meetings, mass mailings, inter-organizational cooperation and support focus upon informed citizen participation in implementation, especially of the following acts:

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act (P.L. 89-253)

The Higher Education Act (P.L. 89-329)

1965 extensions of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 to provide up to 2 years on-the-job or classroom training for persons unemployed because they lack education or skills; and

The educational provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act extended by P.L. 89-253 to June 30, 1968.

STUDENT INVOLVEMENT IN COMMUNITY

The Program of the South Carolina Student Council this year has found student members involved in significant ways in community action. Specifically these are ways in which the students have been involved --

A Work Week-end, held in February at Our Lady of Mercy Welfare Center in Charleston, proved to be a significant experience for the students and the community people with whom they worked.

Operation Search, a year-round project, seeks out and encourages qualified Negro high school students to continue their education. Through visits to high schools or to community meetings set up for high school students, through mailings to National Achievement Scholars and other recommended high school students, and a wide distribution of materials, students have been informed and encouraged to continue their education. Emphasis has been placed on these students enrolling in one of the recently desegregated colleges of the state.

A Committee on Compulsory School Attendance Law (Co-Co-Sal) has existed for two years. It informs and solicits citizens' support for such a measure, a definite need to undergird all that is done in education in the state.

Tutoring has continued with five student tutoring projects under the auspices of SCSCHR. In February five tutorial training workshops were held in five colleges of the state under the leadership of Lowell Dodge, director of Youth Education Services (YES) in North Carolina. These workshops opened up new techniques in tutoring and gave valuable guidelines for the Student Project for Educational and Economic Development for Underprivileged People (SPEED-UP), a tutoring and community development arm of the Student Council.

Two Conferences, one in the spring and another in the fall, have been held during the year. Southern Justice was the theme of the spring conference and the fall conference focus was on the Role of the Student in the Educational System. Students from 23 of the colleges of the state have participated in some phase of the SCSCHR program.

Plans for the Future include a continuation of all of the areas of work listed above with a more intensive effort. Students will try to bring about needed changes on their own campuses and in the community, as discussed at the conferences of the year, through work in poverty areas, citizenship education, exchange programs, academic freedom and related campus issues. As we look to the future a greater coordination of the student work with the total program of SCCHR is indicated, with a full time staff person who will spend a great deal of time in campus visitation. College students can have a major role in upgrading this state and helping to solve some of its pressing problems. This is the objective of the student council.

Study of needs for effective Compulsory School Attendance legislation and of complementary services is receiving priority.

Cooperation and Support have been given to numerous special projects in education, such as the Southern Rural Training Project; The Southern Teaching Project; the American Friends Service Committee's summer tutoring project for transferees to desegregated schools in three (3) rural counties, and The Southern Christian Leadership Conference's citizenship education program.

School Desegregation - Tutoring projects of SCSCHR and SPEED-UP, work with parents, assistance given in the planning and execution of two (2) statewide conferences on school desegregation, an in-depth study of the pattern of desegregation in one school district, and efforts to recruit white teachers for school transfers indicate the scope of the Council's work in this important area. Mr. Hayes Mizell, formerly with SCCHR,is now doing full-time work in this area with A.F.S.C.

Recommendations for Future Educational Programs include: 1) development of an intensified and coordinated citizen effort in support for an adequate compulsory school attendance law; 2) inclusion of qualified Negroes on educational committees, college trustee and school boards and at other policy-making levels; and 3) involvement of more volunteers in tutorials and other projects related to upgrading education at all levels.

THE CHURCH AND HUMAN RELATIONS

This continuing concern in the SCCHR program received new impetus as a result of the outstanding statewide conference on "The Racial Revolution in Christian Perspective," held in Columbia on October 18. This conference was planned and carried out through the efforts of an ecumenical committee of churchmen. SCCHR leaders and staff were instrumental in initiating this effort and worked in key committee assignments. Over three hundred churchmen assembled to confront crucial issues, to increase understanding and to consider the implications of the Christian faith for contemporary life. A follow-up committee is now at work to continue the process begun at this conference at state and local levels.

The Council distributed information and encouraged participation in denominational regional summer conferences focusing on social concerns. Thirteen council members attended the very outstanding Presbyterian conference on Poverty, the Church and Race in Montreat in mid-August.

Program assistance is now being given in conjunction with the current mission study for major denominations on "Poverty and Affluence." Speakers have been provided and packets of material on the economic situation in South Carolina and on anti-poverty programs are being distributed from the Council office. This packet may be had upon request to the South Carolina Council on Human Relations office as long as the supply of materials lasts, for use in conjunction with the Poverty and Affluence study.

SPEED-UP DECLARED ONE OF TOP STUDENT PROGRAMS IN NATION

SPEED-UP, the Student Project for Educational and Economic Development for Underprivileged People is a tutoring and community development service which utilizes South Carolina students, working in their own state in poverty areas, helping people to help themselves. It has been evaluated by staff members working with student demonstration projects under the Office of Economic Opportunity as one of the outstanding student projects in the nation.

This Past Summer the full-time SPEED-UP program involved one hundred and fifty South Carolina college students and neighborhood workers in twenty-eight communities in thirteen counties. They taught and tutored children and adults; they also provided programs of recreation, information and cultural enrichment. This was a learning experience for South Carolina's participating college students and for the staff which worked with them.

At Present, SPEED-UP is continuing a tutoring and community development program in a number of the communities, enlisting college students as volunteers who work under the guidance of a small staff of three. SPEED-UP is requesting VISTA volunteers and hopes to place them in ten of the poorer counties of the state. Paperback books, secured through the Southern Regional Council, are being placed in five counties. The SPEED-UP staff has spent much time in drawing up a proposal for a continuing program which is being presented to the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington, D. C.

The Future of SPEED-UP looks - - - -
to the involvement of many more indigenous persons in tutoring and community development programs;
to the establishment of credit unions by assisting the Rural Advancement Project (RAP);
to work with drop-outs as well as the in-school child, developing programs which may apprentice to local businessmen the drop-out who has no desire to return to school;
in general to community action programs which will generate feelings of community pride and self-confidence.

S.C. Council on
Human Relations
1330 Laurel St.
Columbia, S. C.

Non-Profit Org.
Postage Paid
Columbia, S. C.
Permit No. 758

URGENT

State H.R.C
Jead

January 6, 1967

The Reverend Benjamin Grinage
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Reverend Grinage:

Enclosed is a memorandum from Emory Via, who is in charge of the Labor Education Project at the Southern Regional Council. I told Mr. Via that I felt that you could help him out. If you could supply him with the requested list as soon as possible, I would greatly appreciate it.

Best wishes for the new year and your organizational program.

Sincerely,

Marvin Wall
Director of Research
Voter Education Project

MW/pf
cc: Mr. Emory Via

Little Rock

MEMORANDUM

TO: MARVIN WALL

FROM: EMORY VIA

Could you supply the labor project with names of persons, organizational identification, and addresses who are Negro leaders in the First Congressional District of Arkansas.

This would include Blytheville, Jonesboro, Newport, Forest City, Helena.

Such persons might be active in Voter education, politics, NAACP, SNCC, SCLC(?) or other organizations if they are reall leaders . Up to a dozen names.

Thanks.

NEW DIRECTIONS FOR GEORGIA

SPEED-UP
ORIENTATION

June 5-June 11

SUNDAY, JUNE 5

3:00-6:00	REGISTRATION at the Columbia Hotel Team leaders will meet at 2:00 at the Columbia Hotel in the Hunt Room
6:00-7:30	Supper
7:30-9:00	Introduction of staff Staff Panel: "Preparation and Goals for SPEED-UP"
9:00-10:30	Dr. Warren Haggstrom and dialogue
10:30-11:30	Teams meet with team leaders
11:30	Staff and team leaders meeting

MONDAY, JUNE 6

9:00-10:30	Panel - "Progress in South Carolina"
11:00-12:30	Tutoring workshop with Don Moore Neighborhood Workers meet with staff
12:30-2:00	Lunch
2:00-3:30	Vernon Jordan and Dialogue (tematave)
3:30-5:30	Teams meet with Neighborhood Workers for "General Picture of Locale"
5:30-7:30	Supper
7:30-9:00	Dr. Leroy Anderson "Self Concept" Dialogue following address
9:15-10:15	Clark Roof
10:30	Staff meeting and team leaders meeting

TUESDAY, JUNE 7

9:30-11:00	Emory Via ~~and Dialogue~~ "Changing South"
11:15-12:30	Tutoring workshop with Lowell Dodge "Philopophy and Techniques of Tutoring"
12:30-2:30	Lunch (all students working in citizenship education have lunch with Al Ulmer)
2:30-4:30	Dodge continued
4:30-5:30	Team discussions - program planning
5:30-7:30	Supper (same students meet with Al Ulmer)
7:30-9:00	Dodge continued
9:15-10:15	Film. Team discussions following film
11:00	Staff and team leaders meet

WEDNESDAY JUNE 8

9:30-12:30	Tutoring workshop with Don Moore "Materials"
12:30-2:00	Lunch
2:00-5:30	Clark Roof "Gathering Information"
5:30-7:30	Supper
7:30-9:30	L. S. James Al Ulmer
9:30-11:00	Teams meet for program planning
11:00	Staff meeting and team leaders meeting

THURSDAY, JUNE 9

9:00-10:30	"Entering the Community" Mr. Ben Mack
11:00-1:00	Clinics Citizenship Education Home Planning Arts and crafts Athletics Public Relations Materials personnel and typists Volunteer personnel
1:00-2:30	Lunch

(OVER)

THURSDAY CONT.

2:30-5:30	Groups of three counties each to meet and discuss program planning
5:30-7:30	Supper
7:30-10:30	Workshops Secondary Math Primary Math History Remedial Reading
11:00 Staff and team meeting	

FRIDAY, JUNE 10

9:30-12:30	Workshop with Mr. Robert Fakkema
12:30-2:00	Lunch
2:00-3:30	Clinics (same as Thursday)
3:30-6:00	Team meetings to finalize program planning
6:00-8:00	Supper meeting with Dr. James M. Dabbs
8:00--- FREE	

SATURDAY, JUNE 11

All students will move out into their respective communities--not leaving the hotel any later than 2:00 pm (check-out time)

File Va. Conf on People, Rely

NOVEMBER 28 • 29, 1966
JOHN MARSHALL HOTEL
RICHMOND

CONFERENCE ON PEOPLE, RELIGION AND A CHANGING VIRGINIA

Under auspices of the Virginia Council on Human Relations in cooperation with leaders of the statewide religious community

Virginia Conference Office: 17 East Cary Street, Richmond 23219, Dial (703) 648-4444

October 19, 1966 (#3)

TO: National Executives

Little time for planning remains before our conference. Once more, let me say that we are counting as one of the features of the conference, the presence and help of a top leader from your office -- and advance confirmation is highly encouraging -- 25 or more already (see enclosed list).

It is hoped that you will be available for these services:

1 - A resource person for one of the discussion groups (meeting for 1 1/2 hours after each of the four major addresses); each discussion group will carry on with the topic of the address. Study guides are sent to each one who registers. Have you registered with the conference office (17 East Cary St., Richmond, Va. 23219, $7.50)?

2 - Be available for personal and group conferences at other times.

3 - Provide printed matter from your agency for your special table throughout the conference. To be sent addressed to you at the John Marshall Hotel shortly before the conference. (It is hoped that you can have local constituents "man" the table during the conference.)

4 - Be available if requested for radio-TV interviews and discussions.

5 - Be available "afterhours" Monday and Tuesday nights for conferences.

6 - Let us know what you think are the best movies available on conference topics, and sources.

Some national agencies have made financial contributions of up to $500. This is not required but it will be a great help on our budget of $5,000.

You should make your own hotel reservation. Card is enclosed to be sent to the hotel.

It is also important if you can check with your Virginia contacts to make sure that the conference is being well promoted.

(You recall that all national executives are on their own with their expenses, including registration, cared for by their own headquarters as a contribution to this conference.)

Thank you for all your help.

/ s / AUBREY N. BROWN, Jr., Planning Chairman

ANB/1

PLANNING COMMITTEE

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SPONSORS

The call to the November 28-29, 1966, Conference on People, Religion, and a Changing Virginia and the invitation to participate in it are extended by the following responsible leaders of the statewide religious community who are the conference Sponsors:

Theodore F. Adams, former president, Baptist World Alliance
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Henry C. Bunton, bishop, Christian Methodist Episcopal Church
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Emmet A. Frank, rabbi, Beth El Hebrew Congregation, Alexandria
T. A. Freeman, executive secretary, Abingdon Presbytery, Presbyterian Church, U. S.
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Robert F. Gibson, bishop, Episcopal Diocese of Virginia
Ariel L. Goldburg, rabbi, Temple Beth Ahabah, Richmond
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Wilton E. Hartzler, executive secretary, Southeastern regional office, American Friends Service Committee
Walker B. Healy, moderator, Presbyterian, U. S., Synod of Virginia
Mrs. Lawrence Hilgeman, president, United Church Women
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James A. Jones, president, Union Theological Seminary in Virginia
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H. Myron Kauffman, president, Virginia Council of Churches; executive secretary, Virginia Convention of Christian Churches
William H. Kohn, president, Southeastern District, the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod
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Graydon E. McClellan, general presbyter, Washington City, United Presbyterian, USA
Earl H. McClenny, president, St. Paul's College
Francis X. Pirazzini, conference minister, Central Atlantic Conference, United Church of Christ
Lucius M. Polhill, executive secretary, Baptist General Association of Virginia
Paul Reich, rabbi, Congregation Beth El, Norfolk
John J. Russell, bishop, Roman Catholic Diocese of Richmond
David H. Scull, president, Virginia Council on Human Relations
Frank A. Settle, superintendent, Wytheville District, Holston Conference, Methodist Church
L. Bill Simmons, Virginia area minister, United Church of Christ
Stanley R. Wampler, executive secretary, Va. Tri-District Office, Church of the Brethren
Peyton R. Williams, ecumenical relations chairman, Episcopal Diocese of Southern Virginia

Return form . . . To PLANNING COMMITTEE, 512 East Main Street,
Richmond, Virginia 23219

From _____ the representative to the Nov. 28-29
agency

conference in Richmond will be _____

1. For the delegates' packet, we will send you a folder dealing with a conference emphasis (1,500 copies) ____

2. I urge the showing of these movies during the conference: (give sources)

(Query: Is it reasonable to expect these to be offered without rental fees?)

3. Our agency or its Virginia unit is good for $_____ on the conference budget. (This may have been cared for otherwise.)

4. I am at your service for the possibilities listed in your #3 (Oct. 19) letter. _____

5. We have tape recordings ___; art ___; or, _____ other material related to conference emphases that we would like to exhibit.

6. Other suggestions:

Information by: _____

OVER . .

From national headquarters staffs, expected at the November 28-29 Conference on People, Religion, and a Changing Virginia - in Richmond

Protestant Episcopal Division of Christian Citizenship -- Cornelius C. Tarplee

Methodist Board of Christian Social Concerns -- J. Elliott Corbett

United Presbyterian Commission on Religion and Race -- J. Metz Rollins

Church of the Brethren Social Welfare and Race Relations -- Lee G. Whipple

Lutheran Church in America Board of Social Ministries -- Herluf M. Jensen

National Catholic Conf. for Interracial Justice -- James J. McGuire & Tom Gibbons

Southern Regional Council -- Ed Stanfield, Moreland Smith, Emory Via

United Church Women -- Maza Tilghman

American Baptist Division of Christian Social Concern --

NCC Commission on Religion and Race --

National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods --

EUB Commission on Christian Social Action --

Southern Baptist Christian Life Commission --

National Catholic Welfare Conference Social Action Department -- John F. Cronin

Church of God Commission on Social Concerns --

National Conference of Christians and Jews -- Peter Mellette

Others:

Presbyterian, U.S., Division on Church and Society -- Malcolm P. Calhoun, Irvin Elligan, George A. Chauncey

American Jewish Committee -- Brant Coopersmith

Unitarian Universalist Department of Social Responsibility --

United Church of Christ Committee for Racial Justice Now -- W. Sterling Cary

American Friends Service Committee -- Wilton E. Hartzler

Methodist Board of Missions, Women's Division -- Peggy Billings

National Council of Catholic Men --

Mennonite Committee on Peace and Social Concerns -- Paul Peachey

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith -- Jerome Levinrad, Ted Freedman (and others?)

Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity -- David Nickerson

National Council of Catholic Women --

Unitarian Universalist Fellowship for Social Justice --

Committee of Southern Churchmen -- Andrew Lipscomb

Disciples' Dept. of Christian Action and Community Service --

<u>Others</u> . . . what others should/may be expected? Please help us double-check.

OVER . . .

V/A Materials

PURPOSE To provide the first statewide occasion for Virginians of various religious persuasions to work together in light of their common Judaeo-Christian heritage toward constructive solutions for critical human problems in a time of significant social change.

SCHEDULE

Monday, November 28, 1966

10:00 a.m.-2:30 p.m., Registration, movies, informal conferences.

2:30 p.m., Opening Session. Address: Dr. George D. Kelsey of Drew University, Madison, N. J., "The Theological Bases for the Social Concern of the Religious Community."

4:00-5:30 p.m., Discussion groups

7:30 p.m., Father John F. Cronin, assistant director, Department of Social Action, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D. C., "The Role of the Religious Community in the Concern for Fair Housing."

8:30-10:00 p.m., Discussion groups
Afterhours conference with national headquarters officials

Tuesday, November 29

9:00 a.m., Worship, followed by Rabbi Jacob S. Rothschild of the Hebrew Benevolent Congregation, Atlanta, Ga., "The Role of the Religious Community in Changing Educational Patterns."

11:00-12:30, Discussion groups

12:45 p.m., Luncheon for college students, 13 N. 5th St., Dr. Samuel D. Proctor, president, Institute for Services to Education, Washington, D. C., "The College Community and Social Renewal."

2:30 p.m., Mr. Warren H. Turner, Jr., vice-president, Protestant Episcopal Executive Council, New York, "The Responsibility of the Religious Community to Set its Own House in Order."

4:00-5:30 p.m., Discussion groups

6:30 p.m., Conference Dinner, summary of findings, post-conference objectives, with the concluding challenge by Dr. Proctor.

9:00 p.m., Afterhours conferences with national executives.

Important new motion pictures touching on the conference themes will be shown throughout the schedule except during plenary sessions and meetings of discussion groups.

KELSEY

CRONIN

ROTHSCHILD

TURNER

PROCTOR

In an unprecedented undertaking, the statewide religious community invites *you* to participate in the first

CONFERENCE ON PEOPLE, RELIGION AND A CHANGING VIRGINIA

In Richmond: November 28-29, 1966

John Marshall Hotel (Monday, 2:00 p.m., through Tuesday, 9:00 p.m.)
Registration, movies and personal conferences will begin Monday at 10:00 a.m.

- Headline speakers on major topics
- Many leaders from national headquarters staffs at your service
- Exhibit of filmed and printed available helps
- Major college and seminary student participation
- Pre-conference studies across the state and post-conference opportunities for every community in Virginia

Moving toward a new day in inter-religious understanding and cooperation throughout Virginia

(Over for schedule)

TO: Virginia Conference, 17 East Cary Street, Richmond, Va. 23219 (703) 648-4444

☐ I enclose $7.50 registration fee for the November 28-29 Conference on People, Religion and a Changing Virginia (this fee covers the conference dinner). Please send suggestions for study and other helps. Please send me_____additional study guides 25¢ each to cover handling and mailing).

☐ I am making direct arrangements for room reservations with the John Marshall Hotel.

Name (print)_____

Address_____

Religious Affiliation:
(exact denominational or other name)

City_____ State_____ Zip Code_____

(Preliminary announcement)

CONFERENCE ON PEOPLE, RELIGION, AND A CHANGING VIRGINIA

For people of all religious backgrounds in Virginia

Richmond - November 28-29, 1966 - John Marshall Hotel

PURPOSE: To provide the first statewide occasion for Virginians of various religious persuasions to work together in light of their common Judaeo-Christian heritage toward constructive solutions for critical human problems in a time of significant social change.

WAYS OF PARTICIPATING: (1) Join with an interested group in your community, congregation or on your campus for pre-conference Sept.-Nov. studies in line with topics indicated below (study materials should be requested by Sept. 1 if they are not returned with reservation confirmation; where convenient it will help to enclose 25¢ for study materials to cover costs of producing and mailing). (2) Join in the Nov. 28-29 conference in Richmond where delegates are limited to 1,500, returning the form (below) n o w. (3) Be ready for the post-conference follow-up in congregations, community groups across religious lines, on campuses, etc.

CONFERENCE PREVUE: Monday, Sept. 19, 12:00 noon luncheon, Second Presbyterian Church, 13 N. 5th St., Richmond, for denominational executives, Sponsors (see over), committee members, social concern chairmen for religious bodies and state and area women's groups, one representative from each campus, and representatives of the press, radio and television.

NOVEMBER 28-29 HIGHLIGHTS (Each followed by 1½ hour small-group discussions)

1 - The Theological Bases for the Social Concern of the Religious Community, George D. Kelsey, professor of Christian Ethics, Drew University, Madison, N. J.

2 - The Role of the Religious Community in the Concern for Fair Housing, John F. Cronin, S. S., assistant director, Department of Social Action, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington

3 - The Role of the Religious Community in Changing Educational Patterns, Jacob M. Rothschild, rabbi, Hebrew Benevolent Congregation, Atlanta

4 - The Responsibility of the Religious Community to Set its Own House in Order, Warren H. Turner, Jr., vice-pres., Protestant Episcopal executive council, N.Y.

5 - Where Do We Go from Here? Carlyle Marney, pastor, Myers Park Baptist Church, Charlotte, N. C. (Closing by 9:00 p.m., Tuesday)

IN ADDITION, resource leaders will be drawn from national headquarters staffs for consultation with individuals and groups. A wide variety of printed, filmed, and recorded helps touching the discussion areas will be exhibited, showing what is available for local use.

STUDENT SECTION: Approximately 200 college students will participate (two from each organized religious group on each campus), sharing in the total program, but with a special luncheon featuring as speaker, Samuel D. Proctor, special assistant to the director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Theological Seminaries will have 60 students participating in the conference.

AUSPICES OF THE CONFERENCE: What is believed to have enlisted the widest representation of religious backgrounds in this or possibly any state (see Sponsors' list, over) is supporting this conference. It is being planned by leaders from the Virginia Council on Human Relations in cooperation with representatives of 18 or more religious organizations and official bodies.

COSTS: Religious bodies are underwriting the major expenses of the conference, so that the cost to each individual will be only the $7.50 registration fee which includes the conference dinner. Travel, room and meals must be arranged individually. Richmonders are being encouraged to extend hospitality. A bloc of rooms has been set aside at the John Marshall Hotel and individual and group reservations should be made there n o w.

WHAT TO DO NOW: (1) Publicize the significance of this conference; (2) Encourage others to join with you in pre-conference preparation; (3) Make certain that you have a place to stay for two nights in Richmond; and (4) Return this form n o w:

- -

TO: Virginia Conference, 17 East Cary Street, Richmond, Va. 23219 (703) 648-4444

___(x) I enclose $7.50 registration fee for the November 28-29 Conference on People, Religion and a Changing Virginia (this fee covers the conference dinner). Please send the study suggestions when they become available.

___(x) I am making direct arrangements for room reservations with the John Marshall Hotel.

NAME (print)_____ Religious Affiliation_____
(exact denominational or other name)

Address_____ City_____ Zip Code_____

SPONSORS

The call to the November 28-29, 1966, Conference on People, Religion, and a Changing Virginia and the invitation to participate in it are extended by the following responsible leaders of the statewide religious community who are the conference Sponsors:

Theodore F. Adams, former president, Baptist World Alliance
George W. Baber, bishop, Christian Methodist Episcopal Church
Henry C. Bunton, bishop, Christian Methodist Episcopal Church
Mrs. James J. Burns, president, Richmond Diocesan Council of Catholic Women
Constantine N. Dombalis, president, Virginia Council of Greek Orthodox Churches
J. M. Ellison, president emeritus, Virginia Union University
C. L. Evans, executive secretary, Baptist Allied Bodies of Virginia
Egbert J. Figaro, C. S. Sp., dean, St. Emma Military Academy
H. E. Finger, Jr., bishop, Holston Conference of the Methodist Church
Emmet A. Frank, rabbi, Beth El Hebrew Congregation, Alexandria
T. A. Freeman, exec. secy., Abingdon Presbytery, Presbyterian Church, U. S.
Floyd L. Fulk, supt., Evangelical United Brethren Church, Virginia Conference
Robert F. Gibson, bishop, Episcopal Diocese of Virginia
Ariel L. Goldburg, rabbi, Temple Beth Ahabah, Richmond
Walter C. Gum, bishop, Virginia Conference of the Methodist Church
Wilton E. Hartzler, exec. secy., S'eastern regional office, American Friends Service Committee
Walker B. Healy, moderator, Presbyterian, U. S., Synod of Virginia
Mrs. Lawrence Hilgeman, president, United Church Women
Guy Hepler, Salvation Army divisional commander (Lt.-Col.) for Virginia
Joseph H. Hodges, bishop, Roman Catholic Diocese of Wheeling
Ernest L. Honts, pastor, Talbot Park Baptist Church, Norfolk
Allix B. James, dean, School of Religion, Virginia Union University
James A. Jones, president, Union Theological Seminary in Virginia
Walter Royal Jones, Unitarian-Universalist representative, Charlottesville
H. Myron Kauffman, president, Virginia Council of Churches; executive secretary, Virginia Convention of Christian Churches
William H. Kohn, president, Southeastern Dist., the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod
Charles E. S. Kraemer, president, Presbyterian School of Christian Education
Byrum C. Lee, Pearisburg, chairman, Virginia Ministerial Assn., Church of God, Anderson, Ind.
William H. Marmion, bishop, Episcopal Diocese of Southwestern Virginia
J. Luther Mauney, president, Virginia Synod, Lutheran Church in America
Graydon E. McClellan, general presbyter, Washington City, United Presbyterian, USA
Earl H. McClenny, president, St. Paul's College
Francis X. Pirazzini, conf. minister, Central Atlantic Conf., United Church of Christ
Lucius M. Polhill, executive secretary, Baptist General Association of Virginia
Paul Reich, rabbi, Congregation Beth El, Norfolk
John J. Russell, bishop, Roman Catholic Diocese of Richmond
David H. Scull, president, Virginia Council on Human Relations
Frank A. Settle, supt., Wytheville Dist., Holston Conf., Methodist Church
L. Bill Simmons, Virginia Area Minister, United Church of Christ
Stanley R. Wampler, exec. secy., Va. Tri-Dist. Office, Church of the Brethren
Peyton R. Williams, ecumenical relations chairman, Episcopal Diocese of Southern Virginia

o-v-e-r

NOVEMBER 28 • 29, 1966
JOHN MARSHALL HOTEL
RICHMOND

CONFERENCE ON PEOPLE, RELIGION AND A CHANGING VIRGINIA

Under auspices of the Virginia Council on Human Relations in cooperation with leaders of the statewide religious community

Virginia Conference Office: 17 East Cary Street, Richmond 23219, Dial (703) 648-4444

In replying, please address
512 East Main St., Richmond 23219

November 4, 1966

VaCHR.

Mr. Emory F. Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

I am surprised that this list has not come into your hands earlier, because it has gone out with practically everything being mailed in the last few months, and I know that at one time a quantity of the papers were sent to the office there. In fact, I intended enclosing one in the recent mailing to you. I am sorry if we have missed something.

Faithfully yours,

ANB/pg
encl.

PLANNING COMMITTEE

AUBREY N. BROWN, JR., CHAIRMAN
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November 1, 1966

Mr. Aubrey N. Brown, Jr.
Planning Chairman
Conference on People, Religion
and a Changing Virginia
17 East Carry Street
Richmond, Virginia 23219

Dear Mr. Brown:

It would be most helpful in preparing for the conference and in making suggestions of materials or films to have a fairly specific idea as to what the conference emphasis will be. Could you send me a copy of a proposed program or even a list of conference topics?

I know that this must be a very busy time for you; however, I need a little bit more to go on.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

hj

MEET THE EXECUTIVES

We have a cordial welcome for the national and regional executives of religious bodies who are participating in our conference as consultants and resource people. They are assigned to discussion groups. At other times they will be found in Exhibit Hall B at their designated tables around the wall, in the order indicated below.

1. American Friends Service Committee, Wilton E. Hartzler, southeastern regional office, High Point, N. C.

2. American Jewish Committee, Brant Coopersmith, director, Washington

3. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Jerome Levinrad, Richmond; Ted Freedman, Atlanta

4. Church of the Brethren Service Commission, Lee G. Whipple, Elgin, Ill.

5. Committee of Southern Churchmen, Andrew Lipscomb, Nashville, Tenn.

6. Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, David Nickerson, Atlanta

7. Lutheran Church in America Board of Social Ministries, Herluf M. Jensen, New York

8. Mennonite Committee on Peace and Social Concerns, Paul Peachey, executive secretary, Washington, D. C.

9. Methodist Board of Christian Social Concerns, J. Elliott Corbett, Washington, D. C.
   Virginia Conference Board, Robert Regan, Jr., president

10. National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, Southern Field Service, James J. McGuire, New Orleans; Thomas H. Gibbons, Jr., Chicago (Monday only)

11. National Catholic Welfare Conference Social Action Dept., John F. Cronin, Washington, D. C.

12. National Conference of Christians and Jews, Va.-N.C., Peter Mellette, Richmond

13. National Council of Churches' Commission on Religion and Race, Anna Arnold Hedgeman, New York

14. Presbyterian, U. S., Division on Church and Society, Malcolm P. Calhoun, Irvin Elligan, George A. Chauncey, Richmond

15. Protestant Episcopal Division of Christian Citizenship, Cornelius C. Tarplee, New York

16. Southern Regional Council, J. Edwin Stanfield, Moreland Smith, Emory Via, Atlanta

17. United Church of Christ Committee for Racial Justice Now, W. Sterling Cary, New York

18. United Church Women, Maza Tilghman, New York

19. United Presbyterian, USA, Commission on Religion and Race, J. Metz Rollins, New York
    Office of Church and Society, John H. Marion, Jr., Nashville, Tenn.

20. YWCA National Board, Southern Region, Susan Love, Atlanta

21. Virginia Council on Human Relations, Robert L. Combs, Abner E. Lee, Bailey G. Wharton

22. Virginia Council of Churches, Myron S. Miller, George A. Williams

Opportunities

Some of these executives are expected by Monday morning (Exhibit Hall B). They will serve as resource people in the discussion groups. They will be in Exhibit Hall B for Afterhours Conferences each night in so far as there is a response (i.e., some will). At the tables in Exhibit Hall B you will find helpful material for your use.

You may wish to set aside a table for 10 for the conference dinner with an executive as the piece de resistance. If so, secure his or her consent, select the table on Tuesday (Grand Hall), prepare a card with his or her name and a "Reserved" sign and place it on the table, notifying your group as to the location. Caution: Do not conflict with another group's plan.

R E T U R N F O R M . . . .

TO: Virginia Council on Human Relations o 17 East Cary St. o Richmond, Va. 23219

Please send me the conference materials indicated below:

1. For congregational or organizational distribution and/or community mailing:

_____ copies of the follow-up bulletin on the conference, "The Religious Community and a Changing Virginia," 25 for 50¢ (2¢ tax), minimum; $1 per 100 (3¢ tax)

2. _____ set(s) of the major addresses and findings of the Conference on People, Religion and a Changing Virginia @ $1.25 per set (plus 4¢ tax). Single copies of individual addresses: 25¢ each plus 1¢ tax.

3. The following tape recordings of the major addresses (3 3/4 ips):

___ recording on 1 tape of Kelsey, Cronin, Rothschild, Turner $7.00 (plus 21¢ tax)

___ recording on 1 tape of the two Proctor addresses (luncheon and conference dinner), $4.00 (plus 12¢ tax)

4. I wish to have the 1-hour movie, "A Time for Burning," @ $10 (30¢ tax) for one of the following 24-hour (or less) periods (indicate preferences):

Dates: (1) (2) (3)

You will be notified of a confirmed date.

This 16 mm movie is good to arrange for community showing, inviting religious leaders of the area to see it and to join in a subsequent discussion period.

Information, Please

Please indicate here or, preferably, on a separate sheet, any steps that have been (are being) taken in your area as a follow-up of the conference in individual congregations and/or communities. What do you hope will be done? Names and addresses of most likely people who may be expected to see that something effective is done.

Please ship materials indicated above to:

Name (print)_____ Address_____

Organization_____ City_____ Zip_____

I am enclosing $_____ (be sure to add indicated sales tax)

SPEECH OF DR. SAMUEL D. PROCTOR

Conference on People, Religion and A Changing Virginia

November 29, 1966

Richmond, Virginia

. . . Concluding here this theme on People, Religion and A Changing Virginia, I would like first to get rid of the notion that some of us seem to be obsessed by the notion that churches as churches have failed and that this is why we are where we are. I think the one thing this conference ought to settle on is this --- that the churches cannot take the full blame for all the inertia and lethargy which has settled down upon us. The church cannot be responsible for the invention of slavery, the church cannot be responsible for the agony of the reconstruction or for all of the mistakes of the past out of which today's tensions have grown. The church as a matter of fact embraces a wide variety of people covering the entire spectrum of these issues and it cannot claim to be responsible for a posture of cleanliness and purity in matters that are social. It did not start out with this in mind and because it is so inclusive in terms of the American society and its entire fabric it is really very naive for us to continue this breast beating about the failure of the church.

The church is made up of the same folk we see on Broad Street, on Franklin and on Second Street, and there is no need to count them twice. We count these people in the Chamber of Commerce, in the political parties, in the labor unions, and in their professional associations, and that is who they are. And the mere fact that it is Sunday morning 11:00 o'clock or sometime on the Sabbath Day in the synagogue does not make any difference. These people are the same folk. And therefore the religious institutions cannot be held responsible for taking one hour or two hours in some place and reverse all that has happened for the remainder of the week. Now we could change all of this by changing requirements for religious membership, but no one is proposing that. The budget cannot stand it. But this has been in my mind a long time that whenever religious people come together they can spend the entire time talking about the failure of the church as we know it today, the church as a visible institution with mortgages, offices and real estate.

I remember riding on an airplane down to Charlotte to give a talk at a Southern Baptist retreat down there and some smart aleck at the airport arranged for me to be seated with Billy Graham going down. This was a very delightful experience because he is an engaging person and the one wonderful thing that happens to you when you are sitting with him is that the hostesses spend an awful lot of time dilly-dallying around because among other things he is a very handsome man, and these girls enjoy his company. Well, as we sat talking about everything in the whole world we discovered that we had run out of time. The plane was on the ground in Charlotte and we still were only half-way through our conversation. He said, "Now you have got to come to my place tomorrow." I told him I would be there.

I went to sleep that evening and I was going to stay overnight and go up and have breakfast with Billy Graham on top of his mountain. He has a mountain there in North Carolina. Now, I don't want to give you the wrong impression because this is a small mountain, but there is room enough on top of it, I suppose, for Billy Graham, and God, and Sam Proctor. We went up on top of the mountain and had breakfast.

Now on the way from Charlotte over to the Southern Baptist retreat there in Black Mountain near Montreat, North Carolina, where the Presbyterians have a hide-away also, we stopped at a little restaurant to get gasoline and a sandwich. One of the high school principals had met me to drive me over and I was in the deepest euphoria, after all having just flown down with Billy Graham, I was going to have breakfast with him the next morning. Incidently, he had just been at the White House talking with the President and it was one of those fellows from the White House staff -- one of the chauffeurs -- who happened to know me and who pulled this trick and arranged for us to sit together, because he does not like preachers and he thought anything he could do to embarrass us would be just wonderful. We stopped to get some gasoline and I asked this lady if we could have a sandwich and a cup of coffee. She said no, because I was Negro. But she had a sign in the window which said "Jesus Saves." So I tried to find out from her which thing really controlled her life. Now, I said to her: "First, I want you to know that they have just passed the Civil Rights Bill which says you have got to serve me by law. Do you respond to that? If you don't, let's try something else. I have worked in North Carolina, and just got off the airplane with Dr. Billy Graham and I am going to have breakfast with him. Does that impress you? And finally you have got a sign in your window which says 'Jesus Saves'. From what has he saved you?"

Well, none of these appeals got anywhere, but more than that we had a wonderful time. We were really laughing. It was a joking thing ---- deep fellowship. But I didn't get my sandwich, and I didn't get my cup of coffee. Now, here is a lady who belongs to a church and I am sure she is a Biblereading, testifying and praying dear sister. But the fact is she belongs to a lot of other communities too and these other communities to which she belong are the things that have really shaped her views on who gets a sandwich out of her truck-stop in rural North Carolina.

So this brings us to the next consideration, that the people in the churches have as many reasons for being in the churches as the single reason of prime religious motivation. These people are joined together by all kinds of concentric circles of concern. It starts out with family, it moves on to ethical centricity that seems somehow to be edified and strengthened by giving it the stamp of God's approval occasionally, but the fact of religious motivation that has something to do with social change, this can be a very peripheral area of the religious life in the institutional church and we should acknowledge this and move on and try to find other bases for manifesting our concern for social change rather than what the institutional church can do as a church. It is also true

that it is getting rather late for us to be talking about this because a secular-oriented humanism is overtaking all of us.

The university community and the political community are just filled with all kinds of new leadership and new ideas. The field of journalism-- I remember talking to a recent leader who told me that a religious journalist from a New York newspaper had given a speech which made more sense to him in terms of religion than almost any he had heard from his pastor. Now, what I am saying is that here are people who start out with a kind of secularism that puts us to shame if we are going to lay down the performance of the church itself as church as something to be compared with secular humanism in our society. It really doesn't look very good by comparison. Now, I think we are all sophisticated enough to know that in this secular humanism there is largely the sentimentia of Jewish and Christian values that our grandparents have poured into the society and these secularists are draining on this. Now, how far they can cruise on it I don't know. I don't know when it is going to run out, but they are going full steam ahead right now.

I remember, in the Peace Corps we found relatively few volunteers who had any church affiliation at all, and one of the most troublesome moments I ever has was in riding down a little highway way down in North Nigeria going to visit a young girl from Annapolis, Maryland, who chose to be way out there by herself. She told me that he had been having roommates and sisters sharing all of her private property for so long that she just wanted to get on the edge of the desert and work with the Moslems or somebody to get away from all of this togetherness which has been imposed upon her all of her life. We said, all right, but this required visits, so I had a wagon loaded with four fellows going out to visit her. We talked about everything in this wagon, and among the things we talked about was religion and theology. They always teased me about being a preacher, but those fellows made no claim religiously whatsoever. They came from the big-name universities of the country and they had all had very formidable arguments for their atheism and their lack of churchliness. But on the way out there, here came a missionary trailing us in an American Chevrolet. We finally stopped and he came up behind us, saying we looked like Americans. Finding that we were, the fellows shook hands with him and he said he wanted us to come to his house after our visit and share some nice old American Maxwell House coffee, some good old American devils food cake, and some good old American this and American that and American the other. Now, we had been telling the volunteers that their success out there depended on their ability to get along out there without American this, American that and American the other, so he was just choking them to death, you know -- as a Christian missionary out there with all of this reliance on things being shipped out while these volunteers were taught that their real value was the extent to which they could identify themselves with the people, eat their food, drink their water and show them how to survive out there. Now, with all of your brains and technology, if you can't figure out how to survive out here for 24 months, how do you expect the Lord's other people to stay out here for a lifetime? So you have got to live out this thing by just staying here living on their market, eating their vegatables and fruit. Now here this missionary was telling them that he was going

to exempt them from all of this you see. His motivation really should have been much higher. But when we came back they did not want to stop there. They said, "That phoney, we don't want to have anything to do with him." But I said, "No, now you are beset with spiritual pride which gives him oneupmanship on you. You have got to go there and see him anyway." When we got there, he pulled out his New Testament, saying, "Before we do anything else I want to know, are you fellows saved?" That was awful, I didn't know how to start with that. They had no idea what he meant, because as far as they were concerned he was the one who needed to be saved!

Yes, I am telling you that this secularism is overtaking us and if we are going to equate the performance of church as church in the area of social renewal, then this is not really the place to stake our claim. We have to stake it on a remnant within the church, and those who have spilled over outside of the church who may be called the remnant in exile. We have to count on persons like you who belong to the total family of institutional religion but who really cannot be identified with it in its totality and neither can any single institution identify with a group like this. This makes abundant sense and relieves us of the burden of having to keep a box score on what the church is doing as over against the problems or over against what is being done to redeem us by persons with a secular humanistic orientation. Now, when we come together with this kind of a candid appraisal of who you really are and why we are here, there are some things we ought to settle on, and one thing is this -- we have never been at this point before. And when you start talking about where we haven't been and how far we need to go, let us thank God that we haven't ever been this far before.

We are standing on a new plateau tonight and we are giving ourselves a vision of the horizon that we have really never seen. When those youngsters came running through that door singing together, I just sat there transfixed, and I felt that the nobliest thing I could do would be to give them my time and let them keep on singing and bouncing and clapping their hands to the glory of freedom. We have never been here before.

I look at television, almost every Saturday that is where you will find me -- looking at television. Do you realize that almost no major college team - north or south - fields its aggregation on a Saturday today without a Negro being somewhere in there. And what a shock I got to find out that this quarterback down there at Florida was a Negro. This just shocked me. And what a shock I also got when I heard that Baylor University, after beating Syracuse to smithereens by half time with that outstanding Floyd Little running for Syracuse, then said to the nation, now having beaten you with our white quarterback we want to show you that we have a Negro halfback too, and brought him out in the second half when they were already ahead by five touchdowns. We have never been here before.

I gave a commencement address over here in the Northern Neck of Virginia last June and one of the most humble looking young fellows in the class -- tall, thin, bright-eyed young fellow -- who sat there watching me all through the commencement address, was later awarded, what do you suppose -- from Lancaster, Virginia - White Stone, the white that is no whiter -- imagine a full-paid four-year scholarship to V.P.I., with topnotch board scores out of that little fishing and crabbing community of White Stone, Virginia. We have never been here before.

Public facilities opened, but I don't know what I am going to do about problems like this. I took a nap this afternoon and when I awakened I wanted to get fresh to study my talk tonight, so I called and asked for a cup of coffee and it costed a dollar. I don't know who is going to pay for that but all I am saying is that it is all right being here you know, but I am reminded of what my coach at A & T said when he kept going after the Negro athletes and finding out that brotherhood was spreading all over the place and all the halfbacks and topnotched forwards were going to Wake Forest and Duke. He said, "Segregation killed my daddy, but integration is killing me."

We have here in the State of Virginia a new United States Senator who was elected with avowed, open and overt support and campaigning by the Negro community. We have never been here before. We have a Negro in the U.S. Senate, one in the Cabinet, we have a Negro Solicitor General, a Negro on the Federal Reserve Board. Why 116 Negroes sit in the State Legislatures in the Senate and House of the 50 States of the Union. There is a Sheriff in Macon County, Georgia, and a Mayor of Flint, Michigan. These are all Negroes; we have never been here before. And I tell you I think that when we stop to assess what is going on it is a very healthy thing to think about what we have got to do, but it is also a very healthy thing to recognize that some things have happened in the United States and there are some things that should cause us to take heart regarding the future.

Now, the next thing we ought to do is to understand that we have run out of token gestures and we have got to face the hard issues. This is a great conference, but this is about the last time - you can't top this you know. We have just run the whole gamut. We have done everything -- bringing together 1,000 people at the John Marshall Hotel in 1966. This is about the summit of all the talkfest that we can plan and I don't believe that we are going to have much time left for this kind of a deliberative session on the same problem year after year. So, let us face it now. We have run out of token gestures such as one member of a choir, a meeting voting one member this, and somebody as the chairman and somebody as the vice-chairman. We have got our first Negro this and first Negro that, and we have even crowned a Negro girl a May Queen. We have done all of these nice polite things.

Now, we have come down to the hard issue regarding social change. These things have been polarized by the whole Black Power discussion and by the white fascists who seem to be growing and coming out of the woodwork, because they think if they are ever going to come out they had better come out now because things are getting serious, you see. Now the polarization of the issues has caused Negroes and whites to do an awful lot of soul-searching which makes the game today really far more genuine than some of the other things what gave us a little fluttering of hope but really were not very long-standing. Today, there is deep soul-searching. Negroes have been called to insularity and to separation by advocates of futility and Black Power and black cynicism. There have been sloganeers who have come among us and have said it is futile and nothing will happen, and we may as well start now some kind of Mau-Mau movement. The Negro has not only had to turn down the overt manifestations of this, but all of the subtleties of insularity in America. They have had to say no -- middle-class Negroes have had to be labeled Uncle Toms and all sorts of things because they have had to say no to all of these overtones of violent reaction and of black separatism in America. This had to be done in the open, in the press, on television - everywhere. The white community has had to sit and watch the Negroes wash their laundry in public, but it had to be done. In the same way, the white community had to be bold in turning down bids by the white fascists. So, this polarization has brought us closer and closer to the real hard basic issues. And passing out plaques and flowers now seems to be like taking aspirin for polio, as close to the issues as we have been brought by the white fascists and Black Power advocates.

The next thing is that the poverty program has snatched the cover off America, and has shown us what we've really got. With all of this abundance and growing gross national product, and with this $62 billion defense budget, the poverty people set a minimum standard of decency at $3,000 for a family of four and found out that there were 30 million white people in this country under that line and eight million Negroes. This comes as a shock to lots of people who thought that the whole poverty program was for Negroes, but four-fifths of the people who are covered by this 38 million figure are white people. White people in the city slums, white people in the rural poor areas of our Southland largely. But! when you consider that there are only 20 million Negroes, you see with eight million that means that two-fifths of the Negroes are in this poverty group which characterizes the Negro people as being the object of the poverty program. They are so predominantly poor, and those who are above the $3,000-line hover very close to it in the lower $4,000 and $5,000 and $6,000 levels. Now, is this country going to advertise itself all around the world as being the best system -- free enterprise system -- and representative of its government? If we are going to tell the people all over Asia, Latin America and Africa to follow us and we will show them the way, then we have got to do something and do something in a hurry about the 40 million people in this country who have an income inadequate for the minimum basic needs of a family of four. And if this system cannot do better than it is doing, then it raises grave questions about the extent to which we should advocate it for other people.

So, this brings the issue close to home. America has something very, very serious at stake with the failure to answer the economic need of the Negro poor in the heart of the city and then something like 30 million white poor who are largely rimming the city centers and in the rural suburbs across the country side. But the other thing that brings this issue so close to home are three elections which took place recently -- the election in Arkansas, the election in Maryland, and the election in Georgia. When candidates took off the muffles and came right out in the open and made these elections very, very obviously racial elections. When America had to stop and see how the liberal white community and the black community got together to meet this confrontation, to my mind it was most encouraging but it was again the first time we had to face this overt national political phenomenon when people were not hiding anything.

Mr. Mahony said, "Your home is your castle, protect it." Everybody knew what he was talking about. Everybody knew that he wasn't planning to have white folk live in the same homes with Negroes. People knew that was not what he was talking about.

Now then, with this kind of character, what has religion got to do with it? The persons who talk with the greatest sophistication use other words; they don't use the terms that have to do with religion. They say that we have to correct these by sociological methods, meaning that the data have to be changed. They say that the correction has to be made by educational methods; that we need a new kind of pedagogy that teaches people who have been left out by finding new symbols for them and meeting them at the threshold of their experience and tying them in to what middle-class people have been assuming all the time. You have got to prepare persons who have been in a non-verbal childhood for a verbal existence. You have got to have psychological renewal. We have got to melt down the ego and prepare people to live with one another and accept the people who are different without getting sick. We have got to have an economic reappraisal of things in equalized job opportunities. We have got to have a more responsible political representation. All of these things are said and the terminology being used is all very sophisticated -- sociological, educational, psyshological, economic and political. But I wonder if you recognize that all of these things are derivative. The psychologists describe things that have already happened. The economists are talking about what people have done. The sociologists take the minutes on what we have done. All of these things have to do with man after he has decided something. The scientists, and especially the social scientists, have been a long time acknowledging that they don't make anything happen. All they do is take notes on what has already transpired. Now what makes something happen? This action comes out of high religion.

So, we start out by saying that the church cannot be blamed with the failures or the successes, but we are not talking about religion when we talk about the church as church. That is not the same thing as saying we don't need a renewal of the spiritual life. As a matter of fact, I don't see how we are going to get out of this at all unless there is a renewal

of the spiritual life. What does religion have to offer people who are trying to renew society? What does religion offer that nothing else in the society offers? Well, religion calls us to be penitent without really denying our basic selfhood. While other organizations are complimenting us on what we are in the periphery of our lives, religion comes to the heart of the matter and summons us to penitence without denying our selfhood, religion challenges man's self definition without destroying his dignity. Religion calls a man to recognize an unseen eternal order without exempting him from the requirements of temporal spatial demands around him. Religion summons him to infinity, but all the while reminds him of his finiteness. Nothing else does this for us but religion. Religion calls him to solitude, to refreshment and to rest, but it also defies his total withdrawal and requires him to leave the mountain and return to the level place where his brothers suffer. Religion recognizes his individuality before God, but requires him to save himself by finding communion with his neighbor. Nothing else does this for us. Religion assures man of God's help in every high endeavor, but demands the enlistment of his own images and his own commitment. It teaches him to live in a world of imperfection in both nature and in the will of man without losing his vision of a God of perfection that calls him to holiness. This is the work and the role of religion in the renewal of society, and we cannot make it without the highest ministrations of sound and deep religious experience. As the prophet said, as you lengthen your cords, you must strengthen your stakes, and nothing is going to support all of the high aspirations we have for a new society and a new Virginia like the proper manifestations of high religion in our midst.

Now, you may say that this is a long way around to say that people ought to love each other, and it is. It is such a long way around because every generation has to say it in the words that he understands. It is so easy to reject the vocabulary of another age and at the same time reject the words of the vocabulary and the experiences that the vocabulary stood for. Every passing generation has to ask itself in its own language, in its own thought currency how to say love in terms that will challenge, and inspire, and lift and edify. As Tennyson said, "Our little systems have their day; they have their day and cease to be." We have got to say it for our generation.

When Jesus met the disciples of John the Baptist, asking him if he were the Messiah or should they look for another, he said, "You go back and tell John what you have seen and heard -- the blind see, the lame walk, the deaf hear, the lepers are cleansed, the dead are raised, and the gospel is preached to the poor." Now, that is what the Messiah should look like in the First Century. The work for our age is different. Our freedom grows as we snatch little children out of the jaws of poverty. as we show new hope to adult illiterates, as we teach people how to live next door to those of a different hue, as we rebuild rat-infested ghettoes and reverse the spiral of futility in the lives of one-half million rejected

youths, as we recapture the truths about the world and nature, and convey them to the late learners in language and symbols that they know and can understand, as we challenge the shapers of society to create an environment of hope for those for whom the shadows of hopelessness have stood still for altogether too long. As we awaken the gaints of business and industry to a wider challenge than the profit bearer and erase the whole line of color that stubbornly resist the upward mobility of the heirs of the slave system in this country and reassert in clarion tones the themes that made this country great -- that the Creator has endowed all men with rights that none can alienate, namely: life, and liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

RESOLUTION OF THE SPONSORS

The 1966 Conference on People, Religion and a Changing Virginia has been immeasurably gratifying to us who served as its sponsors. The coming together of 1,000 people from all parts of Virginia for two days in Richmond, representing more than 18 religious affiliations and both of our major racial groups, has been in itself a milestone in our state's history.

In order not to lose the inspiration and the impetus of this Conference, the sponsors recommended that we begin as soon as possible to hold a series of one-day regional conferences in different parts of Virginia in the course of the next year. Participants in this Conference, along with local Councils on Human Relations and other appropriate groups, will be asked to help with these gatherings.

As sponsors we do not desire to establish any new organization which would duplicate work already being carried on. However, we propose to keep in touch with one another to facilitate the future cooperation of our religious bodies, and to make it possible from time to time to give expression to sentiments of the religious community of the state on major questions of public concern. If specific action projects commend themselves, we shall also be in a position to recommend support for them.

Since our respective bodies differ widely in administrative structure, it should be noted that in forming a continuation committee of conference sponsors, and in such other statements as we may make, we speak as individuals.

Unanimously adopted by the
Sponsors in attendance at
the Conference.

[Nov. 29, 1966]

Res(?)

A Report on the Group Discussions

by

Rev. George A. Chauncey
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.
Richmond, Virginia

iiii

The Conference on People, Religion and a Changing Virginia was not designed to produce "official conference findings." It was designed, rather, to provide its more than one thousand participants with an opportunity to hear stimulating addresses by outstanding religious leaders, and then to discuss these addresses in small groups. The approximately forty discussion groups met four times during the conference. What follows is a report on some of the things discussed.

iiii

Three basic issues were examined in the first discussion period following Dr. George D. Kelsey's address on "The Theological Bases for the Social Concern of the Religious Community." One of these was the gap between our creed and our deed, or more precisely, the gap between the faith we profess and the faith by which we actually live. How does it happen, several groups asked, that we can pledge our allegience to the Sovereign God who requires that we do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly with him - and yet live lives of lovelessness, racial pride, and indifference to social justice? Is it a matter of ignorance? Is it that we do not know our duty? Some groups seemed to feel that this is at least part of our problem. Said one group: "If we are, as Dr. Kelsey says, members of the Kingdom of God partly, it is apparent that some of us do not know the party platform!" Many groups thus irged that there be crash programs of theological and moral education in our congregations in which the demands of God for love and justice are made inescapably plain. Other groups, however, pointed out that the basic problem is not ignorance but sin, and that what is most needed, even of us within the religious tradition, is not so much a new idea as a new heart.

This thought led many groups to reflect on the process by which hearts - i.e., basic attitudes - are changed. Here considerable attention was given to the role which changed social structures have on transforming social attitudes. It was widely agreed that the enactment and enforcement of just laws do not in themselves solve all our problems, but they do take us a giant step forward - among other ways, by creating new situations in which new attitudes can emerge.

Finally, in that first discussion period, the helpful distinction between legal desegregation and genuine integration, between a society of just laws and a community of right relationships, was noted by several groups. No one wanted to by-pass the former in their search for the latter. No one wanted to ignore the demand for confrontation in their plea for community. It was widely recognized in this conference that we must do justice before we can love mercy, and that we must do both before we can walk humbly with our God. Yet in all this, it was recognized that the society for which the religiously sensitive person must work is one in which, as Dr Kelsey put it, "justice has been lifted above mere legality and purified by love."

In the second discussion period, following Father John F. Cronin's address on "The Role of the Religious Community in the Concern for Fair Housing," two attitudes were apparent. One was a general sense of the importance of this issue. The other was a widespread awareness that many white people are acutely sensitive at this particular point. Thus, one group observed that fair and open housing is the key to advance in other areas of the struggle for the just society - school and church integration, for examples; while another group observed that housing is an area in which we tend to fall back on our feelings rather than our faith - or the facts.

Why is this the case? Why is the white man so afraid of having a black man as his neighbor? Several groups discussed this question, developing many of the reasons mentioned by Father Cronin and adding others of their own. We are dealing here, it was said often, not only with the problem of race but also with the problem of poverty, and thus we face alienation, misunderstandings, and prejudice not only along color lines but along class lines as well.

While many groups were talking about how sensitive the white man is to the housing situation today, other were contending that he really is not sensitive to the problem at all - not, that is, until his own neighborhood (and his own economic self-interest) is affected. And the middle-class Negro is not sufficiently concerned either, some said. As evidence of this lack of concern, these persons pointed to the fact that we often have to have a riot in the ghetto to wake us up to the fact that there are people living over there in the slums with all those rats and roaches. How can we learn to hear those people without their having to throw rocks to get our attention? What will move comfortable, complacent middle-class folk - white and black - really to care?

This question led many groups to a discussion of concrete things the religiously motivated person can do. Great appreciation for Father Cronin's practical suggestions was expressed. Time and time again, it was underscored that we have a responsibility to know what the situation is in our communities. Ignorance of the needs of the neighbor is inexcusable. Moreover, we are called, some said, to learn whether housing codes are being enforced, and if not, why not; to speak to the powerful on behalf of the powerless; to work for both a federal fair housing law and for one in Virginia; and to initiate and/or actively support fair housing groups in our various communities.

Reports of these discussions indicated that there were many people at the conference who are ready to move in this area, and who are looking now for the handles they can grasp for effective action. It would indeed be shameful if those handles were not provided by appropriate religious or human relations groups.

As they moved into the third discussion period, participants had fresh on their minds the film, "A Time for Burning," Rabbi Jacob Rothschild's stimulating address on "The Role of the Religious Community in Changing Educational Patterns," Dr. William Kennedy's reaction in which he brought the problem quite down-to-earth here in Virginia with some rather depressing statistics, and Dean Samuel Gandy's reaction in which he raised the basic issue of the church's role vis-a-vis the state. With these four possible starting points before it, a discussion group could take off into practically any direction, and most of them did! Some groups spent the bulk of their time discussing the film. It was apparent that the film spoke to the participants at this conference with a piercing, prophetic word. The hope was expressed that the Virginia Council on Human Relations or some other group would secure copies of the print, and that the film would be shown at inter-faith, inter-racial meetings across the state.

In those groups which focused on the responsibility of the religious community in changing educational patterns, there was general agreement with Rabbi Rothschild that religion's role is not to accommodate to changes made by others but to be a catalyst in achieving changes we know are just and right. But how can the religious community do this? What concrete steps can we take? Here, as in previous discussions, great appreciation was expressed for the very practical suggestions offered by the speakers. We can, some suggested, conduct programs of education in the church and community which will move us and our neighbors to commitment to both excellence and equality in education. We can, others said, publicize the statistics quoted by Dr. Kennedy showing Virginia's poor rank in national educational achievements. We can, thirdly, bring pressure to bear upon school and governmental authorities to do everything possible to make this transitional period a fruitful one. And we can - and ought to - become much more actively involved in the political arena where the crucial decisions about education as well as other public issues are made.

Several groups expressed agreement with Dr. Kennedy that we ought to consider possible alternatives to our present "freedom-of-choice system in Virginia, which all too often is leading to resegregation in the schools. Several other groups raised questions about the moral propriety of churches' organizing or lending their facilities to "private schools" when the obvious purpose is to circumvent federal laws. Yet another group expressed great concern over the lack of multi-ethnic textbooks in Virginia. It was observed that the Virginia Council on Human Relations is now working on this injustice and needs our widespread support. (The Virginia Council, incidently, has some valuable material on this matter which is available from their office. Please enclose a small contribution to help cover costs of handling.)

Conversations in the fourth discussion period generally took one of two directions. Some groups dealt specifically with some of the issues raised by Mr. Warren Turner in his address on "The Responsibility of the Religious Community to Set its Own House in Order." There was general agreement in these groups that we ought to clarify our religious bases for social action, examine our own practices as institutions, focus attention on the really pressing problems and develop a more effective strategy. While no one depreciated the importance of careful planning, some persons expressed feat that we might exhaust all our energies in planning and never move to direct action. Said one person: "God may be embarrassed when we go off half-cocked, but he is even more embarrassed when we don't go off at all."

Most other groups spent this final discussion period evaluating the conference itself and discussing appropriate next steps in obedience. There was widespread agreement that the conference had been very helpful, though not a few persons expressed regret that we had come together so late. Many participants testified to the impact that the conference had had on them personally. Along with this widespread appreciation for the conference experience was an equally widespread conviction that the conference will have been in vain if we do not follow through with faithful action in our local communities. Numerous persons saw the need for interfaith and inter-racial dialogue groups back home, for joint action by Negro and white congregations through which they and others could express their concern. No one imagined that a faithful followup would be easy. It was anticipated that there would be strong resistance to change. But many persons at this conference seemed ready to pay a higher price for faithfulness. They sensed that God would be satisfied with nothing less.

Telephone (205) 887-3438

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

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January 25, 1967

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

This letter is to confirm our agreement of some days ago--that you would serve as a resource person in the *Employment* workshop at our annual meeting on February 4, in Birmingham. An agenda is enclosed.

If you would like for us to make a hotel reservation for you for the night(s) of February 3 or 4, please let us know.

We shall be looking forward to seeing you at the meeting.

Thanks for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Bob

Bob Valder

BV:mee

Enclosure

Any literature will be most welcome

THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
17 EAST CARY STREET • RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23219
TELEPHONE: AREA CODE: 703-648-4444

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January 27, 1967

Mr. Julian F. Carper
Acting President
Virginia State A.F.L.-C.I.O.
102 North Belvidere Street
Richmond, Virginia 23220

Dear Mr. Carper:

Thank you for your letter dated January 24, regarding serving on a panel discussion, "The Changing Virginia- Its Challenge to the Labor Movement" on Sunday morning, March 19 at the Godden Triangle Hotel, Norfolk, Virginia. As I understand the Honorable Henry E. Howell, Jr., Virginia State Senator, and Dr. Robert C. Bolander, Professor of History at Old Dominion College will also serve on the panel.

I would be very happy to accept this invitation, my wife and I also accept with pleasure your gracious invitation to attend the banquet on Saturday, 7:00 P.M. as your guest.

As I stated by phone recently to you --- Mr. Bruce Bishop, U.S. Post Office Department, Washington, D.C. had to postpone the date of the Banquet at the Hotel John Marshall, featuring Mr. Charle Morgan, ACLU, Atlanta, Geergia as the guest speaker. The new date will be Thursday, March 23rd, at 7:00 P.M. The charge will be $4.50 @, no-host banquet. Thank you for your willingness to promote this through the AFL-CIO.

Again, may I say thank you for the fine cooperation we have had between VCHR and AFL-CIO in recent months.

Sincerely,

Robert Lee Combs

Robert Lee Combs,
Executive Director

Every I need help on this.

If you have suggestions about my part on the panel, please let me know. Thanks. RLC.

BCL

February, 1967

TO: COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS

FROM: SRC URBAN PLANNING PROJECT

SUBJECT: CITIZENS AIDS

In the 15 months of the UPP assessment of Urban Planning in the South, we have concluded that the greatest need in obtaining effective and good Urban Planning would be more positive citizen participation. To assist in this we have prepared 5 pamphlets.

	DATE	PRICE	
		Single	Bulk
1. NEIGHBORHOOD STABILATION			
Guidelines for groups trying to build stable interracial neighborhoods. How do you recreate neighborhoods that can overcome the forces of segregation? That keep the profits of increased property values in the hands of the owners, instead of in the hands of real estate speculators? --Your action must be biracially oriented.	1966	.30	.20
2. A HOME OF OUR OWN			
What families should know when buying their first home. How to shop? What to watch out for? --Get this into the hands of families considering making this big investment. They need your help!	1966	.60	.40
3. MR. MAYOR - SLUM GHETTOES IN YOUR CITY, Can We Solve Our Housing Dilemma?			
A guideline for city officials in facing the total problems of slums. What should your city government be doing to provide good housing for all its citizens? --Your job is to get your mayor and councilmen to read it and then press them into action.	1966	.50	.40

4. NEIGHBORHOODS - WHERE HUMAN RIGHTS BEGIN

Experiences and evaluation of three interracial neighborhoods. Three cities where people acted: stabilized their communities and built a sense of civic pride. How to create stable, interracial good places to live? --Your participation based on what others have done should make for more constructive action.	1967	.50	.40

5. A GUIDE TO PROGRAMS FOR BETTER HOMES AND NEIGHBORHOODS

A layman's guide to government and private housing programs. Tells you the programs you are dealing with and how they operate. What public and private resources are available to provide good housing, equally available to all citizens? --Get with it! Being knowledgable is essential!	1967	1.00	.75

We hope that you will find these publications helpful to your program. We would appreciate your keeping us posted on your efforts in these areas of concern and on any results, positive or negative. And we would be grateful for any suggestions for improvement of or additions to these program aids.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

April 3, 1967

Mr. Abner E. Lee
Virginia Council on Human Relations
17 E. Cary St.
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Lee:

I have your copy of the advanced notice for your Equal Employment Opportunities in Virginia conference. I plan to be there.

I look forward to receiving any further information which you may have. My plan would be to talk a bit beyond just unions in the South and to talk about the general labor situation and begin to open up the general topic of discrimination in employment. Would you have any recent cases or trends involving Virginia which it would be well for me to incorporate in my remarks?

There were two small typographical errors in your draft program which I thought I would call to your attention rather than run the possibility of their being continued. Note the spelling of Workmen's in Workmen's Compensation and note the spelling of Ben Segal's last name.

I take it that the afternoon discussion will be in small groups. If I could intrude in your planning a bit further, I would raise the question as to whether you have allowed sufficient time for the afternoon discussion. Of course, you know your group much better than I. There will not have been much opportunity for discussion until the afternoon session.

I look forward to being with you.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via , Director
Labor Program

(Dictated but not read)

EFV/jd

Ala Council

April 3, 1967

TO; Bob Valder

From: Emory Via

These announcements may be of interest to you. If you have the right people, I would urge them to attend. I cannot be there myself.

I will underwrite the registration fee for one person to attend from the Alabama Council.

Gen. Corr.

Tennessee Council On Human Relations

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MRS. JERI WIERSEMA

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

At the request of Mr. Bryant I am sending to you the names and addresses of the members of the Employment Committee of TCHR. Mr. Bryant would like for you to send pertinent information to each of them.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Juanita Wright
Mrs. H. Elliott Wright
Office Manager

jw

Mr. Seymour Shavin, 334 N. Crest Road, Chattanooga, Tennessee 37404
Mr. Leo Burson, 2228 Henry Avenue, Memphis, Tennessee 38108
Mr. Roger Cloutier, 168 Cumberland View Drive, Oak Ridge, Tennessee 37830
Mr. Mansfield Douglas, 1802 Beech Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee 37212
Mr. Jack LeFlore, 2225 Brooks Road, Knoxville, Tennessee 37915
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Telephone (205) 887-3438

ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

POST OFFICE BOX 1310 AUBURN, ALABAMA 36830

DR. C. G. GOMILLION, President

BOB VALDER, Associate Director LEWIS BLACK, Director, Rural Advancement Project

April 12, 1967

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Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Could you please send us 20 "Minimum Wage Campaign Kits?" We shall pay for them when you send them and will order more later.

Thanks very much.

Sincerely,

Bob Valder/mee

Bob Valder

BV:mee

April 13, 1967

Mr. Baxton Bryant
Executive Director
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
1207 18th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

Dear Baxton:

All right, so I put down the date of April 29th! Now you tell me what it is, where, for whom, when and why.

I plan to be there, but give me a clue.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/jd

THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

17 EAST CARY STREET • RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23219

TELEPHONE: AREA CODE: 703-648-4444

A council that seeks -- through fact-finding, discussion and action -- to attain equal opportunity for all people in Virginia

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SUFFOLK
WARRENTON
WAYNESBORO
WESTMORELAND COUNTY

14 April 1967

Mr. Emory Via, Director
Labor Program, Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

We wish to thank you for your kind letter of April 3, 1967. We caught the name of Mr. Segal, but failed to catch workmen.

The manner in which you plan to discuss your topic is most timely, and we know of no situation here in Virginia that needs special mentioning.

Thanking you very kindly for your usual fine spirit of cooperation, we are

Very truly yours,

Abner E. Lee

Abner E. Lee

THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

17 EAST CARY STREET • RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23219

TELEPHONE: AREA CODE: 703-648-4444

A council that seeks -- through fact-finding, discussion and action -- to attain equal opportunity for all people in Virginia

5 April 1967

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WESTMORELAND COUNTY

Dear Friend:

The Virginia Council on Human Relations is presenting a conference on EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN VIRGINIA, on April 28, 1967, at Union Theological Seminary (Schauffler Hall), 3400 Chamberlayne Avenue, in Richmond.

We certainly hope that you will urge others to attend this conference.

Please find enclosed reservation applications which we will appreciate being returned not later than April 21. If more reservation forms are required, kindly give us a ring.

Thanking you very kindly for your usual kind spirit of cooperation, we are

Very truly yours,

Abner E. Lee
Equal Job Opportunity

AEL:rbm

Enc. - Reservation Forms

VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Presents

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN VIRGINIA

April 28, 1967

Union Theological Seminary (Schauffler Hall)
3400 Chamberlayne Avenue-Richmond, Virginia

Mr. Wallace Bless, Presiding

9:00 A.M.	Registration	Bailey G. Wharton, Acting Director Virginia Council on Human Relations
9:30	Purpose	Mrs. Richard M. Ballard, Jr., Chairman - Employment & Business Committee Virginia Council on Human Relations
9:45	Labor in Southern States,	Virginia in Particular Emory Via, Labor Project Director Southern Regional Council-Atlanta, Ga.
10:30	PANEL DISCUSSION -	A. N. Johnson, Moderator
	Workman Compensation	Julian Carper, Acting President The Virginia State AFL - CIO
	Minimum Wage 1942T not covered by	Hon. Henry E. Howell, Jr., Member The Virginia State Senate
	Equal Employment in Business - Col. S.C. Community Relations Council — recruitment & Job Develop. Program —	Winfred Mundle, District Manager N.C. Mutual Life Insurance Company Vice Mayor of the City of Richmond
	Training for Equal Employment - Expand training of employees Schools relate training to jobs	Robert Gray, Executive Director The Richmond Urban League
11:45 A.M.	LUNCHEON	Virginia Chapel Dining Hall
12:45 P.M.	Keynote Speaker	Benjamin D. Segal, Liaison Director Federal, State and Local Agencies-Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Washington, D. C.
1:30	GROUP DISCUSSION	

"How Can We Achieve Our Goals"

Leaders

Wallace Bless	H. E. Howell, Jr.	Winfred Mundle
Julian Carper	A. N. Johnson	Benjamin Segal
Robert Gray		Emory Via

2:15	SUMMARY	Mrs. Richard M. Ballard, Jr., Chairman - Employment & Business Committee Virginia Council on Human Relations

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

6241 N. W. 17th Avenue Miami, Florida 33147

Phone 691-0220

Executive Director
AUGUST H. VANDEN BOSCHE

Rural Advancement Project
Director
LaVERT TAYLOR
P. O. Box 1874
Tallahassee, Fla. 32304
224-7755

April 14, 1967

Mr. Emory Via, Director
Labor Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Emory:

This is in reference to our conversation about the Workshop on May 5-6 at Winter Park. Will you be able to attend and participate in the section on employment? Ted Nichols of 1116 Plummer Circle, Melbourne, Fla. will be in charge of this area.

Also would you make a general presentation on this subject at one of the meals--Friday Dinner or Sat. Luncheon to the entire group?

The kit is a most adequate one and I hope that some of the councils will make extensive use of it.

Sincerely,

August H. VandenBosche
Executive Director

AHV:ag

cc: Ed Stanfield

EV called to explain Schedule Conflict - from Richmond - 4/28/67

Gen. Com

Va Council on Human Relations

VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Presents

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN VIRGINIA

April 28, 1967

Union Theological Seminary (Schauffler Hall)
3400 Chamberlayne Avenue-Richmond, Virginia

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	Minimum Wage	Hon. Henry E. Howell, Jr., Member The Virginia State Senate
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Julian Carper	A. N. Johnson	Benjamin Segal
Robert Gray		Emory Via

2:15	SUMMARY	Mrs. Richard M. Ballard, Jr., Chairman - Employment & Business Committee Virginia Council on Human Relations

Ark I 251

LEGAL AID BUREAU OF PULASKI COUNTY

ATTORNEYS

BURL C. ROTENBERRY, DIRECTOR
L. HOBSON MAHON
DELECTOR TILLER
HUBERT E. GRAVES

718-A WEST MARKHAM STREET
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS 72201
TELEPHONE: AREA CODE 501 FRANKLIN 6-3423

BRANCH OFFICE

815 EAST 14TH STREET
NORTH LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS 72114
TELEPHONE
AREA CODE 501
FRANKLIN 6-2791

May 8, 1967

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Thank you for your letter of May 3 and check enclosed therewith.

It appears right now that I would be available for either July 8 or July 15 and I would be happy to participate again in another such seminar. I will await further word from you.

Yours very truly,

Burl C. Rotenberry

Burl C. Rotenberry

BCR/ew

June 13, 1967

Mrs. Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director
South Carolina Council on
Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

Dear Alice:

Just a brief note to thank you for your letter of May 26. I greatly appreciate your interest and follow-up on this matter. I trust we will soon be underway in South Carolina.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/csb

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED
ST. HELENA ISLAND
FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA 29920

June 22, 1967

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

(803) 524-4337

Mr. Harold Kramer
Atlanta Regional Office
1776 Peachtree Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold Kramer:

There is one name I would like to share with you and members of the private agencies who should be a good Greenville contact.

David Cairns is manager of the Cry-O-Vac plant in Simsonville, South Carolina, suburb of Greenville. This plant, a division of W. R. Grace Company, makes plastic bags. I understand that there is some talk concerning the mergering of Deering-Milliken Corporation and the Grace Company, but that may well come some time later. Although David Cairns is not in textiles, he apparently does have a good employment policy in his own plant and I gather knows personally a number of plant managers in the area. His 'phone number is 963-4111.

I also inquired concerning the Commissioners of the South Carolina Employment Security Commission which was discussed at our meeting. There are three members serving four-year terms, all ending simultaneously in 1968. Keith Aull who was the Executive Director of the Employment Security Commission until last year, indicated that two members have served since 1952 with one of them being appointed last ~~year~~ 1964. The Commissioners are elected by members of the General Assembly. To his knowledge, no Governor has ever submitted nominations to the General Assembly, has never met with the Commission nor is he aware of any contact whatsoever between the Governor and the Commission. Incidently, the present incumbents come from such metropolitan centers as Duewest, McCall and Greer, with respective populations of 1000, 2500 and 9,000.

It would appear to me that if we are to bring about any change in the Employment Security Commission it would have to come other than through the Commissioners.

With best regards,

Courtney Siceloff
CS/fm
cc: George Butler
Miss Jean Fairfax
Emory Via

June 26, 1967

Mr. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services, Inc.
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina 29920

Dear Courtney:

Thanks for the copy of your letter to Harold Kramer. Such information is quite useful and I trust you will continue to feed it to us.

You know by now that we have made a definite offer to Mordecai Johnson. No response from him yet because he has been on vacation. We are still pursuing other possibilities.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/csb

ARKANSAS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1310 WRIGHT AVENUE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 72206
PHONE FR 6-3541

ARKANSAS VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
REV. BEN GRINAGE, DIRECTOR

Res - No phone listed

June 26, 1967

Mr. Emery Via
Director
Labor Project
Southern Regional Conference
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

In response to your phone call the following names were selected from Jonesboro in Craighead County to represent the Negro community for the meeting scheduled on July 15:

✓ Rev. C.W. Wilkerson
803 Logan Street
Jonesboro, Arkansas

Howard D. Hill
322 W. Word Street
Jonesboro, Arkansas

Mr. H.L. Russell
P.O. Box 73
Jonesboro, Arkansas

Crumbler Funeral Home
710 E. Washington
Jonesboro, Arkansas

Omit

Insert IP

*✓ Rev. J.L. Lewellen qualifies to sit on the panel. The address is 702 Kitchen Street, Jonesboro, Arkansas.

I hope these people will serve you well.

Sincerely,

Rev. Ben Grinage

BG/ls

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A Council to attain equal opportunity for all people

LEGAL AID BUREAU OF PULASKI COUNTY

718-A WEST MARKHAM STREET
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS 72201
TELEPHONE: AREA CODE 501 FRANKLIN 6-3423

ATTORNEYS

BURL C. ROTENBERRY, DIRECTOR
L. HOBSON MAHON
DELECTOR TILLER
HUBERT E. GRAVES

BRANCH OFFICE

815 EAST 14TH STREET
NORTH LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS 72114
TELEPHONE
AREA CODE 501
FRANKLIN 6-2791

July 17, 1967

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

My round trip auto mileage in connection with my trip to Jonesboro on July 15 for the labor institute was 278 miles.

Again, I enjoyed very much my participation in the program and thank you for the opportunity.

Yours very truly,

Burl C. Rotenberry

Burl C. Rotenberry

BCR/ew

THE HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCIL OF GREATER LAKELAND, LBA - JNW ES

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Mr. V/P
Mrs. Recording Sect
508 Eastway St.,
Lakeland, Florida 33803

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1620 N. Dakota Ave.,
Lakeland, Florida 33801

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1806 New Jersey Road
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P.O.Box 408, The Ledger
Lakeland, Florida 33802

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P. O. Box 1071
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1915 Shady Lane St
Lakeland, Florida 33803

Mr & Mrs. John H. Anthony, V/P
1236 North Virginia Ave.,
Lakeland, Florida 33801

Mr & Mrs. Melvin Estroff, V/P
2710 Berkeley Ave.,
Lakeland, Florida 33803

Dr. & Mrs. John S. Jackson, Treas
1336 North Dakota Ave
Lakeland, Florida 33801

Mrs. J. D. Thomas Corresp.Sect
926 S. Mississippi Ave.,
Lakeland, Florida 33803

~~Dr. &~~ Mrs. F. Layton Berquist B/D
Rt. 1, Box 134
Lakeland, Florida 33803

Mr & Mrs. John R. Harrison, B/D
1068 Lake Hollingsworth Dr
Lakeland, Florida 33803

Mr & Mrs. Peirce Lewis B/D
2804 Nevada Road
Lakeland, Florida 33803

Mr. & Mrs. John L. Snook B/D
1324 Edgewater Beach Dr.,
Lakeland, Florida 33801

Otis P. Williams, B/D
(Pres. Polk County NAACP)
1776 Bayview Dr.,
Lakeland, Florida 33801

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Lakeland, Fla 33801

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403 W. Crawford St
Lakeland, Fla 33801

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Lakeland, Florida 33803

Mr. Dickwin D. Armstrong
P. O. Box 331
Lakeland, Fla 33802

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332 Courtland Circle
Lakeland, Fla 33803

Rev. R. J. Blaine,
1030 North Dakota Ave
Lakeland, Fla 33801

Rev & Mrs J. Oscar Brown
410 East Ridgewood
Lakeland, Fla 33801

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421 Lake Bonny Dr
Lakeland, Fla 33801

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Lakeland, Fla 33801

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Lakeland, Fla 33803

Rev & Mrs Caxton Doggett
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Tampa, Fla 33606

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224 Anne Marie Circle
Lakeland, Fla 33803

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Rt. 1, Box 927
Lakeland, Fla 33803

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Winter Haven, Fla 33880

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1114 E. Lime St
Lakeland, Fla 33801

Mr. Morris M. Harris
304 W. Memorial Blvd
Lakeland, Fla 33801

Mr & Mrs. David E. Henley
2230 Tanglewood St
Lakeland, Fla 33801

Mr & Mrs. Ambrose E. Austin
609 West Memorial Blvd
Lakeland, Fla 33801

Rev. C. H. Bolden,
703 W. 9th St.,
Lakeland, Fla 33801

Mr & Mrs J. T. Brunson
1015 North Ohio St.,
Lakeland, Fla 33801

Mrs Lenore S. Cohen
2016 Reaney Road
Lakeland, Fla 33803

Mrs. Dennis Cooper
406 West Valencia St
Lakeland, Fla 33801

Mr & Mrs. Carl J. Dettman
1105 South Hartsell Ave
Lakeland, Fla 33803

Mrs. O. D. Eger,
2224 Woodbine Ave
Lakeland, Florida 33803

Rev & Mrs Donald Evans
Rt. 6, Box 779
Lakeland, Fla 33801

Owen Flowers
706 Church Ave
Haines City, Fla 33844

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615 Carey Place
Lakeland, Fla 33803

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550 West Oak Drive
Lakeland, Fla 33803

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1437 Kettles Ave
Lakeland, Fla 33801

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Lakeland, Fla 33803

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Lakeland, Fla 33801

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Lakeland, Fla 33801

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Florida Southern College
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Henri Landwirth
4204 Braemar Circle
Lakeland, Fla 33803

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1034 S. Boulevard
Lakeland, Fla 33803

Dr & Mrs. Edwin T. Long
505 West Palm Drive
Lakeland, Fla 33803

Mrs Alfred Mahany
550 Lake Bonny Dr
Lakeland, Fla 33801

Mrs. Lettie M. Matthews
810 W. 13th St
Lakeland, Fla 33801

Mr. Peter Mobley
520 W. Quincy,
Lakeland, Fla 33801

Miss Rosie McCoy
915 N. Missouri Ave
Lakeland, Fla 33801

Mrs. Elveta Ortiz
715 W. Orange St
Lakeland, Fla 33801

Mr. James Pearson,
631 West 5th St
Lakeland, Fla 33801

Emmett Peter,
P.O.Box 408, The Ledger
Lakeland, Fla 33802

Mrs. Madeline W. Hutcheson
981 Lake Hollingsworth Dr
Lakeland, Fla 33803

Ulysses J. Johnson, Jr
Rochelle High School
W. 10th & N. Dakota
Lakeland, Fla 33801

Mr & Mrs Edward J. Keyes
17 Gordan Circle
Lakeland, Fla 33801

Dr. Charles M. Laymon
1921 Del Crest Place
Lakeland, Fla 33803

Mrs. Dolores Kay Lewis
215 W. Valencia St
Lakeland, Fla 33801

Samuel W. Luce
Rt. 1, Box 213
Lakeland, Fla 33803

Mr. Christopher F. Masters
99 Bonisee Circle
Lakeland, Fla 33803

Mrs. Dora Miller
603 Chatham Dr
Lakeland, Fla 33803

Donald E. Musselman
701 E. Charles St
Lakeland, Fla 33803

Mrs H. W. Oldham
904 N. Dakota Ave.,
Lakeland, Fla 33801

Mrs. Joan V. Parker
307 E. Beacon Rd
Lakeland, Fla 33803

Mr. Edgar T. Pickett, Jr
604 West Whitehurst St
Lakeland, Fla 33801

Miss Jessica Price,
328 Allamanda St
Lakeland, Fla 33803

Mrs. Ruth Reddick
413 West 9th St
Lakeland, Fla 33801

Kenneth W. Ringdahl,
Florida State Employment Service
515 East Lime St
Lakeland, Fla 33802

Mrs. Earl Seger
68 E. St., Holiday Park
Lakeland, Fla

Rabbi Aaron Shapiro
2920 Redwood Ave.,
Lakeland, Fla 33803

Mrs. Cathryn Browne Smith
P. O. Box 464
Lakeland, Fla 33802

Dr & Mrs. Ernest L. Snodgrass
15 Lake Hollingsworth Dr
Lakeland, Fla 33803

Mrs. Gerald Strickland
533 Nansemond
Lakeland, Fla 33801

Mrs. E. F. Van Buskirk
518 East Charles St
Lakeland, Fla 33803

Ben F. Wood
113 Kim St
Auburndale, Fla 33823

Paul Wodall (WOODALL
735 El Paseo Dr
Lakeland, Fla 33801

Mrs. Doris F. Reese
1107 West 9th St
Lakeland, Fla 33801

Mr. Morris Schiff,
P.O.Box 2097
Lakeland, Fla. 33803

Mrs. Daniel G. Senkarik
Rt. 1, Box 361
Lakeland, Fla 33803

Mr & Mrs. Ken Shroyer
1409 Camphor Drive,
Lakeland, Fla 33803

Edward Strickland
2105 Bassedena Circle
Lakeland, Fla 33801

Mr. James N. Taylor
P. O. Box 3063
Lakeland, Fla 33802

Rev. J. L. Williams
318 West 6th St
Lakeland, Fla 33801

J. H. Woodall, Jr
738 Buena Vista
Lakeland, Fla 33801

Rev. Duane R. Zoller
938 Osceola St
Lakeland, Fla 33801

Total 119 members
(93 families)

November 6, 1968

Mrs. Carol Tucker
Administrative Assistant
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1310 Wright Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Dear Mrs. Tucker:

Thanks for your order of 50 copies of "More Money For You." They are on their way under separate cover. Please not that this pamphlet was produced for 1967 and does not include the required changes in Minimum Wage payments for subsequent years. I would suggest a mimeographed insert.

Enclosed are two items from our Minimum Wage Campaign Kit and a copy of "The New 1966 Minimum Wage Law - With Explanation" which was prepared by the Commerce Clearing House. The leaflet "Some Simple Facts About The Fair Labor Standards Act" should give you the basic information you need for preparing a mimeographed insert.

Let me know if I can be of further assistance.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Enclosures

December 30, 1968

The Rev. Paul Matthias
Executive Director
South Carolina Council on
Human Relations
1420 Lady Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

Dear Paul:

If you have not seen Transferring Military Experience to Civilian Jobs, Manpower Automation Research, Monograph No. 8, published by the U. S. Department of Labor (Manpower Administration) you may be interested in securing a copy.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

File Ala Council

February 14, 1969

Father Brice Joyce, Exec. Dir.
Alabama Council on Human Relations
303-A Foster Street
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Dear Mr. Joyce:

I thought you might be interested in knowing that this program is being held.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Enclosure - Troy State Univ. brochure

March 14, 1969

The Rev. Paul Matthias
Executive Director
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1420 Lady Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

Dear Paul:

I am glad that Courtney has been in touch with you about Clemson. Things have been moving fast and I had hoped to be in touch with you myself.

Your wires regarding the textile situation struck the right note and were most welcome. Trust I will see you before too long.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

May 14, 1969

Mr. John McCown, Executive Director
Georgia Council on Human Relations
52 Fairlie Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear John:

Per your agreement with Paul Anthony, the attached check for $5,000 represents the advance toward your quarterly payment.

Sincerely,

James N. Wood, Jr.
Executive Assistant

JNW/km

Enclosure - $5,000 Check

NEWSLETTER

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

818 17th Avenue South/Nashville, Tennessee 37203/Telephone: Code (615) 256-5691

VOLUME 11 NO. 2 APRIL-MAY, 1969

from the Directors Desk. . . . Bayton

The Southern Regional Council in cooperation with the Tennessee Council on Human Relations has published a special report, IN MEMPHIS: ONE YEAR LATER. The article is by Pat Watters and Ed Stanfield. It does a good job of reporting accurately and analytically events in Memphis over the last year. Copies have been sent to members of our Board; and additional copies are available for 35¢ if you would like to have one.

Our Memphis office was used as the coordinating center for the April 4th Commemorative March for Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Our Nashville office was used to recruit some three busloads to participate and to hear Dr. Ralph Abernathy and Senator Edward Kennedy.

Kennedy's appearance was the best kept secret that I have been a part of in a long time. The police knew of his coming only one day in advance, the press only minutes before, and the people were surprised and shouted when he walked onto the platform and was immediately introduced.

It was an eerie feeling sitting there on the platform and seeing the response of the throngs of people in front as they first enthusiastically greeted him with applause and cheers and immediately scanned the tall buildings around looking for a would-be sniper. It was a great occasion, and for a moment one could again feel the presence of President John Kennedy, Dr. Martin Luther King, and Senator Robert Kennedy in his person. He talked the same language and renewed our faith in the ideals that these three great men lived by and died for. I believe he will continue to be worthy of the trust of all who looked to our martyred leaders.

We have spent a great deal of time since we reported to you last on several other things. We were much concerned with the situation at Lane College as it developed and exploded; but the State Council did not get involved until three young male students at Lane came to us and asked us to intervene. You will be interested in reading our report of that situation in this NEWSLETTER. Unfortunately, justice still eludes us there. We pray that this will not remain the case...An assault by a Metro policeman on a fourteen-year-old Negro girl, the arrest of sixteen young people in the Nashville area, and the Black Caucus at the Nashville Ford Plant are cases we will cover in the next issue, which we promise to have to you on schedule.

June 9, 1969

Mr. Baxton Bryant, Executive Director
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
818-B 17th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee 37203

Dear Baxton:

I would like to be kept informed, if possible, about the establishment of Project Equality in Nashville. Has the Methodist Publishing House decided to join in yet? Are other Methodist groups cooperating? Would the Nashville experience be either instructive to or a model for Atlanta?

Your last Newsletter made TCHR sound quite active but I have been discounting what I have read recently. However, I trust you are finding enough to do to keep you busy.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

October 7, 1969

Mr. Ed Hamlet, Asst. Dir.
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
818-B 17th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee 37203

Dear Ed:

Thanks for sending me the list of characters and chronology on the case involving the local Teamster members.

I do not think of anything further that I as an individual can do in the situation but will remain open to suggestions.

I think that it is good that you and Baxton are recognized as defenders of people's rights and that you were open enough in this case to help these men find an answer to their problem. It is, of course, the Tennessee Council's business but I would raise again with you whether making this affair a matter of TCHR business is wise or justified. In raising this question I do not mean to make any judgment as to the merits of the case but simply to raise the question of your own organizational purposes.

If I do come up with an useful idea I will be in touch with you.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

file

October 16, 1969

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: State Councils on Human Relations

FROM: Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

Mailed
Ark
Fla
Ga
La
Miss
N.C.
S.C
Tenn
Va.
Texas

- - -

For your information the following book is now available from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. at a cost of $1.50:

FOR ALL THE PEOPLE...BY ALL THE PEOPLE
A report on Equal Opportunity in state and local government employment
A Report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1969

EFV/km

File

LCHR

First Federal Building
7986 Scenic Highway
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807

Louisiana Council on Human Relations

December 15, 1972

Mr. Alexis Herman, Director
Black Women Employment Program
Southern Regional Council
52 Fairlie Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Herman:

The Louisiana Council on Human Relations was thoroughly excited to hear of your Black Women's Employment Program and the success you have had with it. Our council has long been interested in this area, as the need is so great.

If possible, please send us your proposal information, funding sources, operational details, and possibilities for Southern Regional Council implementing a similar project through our council. At present, we have taken several steps in attempt to initiate such a program.

We wish you the best of luck with your program and hope, as well, that we can spread your success.

Sincerely,

Steven Montgomery

Steven Montgomery
Executive Director

sm/am
cc: Emory Via

Tax Study - Orders

Alabama LABOR COUNCIL, AFL-CIO
328-2164 • 1018 SOUTH EIGHTEENTH STREET
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA 35205

BARNEY WEEKS, PRESIDENT
A. G. TRAMMELL, SECRETARY-TREASURER
WM. E. MINTZ, EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

December 23, 1969

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program, Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Emory:

12-30-69:s

Our check for $100 is enclosed. Please send us four hundred copies of "The Tax Structure of Southern States: An Analysis." 12-30-69:s

This is an excellent study of the tax structure which we feel will be invaluable for state legislators and we also hope to use it in some of the summer school programs. We appreciate your making this available to us more than you know.

Best wishes for the holiday season, and warmest personal regards.

Fraternally and sincerely,

Barney

Barney Weeks
President

mw

OPEIU-18

Enclosure

LCHR

First Federal Building
7986 Scenic Highway
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807

Louisiana Council on Human Relations

March 19, 1973

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
52 Fairlie St.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Mr. Via;

The Louisiana Council on Human Relations is presently preparing a state wide program proposal to be submitted to the federal government under the new Emergency School Assistance Act.

The nature of our proposal is a monthly newsletter designed to disseminate information throughout the state on human relations problems in the schools and their attempted solutions. The project description calls for locally recruited reporters to report on all facets of human relations problems in the schools, including the problems, concerns, and ideas for solution as seen by local students, parents, and administrators; the activities of all public and private agencies and groups effecting or involved with human relations problems in the schools; and all court decisions; reapportionment debates; desegregation plans; federal, state, parish and private school desegregation aiding programs; and racial incidents and conflicts that relate to human relations problems in the schools and their attempted solutions.

It has been caculated that the key to many human relation problems in the schools is (1) the inadequate level of communication between students, parents, teachers, administrators, and community leaders; and (2) the general lack of statistical and factual information combined with the abundance of rumors and misinformation.

This project, by providing a regular and objective source of information, and a channel for communication would greatly reduce both parts of the information problem thus contributing to opening lines of communication and assisting problem solving in the various school districts throughout the state.

cont.

LCHR

Louisiana Council on Human Relations

First Federal Building
7986 Scenic Highway
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807

In an effort to comply with federal regulations and to reinforce our project need statements we are requesting the following from all individuals and/or agencies involved with human relations problems in the schools.

1. Official endorcement by you and/or your group or organization for the need for such a project as ours and a willingness to cooperate with it whenever possible.

2. Any statements you could make regarding human relations problems in the schools supporting-
   a. the need for such a project
   b. the lack of information in this area of human relations problems in the schools and its negative effects
   c. the presence of rumors and misinformation in this area and its negative effects.
   d. the state of communication between students, parents, teachers, adminstrators, and community leaders and the effects of rumors, misinformation, and lack of information on this communication.

3. A listing of any public and private groups within your area that are involved or concerned with human relations problems in the schools and their attemoted solutions.

It is our sincerest hope that you will be able to assist us in this endeavor. If there are any questions reqarding this matter pleasr contact us. Our sincere thanks for all your help.

Sincerely,

Steven Montgomery

Steven Montgomery
Executive Director

SM/sp

Ernest B. Furgurson

Atl. Const
W 27 1972

Charity Among the Democrats

DANVILLE, Va. — When whatever is going to happen at Miami Beach has happened, and the national Democratic Party looks beyond the presidential nomination to the campaign ahead and the nebulous future beyond that, it may wish it had a lot more politicians like Ruth La Countess Harvey Charity. But for the moment, that prospect looks dim.

Mrs. Charity is a symbol of the shakeup undergone by the old party since adoption of the new rules that grew out of the 1968 convention. She is one of a series of reasons why Virginia politicians have said periodically since 1966, when the senior senator, Harry Byrd, died, that old Harry must be turning over in his grave looking down on what is going on in the commonwealth. As he contemplates Mrs. Charity today, he may be spinning.

She is black, and obviously female. She is a lawyer, graduate of Howard University. For years, she has been associated with the causes of the NAACP. And for years, she has been trying to take a place in local and state Democratic Party politics.

Here, in the southernmost Virginia Piedmont, blacks are one-third of the population. Until after the Voting Rights Act of 1965, their role in party politics could hardly be measured, even in decimal points. When Mrs. Charity ran for the house of delegates in 1967, she found out the impact of that federal legislation still lay ahead.

"Even then," she says, "it was hard to find out how, where and when to file for office. It was more secret than the secrets of a secret order."

But she entered the primary — and won it. But in a locally unprecedented run-off, she lost it. She still insists the run-off was illegal, but that in the hopefully cooling climate following civil rights demonstrations here in the early 1960s, she did not want to push the issue in court.

Then, in 1968, she knew where to file, and had a better conception of her chances in a Democratic primary. She she skipped the primary and ran for Congress in the general election, but was buried that time in a regional landslide for George Wallace.

In 1970, four of the city's nine council seats were up. She ran yet again, and squeezed in by an 80-vote margin. As a city councilwoman, she has worked for a new library, and for community action and nutrition programs. Yet, until this spring, she and other blacks still had not taken anything like a proportionate piece of the strictly party action, either in city or state.

Finally, armed with the McGovern commission rules, she and other blacks packed the local caucus — just as the tightly organized conservative old guard had done for years past. Then, at the state level, they joined with other blacks, with the skillful McGovern forces and the liberals who had been fighting for party control since World War II. At last, they took the entire machinery out of conservative hands. And Ruth Harvey Charity, a black woman, civil-rights lawyer, became the Democratic national committeewoman from Virginia.

She clearly likes it. Her phone never stops ringing. In one call, she rearranges an appointment she had made as attorney for a young black who shot a policeman in Rocky Mount over the weekend. In the next, she tells a university student doing a senior project paper that she prefers to leave off any prefixes and just considers herself a "good Democrat."

And in the next, she is telling George Rawlings, the new national committeman and principal engineer of the state party revolution, that she would not be at all averse to making peace with the conservatives who were shut out at the state convention.

There, of course, is exactly where she differs with a high percentage of the young Democrats who have torn party control away from their elders in other parts of the country this spring. A great many of them have two motives only — to nominate George McGovern and to take revenge on the people who closed them out for so many years — and in their minds, those two aims tend to run together.

But if the party is to have any hope at all of defeating Mr. Nixon in the fall and continuing as the single major force in American politics, those young people and their older, long-frustrated comrades are going to have to see beyond the middle of July.

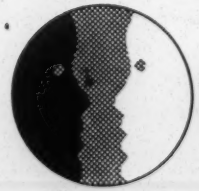
Leo Aikman

Va. Consul

THE AMERICAN DREAM OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY . . .

was nurtured
is growing
will be fullfilled

IN VIRGINIA



THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

17 EAST CARY STREET • RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23219

TELEPHONE: AREA CODE: 703-648-4444

A council that seeks — through fact-finding, discussion and action — to attain equal opportunity for all people in Virginia

The Religious Community and a Changing Virginia

In the major changes underway in Virginia today, the religious community has a fundamental and inescapable responsibility to see to it that adjustments are made in line with the highest claims of the Judaeo-Christian tradition.

This was one of the pressing conclusions of the November 28-29, 1966, Conference on People, Religion, and a Changing Virginia, when more than a thousand citizens of the Commonwealth came together for two days at the John Marshall Hotel in Richmond.

With a background of pre-conference studies, they prepared for small group discussions by hearing these major addresses:

Dr. George D. Kelsey, professor of Christian ethics at Drew University (N. J.), on "The Theological Bases for the Social Concern of the Religious Community"; *Father John F. Cronin,* assistant director of social action for the U. S. Catholic Conference, Washington, D. C., on "The Role of the Religious Community in the Concern for Fair Housing"; *Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild* of the Hebrew Benevolent Congregation, Atlanta, Ga., on "The Role of the Religious Community in Changing Educational Patterns"; *Mr. Warren H. Turner, Jr.,* vice-president of the Protestant Episcopal Executive Council, New York, on "The Responsibility of the Religious Community to Set its Own House in Order"; and, *Dr. Samuel D. Proctor,* president, Institute for Services to Education, Washington, D. C., with the final challenge on "Where Do We Go from Here?"

ECONOMIC AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS BEGUN OR PORPOSED IN SOUTH CAROLINA

COMPILED BY

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON
HUMAN RELATIONS

COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA

APRIL 21, 1971

I. Penn Center - New Thrust for the 1970's

Goals

Penn Center's program thrust is to improve the economic status of the black community. This is to be done by concentrating the programmatic goals of Penn in the following areas:

A. Conference Center - Penn would seek to improve its facilities as a major conference center.

B. Technical Assistance to Economic Cooperatives - The Center would provide technical assistance to local and regional cooperatives using public and private resources. The community surrounding Penn Center in Beaufort and Jasper Counties has experimented in cooperative ventures for more than forty (40) years. It is an economic concept that local families understand and are experienced. Although of small scale, currently there are several cooperative ventures operating including a grocery store, gas station, and federal credit union. On a much larger scale, there are two cooperative efforts which are of recent vintage--the Hilton Head Fishery Co-op and the planned Community Health Center which currently has a $750,000 appropriation. Without ventures, Penn Center became aware of the need for a central point to coordinate resources. The public and private agencies also expressed the opinion that such a central point was needed to coordinate the flow of manpower and funds.

   Penn also expects that other vertical and horizontal economic efforts will arise from these successful ventures and attempt to dove-tail into the ventures.

C. Creation of a MESBIC - This would enable the Center to establish a capital institution which would provide for the capital needs of the local community as well as selected regional ventures. The St. Helena Federal Credit Union has approached Penn Center concerning technical assistance to their financial institution including its operation and management. Penn sees the need for developing a capital institution which will be able to provide for resources to the people in the areas of economic and business development. The MESBIC would be an important institution in organizing cooperative ventures and could be created as a subsidiary of the credit union operated by the Penn Center staff. It would make loans to individual businesses,

cooperative ventures, farming and other ventures. It could also be used by Penn Center or a subsidiary to provide capital for purchase of land which is lost by blacks each year in the county through attending land frauds, legal and illegal tax sales, foreclosure and losses caused by ignorance of the legal process.

D. Employment - Penn will seek to improve the number of blacks employed in existing industries and government. It will also seek to attract new industries to the area which will provide additional employment opportunities. Penn will seek to improve the number of blacks in existing industries and governmental agencies in the area. Currently, the majority of the civilian population is employed in the various military installations in the area. However, blacks occupy a disporportionate number of these jobs, and of the jobs blacks presently hold are generally blue collar, low-paid, and dead-ended. In the private sector, similar conditions exist.

II. The River Road Enterprise of John's Island

This effort has organized itself into a corporation. Its membership of 15 persons has raised $10,000 to be used in some business enterprises not yet determined.

Consideration has been given to acquiring a super market. But the type of super market that the organization deems economically feasible will cost $125,000; and this group has not been able to borrow any money for this type of investment.

Some thought has been given to the purchasing of a liquor store and re-invest the profits from such venture into other enterprises. Initial investment capital again is a limiting factor. At least $30,000 would be required to buy the type of package store that would be economically efficient. An additional $20,000 is needed for this type of project.

The C. O. Federal Credit Union has made loans to small businessmen to finance the operation of small farm businesses as well as non-farm businesses.

III. Statewide Homes Foundation, Inc.

The purpose of Statewide Homes, Inc., which was incorporated in October of 1968 and began its business operation in January 1969, is to secure home sites and construct or aid in the construction of homes for disadvantaged persons.

It is realized that patterns of substandard living are often difficult to change and that a majority of these people being served by this agency has built-in disadvantages. The ministry of Statewide Homes Foundation includes a program of social education emphasizing (1) personal sanitation and social hygiene, (2) family counseling, (3) consumer education, (4) community beautification and (5) civic responsibility.

Families benefiting from the ministry of Statewide Homes Foundation can be divided into four categories:

1. Families with insufficient income to secure adequate housing.

2. Families that have been displaced by eminent domain and face difficulty in re-location due to circumstances beyond their control.

3. Families that have difficulty in acquiring adequate housing due to their race.

4. The aging and physically handicapped, who because of their circumstances, find difficulties in acquiring adequate shelter.

IV. Benedict College's Community Development Institute

Benedict College is a black, liberal arts college deeply concerned with the reclamation and development of the improverished communities from which the majority of our students and staff come. For three years, college staff members have been planning Benedict's Community Development Institute, designed to implement a "total" approach to community reclamation, rather than the piecemeal approach of uncoordinated, and often unrelated, current federal, state and local programs. Benedict is concerned with the coordinated utilization of all community resources to evantually assure self-sustaining community growth. The Institute is designed to approach total development through concentrated academic programs preparing students for community development work coupled with the offering of immediate support services for the black community in the greater Columbia area.

Why Benedict College

Aside from the obligation that Benedict as a black institution feels toward the black community, there are several reasons why Benedict feels that it should engage in development work: the expertise that trained academicians can bring to such a project; the availability of significant concerned manpower (in terms of student field work based upon academic studies at the college); the recognition that education is

no longer confined solely to classroom instruction; and the fact that someone in the region must begin to deal with the problem of total community development--experimenting, designing new models of social reconstruction, and scientifically analyzing the results.

Institute Programs

Aside from the inter-disciplinary academic programs in Community Development offered for Benedict students, specific programs will be offered to the community-at-large under the four inter-related subdivisions of the Institute: the Economic Development Center, the Social Welfare Center, the Educational Development Center, and the Public Administration Center. Initial programs include a Community Economic Education Program comprised of (1) practical course offerings, such as Cost Accounting, Purchasing, Statistics, and Computer Programming for community members, (2) a Consumer Education Project, (3) an Afro-American Studies Program,(4) programs designed to aid local schools for solving the problems posed by desegregation, and (5) new programs for the training of in-service and prospective teachers.

Other programs include (1) the development of a Businessmen's Association (already begun) utilizing a central administrative unit and a central bookkeeping operation, and ultimately developing cooperative trucking, warehousing and wholesale outlets, (2) a Community Development Corporation, (3) a Laboratory School project in cooperation with

two formerly all-black high schools in Columbia, (4) a Social Welfare Program (already begun), (5) a long-range Research and Development Program, and (6) a Public Administration Program which will include the training of newly elected black officials from throughout the region.

V. Orangeburg County Comprehensive Health Program

Phase I of this program was begun in the Hamlet of Springfield, South Carolina which is located in the western section of the county. Though its population is only 800 residents, there are some 26,700 persons within 15 miles radii from Springfield. There are no medical doctors or dentists in the area. The County Health Department has a satellite clinic in the area that opens twice per month. The clinic provides preventive medicine, pre-natal care and planned parenthood. All other medical services are provided in the city of Orangeburg which is 22 miles from Springfield; and there is no local public transportation to Orangeburg. Medical services available in Orangeburg are complete and adequate.

Objectives

1. To provide limited services to the indigent populations of Springfield through satellite screening center located directly in the densely populated area making the health center easily accessible to the consumer.

2. To train a cadre of residents who can relate to, speak their language, and interpret their wishes to the Health Center by serving as Family Health Assistants, Outreach Workers or Family Health Advocates. To provide services such as

Pediatrics, Geriatrics, Nutrition, Family Planning Pre-natal and Post-natal care, Laboratory Facilities and X-Ray.

3. To provide training facilities in order to make a career lattice viable and to avoid dead end positions--to encourage and facilitate the model of upward mobility to the consumers.

4. To provide development training for the advisory council in decision-making processes, program management, linkages, with federal, state and county related agencies, parliamentary procedures, group processes, etc. that would enhance their functioning as board members.

5. To provide transportation for the consumers from the satellite center as well as the locations of the specialized clinics.

6. To provide free drugs and prosthetics for all registered consumers.

7. To facilitate immediate health services by pre-registration of families in their homes by FHA's.

8. To encourage and facilitate environmental restoration and sanitation.

VI. Retention, Utilization, Reclamation and Acquisition of Rural Land

The objective of this effort is to determine the amount and location of land in South Carolina presently owned by black citizens. Organize these landholders first at the county level; and eventually at the state level. Determine why blacks have lost their land. Provide technical assistance to present and future black landholders in South Carolina so as to build an economic base whereby rural black people may live on the land with dignity and self-satisfaction.

The working plan proposed to reach these objectives is first to inventory the land. Phase 2 will study the accessibility and possible use of land that will give the greatest good to black owners. Phase 3 will address a program of economic development for rural landowners and Phase 4 will provide a fiscally and administratively sound management program.

VI. South Carolina State College Outreach Programs

South Carolina State College has four outreach programs that are directly related to low income residencts of the state.

1. Feasibility of Growing Feeder Pigs as a supplement to low income rural families.

2. Breeding soybeans for human consumption as an economic source of high protein food nutrients.

3. Preparation of tasteful and nutritional low cost meals for welfare payment recipients.

4. An exploratory study of seasonal farmworkers that will investigate the housing conditions along with educational and public aid facilities available to these transitory rural families. The Farmers Home Administration has expressed an interest in financing the improvement of housing for seasonal farmworkers. This study purports to supply the necessary data on which determinations for financing may be made.

Attach memo
Please xerox

Summary of a Conference

on

Comprehensive Economic Development in the

Coastal Plains Area of South Carolina

Penn Center

Frogmore, South Carolina April 21-23, 1971

A group of about fifty persons assembled at Penn Center, Frogmore, South Carolina, April 21-23, 1971 for the purpose of exploring the possibilities of developing a comprehensive and coordinated strategy for economic development in the coastal plains area of South Carolina.

Those present included representatives of several community and economic development projects in South Carolina, the South Carolina state government, South Carolina State College, the Federation of Southern Cooperatives and several national foundations, church mission boards and governmental agencies. (The full roster of those registered is attached to this summary.)

Mr. John Gadson, Mr. Rodney Albert and Mr. Charles Washington shared the role of chairman.

Wednesday evening, April 21

This was a very free-wheeling introductory session. The participants introduced themselves. The general purpose of the conference was explained. The discussion ranged widely over the problems facing the poor and black people of the South Carolina coastal plains region. There emerged a general consensus that the entire region shares many problems in common, that these are well known to the participants in this conference and that the group was ready to move on to discussion of lines of action to deal with the problems.

Thursday Morning, April 22

The opening statement at this session was made by Mr. James Clyburn, Assistant to South Carolina Governor John West for Human Resource Development. Mr. Clyburn reported in some detail on the plans of the governor's office in the fields of housing, education, health services and elimination of hunger.

Housing is the top priority on Mr. Clyburn's agenda. Almost half the housing in South Carolina is sub-standard. A bill has been introduced into the state legislature to create a State Housing Authority. A bill has also been prepared dealing with the problem of settling certain cloudy land titles.

The education problem in South Carolina is reflected in the current 52% drop-out rate before high school graduation. Mr. Clyburn's aim is a

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compensatory education program with emphasis on child care centers and a head-start type effort. Human resource money is being sought from the Coastal Plains Regional Commission for special educational effort in certain planning districts within the coastal plains area .

One problem in the health field is the fact that the State of South Carolina has no policy on health. Mr. Clyburn is emphasizing the importance of ambulatory health services which will get poor people out from under the high costs of hospital care. Governor West is planning to call a state-wide conference on health sometime in 1972.

With regard to the hunger problem, Mr. Clyburn pointed to the small percentage of school cafeterias which have a breakfast program. He also stated that only about 50% of eligible people in the state are receiving food stamps. He announced that beginning May 1, food stamps will be mailed to welfare recipients.

The remainder of the morning was devoted to discussion with Mr. Clyburn regarding the issues presented by him and a good many others. Among specific suggestions addressed to Mr. Clyburn were these:

1. The state government should seek ways to protect black people's ownership of land and homes. Mortgage insurance and programs to increase income were suggested.

2. There is need for programs of title clearance.
3. The big money must come from federal sources.
4. The state should require that a substantial proportion of new housing be built by blacks.

Some unhappiness was expressed that the governor's program as presented by Mr. Clyburn did not seem to be sufficiently comprehensive in dealing with the broad range of problems facing poor people. Mr. Clyburn's response was that resources are insufficient to do everything at once and that concentration on certain priority issues is essential if any progress is to be made.

Thursday afternoon, April 22

At this session representatives of various projects were asked to describe their economic development programs.

South Carolina Council on Human Relations. - Paul Matthias

The key economic development program is called RURAL (Retention, Utilization, Reclamation and Acquisition of Land) It is focussed in Bamberg County. An inventory has been made of land owned by black people. The project is now moving into a feasibility study with regard to the possible uses of this information. Ultimately program alternatives will be presented to the black land owners.

State-Wide Homes Foundation - Rodney Albert - reported in the absence of Rev. I. DeQuincey Newman.

[illegible] of the state. It has

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been approved by SEC to float bonds up to $1,000,000. A local housing corporation has been set up at Great Falls and 100 acres of land has been purchased. Hundreds of individuals have built homes in various parts of the state.

Rural Missions - John's Island - Rev. Willis Goodwin

This project started with day care centers but has moved in several directions including a health clinic and a pickle Coop. Plans under development include a sea food cooperative; preventive medicine program, expansion into fresh market produce, and a handcraft cooperative. Land titles are a serious problem in this area. Helping agencies have been the United Methodist, Lutheran and Mennonite Churches.

Sea Island Cooperative - Mr. P. T. Seabrook

This is an old cooperative in Frogmore. Mr. Seabrook's presentation emphasized the problems of inadequate member loyalty and participation due; in his opinion, to failure of the coop. to maintain educational programs for members, board and management.

Penn Center Tomato Growers Coop.- Mr. George Parris

This is a new cooperative with about 75 members representing about 300 acres. The cooperative has a tomato grader and intends to grade and market tomatoes for its members.

South Carolina Commission on Farm Workers - Mr. Al Fields

The Commission sponsors several buying clubs, has plans for a crabbing cooperative and is thinking about a construction company in the low income housing field.

Comprehensive Health Service - Mrs. Laura A. Bush

Several county and multi-county comprehensive health services were represented in the conference. Time permitted only a most sketchy presentation regarding their program. Environmental programs for preventive health are emphasized.

Williamsburg County Program - Rev. O. J. Nelson

This program emphasized leisure time activities for the aging.

As a part of this round-up, the group also heard briefly from Mr. Roy Williams of the Farmer Cooperative Service, U.S.D.A. and Mr. Jesse P. Perry, Jr. of the Rockefeller Foundation.

Mr. Williams described the kind of technical help the FCS could provide to the area through a multi-county cooperative development cooperation. Mr. Perry stated some of the questions any foundation would ask a group presenting a proposal for funding:

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1. What do you want to do?
2. How do you propose to do it?
3. What resources do you already have available?
4. How long will it take to do it?
5. To whom else have you talked about it?

Following a coffee break the group moved into a general strategy session.

Shirley Greene listed some of the areas which might be included in a comprehensive development package: economic, housing, health, education, welfare, transportation. Also some of the factors which will be required: People, land, capital, credit, legal aid, technical assistance, training, management, political power. Also some of the sources for some of the factors are governmental agencies, foundations, churches.

Jim Pierce made a statement emphasizing the value and importance of agricultural coops in such a rural area as this where there is little likelihood of any considerable industrial development.

Ira Kaye pointed out the possibility of many jobs in such service areas as housing, health, education and day care. The picture is not simply industry or agriculture.

The general discussion developed, among others, the following main points:

-- The need of the area is for a comprehensive approach to development.

-- The situation is one of urgency. Bureaucratic procedures are too slow. Self-help coops are the key.

-- An alternative to the coop is the community development cooperative.

-- Legal services are an essential component of development.

-- CAP agencies should write legal aid into their budgets.

-- A community land trust might be a possibility.

-- Land is important, but it is not enough for black people to own it; they must be in position to use it in a profitable way.

Evening Session, April 22

This session zeroed in on the central question of the feasibility and desirability of some kind of coordinating committee or organization for development in the coastal plains area of South Carolina.

After considerable discussion of pros and cons and alternative patterns of organization, the group voted to proceed to the organization of an Ad Hoc Committee on Development. There were no dissenting votes.

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After further discussion it was voted that a few minutes be allowed for consideration of what such a committee should do, after which the chairman of this session (Mr. Charles Washington) should appoint the Ad hoc Committee from among the South Carolina people invited to this meeting. There were some dissenting votes on this motion.

The chairman declared a brief recess during which he asked each person to write out his suggestions as to what the Ad hoc Committee should do.

When the group reconvened, the chairman announced the following personnel for the Ad hoc Committee (supplemented by one person elected to the committee on Friday morning)

Mr. John Gadson, Frogmore
Mr. Rodney Albert, Columbia
Mrs. Laura A. Bush, Bluffton
Mr. Al Fields, Charleston
Rev. Willis Goodwin, John's Island
Mrs. Catherine Lewis, Conway
Rev. O. J. Nelson, Kingstree
Mrs. Eunice Rush, Orangeburg
Mr. George Smith, Frogmore
Mr. G. T. Twitty, Kingstree

Mr. John Gadson was later elected chairman by the Committee.

The Ad hoc Committee was asked to collect the papers, to meet following the evening adjournment to define their task, and to report back to the full group in the morning.

A motion to adjourn was lost. After a couple of other motions designed to define the functions and limits of the Ad hoc Committee were also debated and lost, a motion to adjourn was carried.

Friday Morning, April 23

The Ad hoc Committee reported five points defining its functions and responsibilities for the immediate future:

1. The Committee is to undertake a "study" to determine the areas in which there would be advantages for a coalition of effort.

2. The Committee recommends that the geographical area for this coalition effort be defined as the coastal plains of South Carolina.

3. The Committee is to develop a short statement of objectives based on the discussions of this conference.

4. The Committee is to call a conference of South Carolina coastal plains people to accept or reject the findings of the Ad hoc Committee.

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5. All these steps are to be taken within the next 90 days (amended by the group to "60 days").

These recommendations, with the amendment noted were approved by the conference. In the discussion the following additional points and clarifications were made:

Penn Center is seen as the focal point for this effort at least for the initial period.

The summary of this conference is to be sent to all persons who expressed interest in the conference as well as those who attended.

The offer of legal aid on land titles extended by Haywood Burns of the National Conference of Black Lawyers should be followed up promptly by the Ad hoc Committee.

Contact should be made by the Committee with the South Carolina state economic opportunity office.

The Ad hoc Committee is to search as diligently as possible for all local development groups and projects in the coastal plains area for invitation to the next meeting.

The Ad hoc Committee is to make every reasonable effort to secure the ideas and views of poor people as in-put for planning the coalition effort.

Whatever funds remain after covering the expenses of this conference from the $1000 grant of the United Methodist Rural Economic Development Action Program will be available for the further expenses of the coalition effort as determined by the Ad hoc Committee.

The representatives present from the Episcopal General Council Special Program and the Lutheran Church in America Board of American Missions agreed to see if their agencies could provide some grant money to assist the coalition effort.

It was agreed that funds for the coalition effort are to be handled for the present by Penn Center under the supervision of Committee Chairman John Gadson.

Chairman Gadson was granted authority to add members to the Ad hoc Committee.

The chairman requested all participants to send to him in writing their feelings and reflections regarding the conference.

In addition to these matters of business, a very helpful discussion was led by Charles Washington and Zack Townsend, attorneys, regarding legal problems related to land ownership. Topics covered included: ways of getting a moratorium on tax sales; problems of partition sales; problems of inadequate wills; problems of mortgage foreclosures.

John Gadson expressed appreciation to all who had participated in the conference. The group expressed appreciation to John Gadson and Penn Center.

The conference adjourned at about 11:30 A.M.

Summary by

Shirley E. Greene

SEG:dedh

Conference on

COMPREHENSIVE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE COASTAL PLAINS AREA

of

South Carolina

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Board of American Missions
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Mr. Haywood Burns
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Rev. J. Harry Crout
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Health Council
Orangeburg, South Carolina 29115

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Mrs. Catherine Lewis
Harry-Georgetown

Conference on

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Mr. George Smith
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Conference on

COMPREHENSIVE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE COASTAL PLAINS AREA

of

South Carolina

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Mr. G. T. Twitty
Santee Coop.
Kingstree, South Carolina 29556

Mr. Charles E. Washington, Jr.
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Mr. Raymond Williams
Farmers Cooperative Service
U. S. Department of Agriculture
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Clarence Wright
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

M-E-M-O-R-A-N-D-U-M

To: Emory Via

From: Clarence Wright

Re: Penn Conference - April 21-23, 1971

Date: May 20, 1971

Shirley Greene's summary of the conference activities is quite comprehensive and relatively accurate. Therefore, I'll just attach a few observations/comments:

1. Initially, the conference was billed as a statewide Economic Development Conference. The conferees (total group) did not designate a specific area of concentration.

2. Brothers Robert S. Browne, Black Economic Research Center, New York City, and George Smith, Penn Center Economic Development specialist both seemed quite mature and knowledgeable. Continued contact with both men is recommended. I think Brother Browne has a contract with Paul Mathias to do a feasibility study in connection with the South Carolina Council on Human Relations land project. According to Shimon Gottschalk of the Cambridge Institute and International Independence Institute, Brother Smith has a very sound reputation and has done some good things in the Brooklyn area prior to going to Penn Center.

3. Do you have any information on James Clyburn, Assistant to Governor West for Human Resource Development?

4. The attached proposal, "Project Black Land" was presented at the start of the conference and later dropped. What are your thoughts on the proposal? Can you see any ties with the Mathias project?

5. Although there was a great deal of discussion of the land situation in South Carolina, Paul Mathias and Rodney Albert were quite reticent about their endeavors. What is the status of their project?

6. There were very clear demands for assistance in Day Care which were not responded to. Any suggestions?

CW:mv
Attachments

BLACK EMPLOYMENT
in
SELECTED AGENCIES OF SOUTH CAROLINA
STATE GOVERNMENT

A COMPARATIVE STUDY
RACE-SEX-SALARY

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
APRIL 1971

PREPARED BY
RODNEY ALBERT & PAUL MATTHIAS

INTRODUCTION

This is a report by the South Carolina Council on Human Relations dealing with the status of Black employment in selected agencies of South Carolina state government. The data for this document was obtained from records of the South Carolina State Personnel Division, questionnaires and personal interviews.

We make no claim that this is in any way an exhaustive study. To the contrary, it represents only an initial compilation of facts and information of which the citizens of South Carolina need to be aware. It is offered in the hope that it will encourage others both within and without state government to initiate thorough analyses of the situation as well as the necessary remedial actions.

TABLE I

STATE GOVERNMENT - EMPLOYEES
AND SALARIES IN EACH COUNTY BY RACE *

County	Employees		Total Salary	Average Salary
Abbeville	Black	28	107,987	3,856
	White	52	301,139	5,791
Aiken	Black	55	210,590	3,828
	White	121	722,142	5,968
Allendale	Black	21	83,449	3,973
	White	43	243,717	5,667
Anderson	Black	28	107,829	3,851
	White	166	904,080	5,446
Bamberg	Black	78	453,908	5,819
	White	47	262,058	5,575
Barnwell	Black	27	105,261	3,898
	White	60	370,088	6,168
Beaufort	Black	41	187,614	4,575
	White	96	610,277	6,357
Berkeley	Black	63	261,937	4,157
	White	138	807,426	5,850
Calhoun	Black	25	97,919	3,916
	White	50	332,388	6,647
Charleston	Black	113	446,483	3,951
	White	286	1,812,281	6,336
Cherokee	Black	13	51,292	3,945
	White	67	351,370	5,244
Chester	Black	38	151,564	4,146
	White	156	1,064,306	6,822
Chesterfield	Black	28	119,626	4,272
	White	192	1,278,333	6,657
Clarendon	Black	42	172,603	4,109
	White	79	447,886	5,669
Colleton	Black	33	128,791	3,902
	White	132	759,483	5,753

Darlington	Black	34	127,697	3,755
	White	74	423,590	5,724
Dillon	Black	30	116,991	3,899
	White	76	397,550	5,230
Dorchester	Black	297	1,150,586	3,874
	White	231	1,341,137	5,805
Edgefield	Black	23	87,580	3,807
	White	50	296,589	5,931
Fairfield	Black	38	153,606	4,042
	White	43	267,164	6,213
Florence	Black	100	390,380	3,903
	White	382	2,457,664	6,433
Georgetown	Black	36	148,396	4,122
	White	88	476,544	5,415
Greenville	Black	28	113,235	4,044
	White	406	2,572,708	6,336
Greenwood	Black	33	128,401	3,890
	White	160	1,129,921	7,062
Hampton	Black	23	94,246	4,097
	White	50	299,232	5,984
Horry	Black	17	68,188	4,011
	White	166	892,759	5,378
Jasper	Black	34	129,193	3,799
	White	47	250,899	5,338
Kershaw	Black	62	236,952	3,821
	White	109	700,932	6,430
Lancaster	Black	28	115,055	4,109
	White	80	452,363	5,654
Laurens	Black	259	998,449	3,855
	White	847	4,275,015	5,047
Lee	Black	36	135,894	3,774
	White	61	344,183	5,642
Lexington	Black	42	176,050	4,191
	White	260	1,652,960	6,357

McCormick	Black	29	109,159	3,764
	White	83	498,430	6,005
Marion	Black	25	93,501	3,740
	White	58	302,757	5,219
Marlboro	Black	39	148,298	3,802
	White	53	315,154	5,946
Newberry	Black	16	61,651	3,853
	White	94	583,503	6,207
Oconee	Black			
	White	145	768,127	5,297
Orangeburg	Black	62	250,446	4,039
	White	219	1,452,422	6,632
Pickens	Black	2	7,364	3,682
	White	129	694,198	5,381
Richland	Black	872	3,814,820	4,374
	White	4,194	31,506,739	7,512
Saluda	Black	12	43,848	3,654
	White	63	321,148	5,097
Spartanburg	Black	93	489,704	5,265
	White	385	2,455,577	6,378
Sumter	Black	57	221,184	3,880
	White	117	700,039	5,983
Union	Black	24	94,864	3,952
	White	76	444,133	5,843
Williamsburg	Black	64	243,726	3,808
	White	100	575,695	5,756
York	Black	58	229,973	3,965
	White	133	766,653	5,764
No Definite County	Black	0		
	White	20	218,000	10,900
TOTALS	Black	3,106	$12,866,290	$4,142
	White	10,684	$70,100,759	$6,561

*The information for this table was obtained from the State Personnel Division records dated October 2, 1970. It does not include data for all state agencies, including such large employers as the Department of Public Welfare, Department of Mental Health, Tax Commission and Employment Security Commission.

INTERPRETATION

An analysis of the data set forth in Table I shows that Blacks comprise 22.5% of the total work force in these state agencies but earn only 15.5% of the salaries paid out by them. When compared with the fact that Blacks comprised 45% of the working age population in South Carolina,* it is evident that they are neither being employed nor paid by the state government in proportion to their numbers.

The difference of $2, 419 between the average salary paid to White and Black employees in these state agencies indicates that Black workers in general are assigned to the relatively low paying positions. Such jobs, principally those of common laborers and general service workers, usually require few, if any entry skills, and are often characterized by limited opportunity to advance through the ranks by virtue of experience and demonstrated ability. Traditionally considered by many as "Negro Jobs", these positions are still apparently viewed by many in places of authority in state government in just such a light. Such persons would seem to entertain the fallacious concept which maintains that Blacks are suited only for certain kinds of work and certain kinds of jobs are suitable only for Blacks.

*1960 Census - (Essential labor force 14 and over)

TABLE II

SELECTED STATE AGENCIES - EMPLOYEES
BY RACE AND SEX *

	Black		White	
	M	F	M	F
Agriculture Marketing Commission	3	0	12	5
Alcholic Beverage Control Commission	1	0	19	13
Arts Commission	0	0	1	4
Attorney General	0	0	25	9
Board of Bank Control Consumer Finance	0	0	3	1
Board of Bank Control Examining Division	0	0	14	6
Childrens Bureau	0	1	0	6
Civil Defense Agency	1	0	19	5
Commission on Alcoholism	0	0	6	4
Comptroller General's Office	3	1	9	34
Contractors Licensing Board	0	0	2	0
Dairy Commission	0	0	4	0
Department of Agriculture	1	0	94	39
Department of Education	89	3	494	224
Department of Labor	0	0	1	10
Department of Parks, Recreation & Tourism	21	9	140	61
Department of Veterans Affairs	0	0	4	4
Division of General Services	105	45	106	48
Education Television Center	14	1	128	34
Forestory Commission	2	0	42	15
Industrial Commission	0	1	11	35
Insurance Department	0	0	51	42
Interagency Council on Aging	0	2	5	5

	Black		White	
	M	F	M	F
Judicial (Supreme Court)	1	0	3	6
Juvenile Corrections Reception and Evaluation	27	10	12	14
Planning and Grants	0	1	9	7
Pollution Control Authority	0	1	16	8
Probation, Parole and Pardon Board	6	1	79	61
Public Service Commission	1	0	45	17
Recreation Commission	0	0	2	2
Research and Statistical Division	0	0	3	4
Retirement Commission	1	0	3	36
Secretary of State	0	0	3	7
Soil and Water Conservation Committee	0	0	3	2
State Auditor	0	0	13	6
State Board of Health-Central Office	15	14	113	197
State Board of Health-County Office	0	1	12	31
State Board of Juvenile Correction	1	0	6	6
State Board of Juvenile Placement and Aftercare	2	0	2	3
State Development Board	1	0	26	17
State Law Enforcement Division	4	0	87	13
State Treasurer	0	0	3	2
Tax Commission	*2	1	334	219
TOTALS	301	92	2,000	1,262

*The initial information for this table was obtained from the State Personnel Division. In addition, each agency listed was contacted and asked if the information set forth in the State Personnel Division was correct. Fifteen agencies replied, some of which indicated different totals from what we had listed for them. In each of those instances in which a correction was made by

the agency, we used that data rather than that provided by the State Personnel Division, and we have indicated these agencies with an asterisk.

INTERPRETATION

These forty-three agencies were selected for consideration because, with three or four exceptions, they represent fields of endeavor in state government which up until now have been open to Blacks only on a token level, if at all. This has been so even though the type of activities they engage in are in many instances of directo concern and interest to South Carolina's Black citizens.

Only thirteen of the forty-three agencies employ two or more Blacks.

The low number of Black women employees in several of the agencies raises the question of sexual as well as racial discrimination.

RECOMMENDATIONS

On the basis of this initial look at employment practices and patterns in South Carolina state government, we submit the following for consideration:

1. The responsibility for maintaining personnel information on all state government employees should be vested in one central State Personnel Agency. It would appear that this is not now the case since the records from the State Personnel Division did not contain data on such agencies as the Department of Public Welfare on the Employment Security Commission.

2. This central State Personnel Agency should be required to prepare and issue as public information an annual report setting forth for each state agency the total number of employees, with breakdowns according to race, sex, grade or salary level, and the counties in which they are employed.

3. The Governor's Advisory Commission on Human Relations should on the basis of its evaluation of employment practices and employee utilization patterns in state government agencies prepare and implement a program of action which is calculated

   (a) to eliminate or neutrelize all discriminatory barriers to equal employment; and

   (b) to undo any patterns of minority underutilization which have been brought about by past discrimination.

Such a program should include an annual performance reporting to the citizens of South Carolina on all state government agencies, and should cite statistical progress since the previous year as well as set forth in narrative form what affirmative action has been taken in each instance with regard to the following guidelines:

RECRUITMENT

1. Maintain consistent continuing communication with black shcools, colleges, community agencies, community leaders, organizations, publications, and other sources affording contact with potential black and minority applicants in the job area.

2. Inform all applicant sources, both generally and each time a specific request for referral is made, that black applicants are welcome and that discrimination in referrals will not be tolerated.

3. Fully inform each black applicant of the basis for all action taken on his or her application - Supply in detail the basis for rejection, including evaluation of test and interviews. Suggest to rejected black applicant possible method for remedying disqualifying factors.

4. Invite blacks to visit state government facilities; expalin employment opportunities and the non-discriminatory policies of particular agencies.

5. Solicit cooperation of academic and technical schools to establish curricula which will provide black candidates with the skills and education necessary to fulfill manpower requirements.

SELECTION

1. Take steps to assure that tests used for the purpose of selecting or placing applicants are demonstrated to be valid in forecasting the job performance of black applicants.

2. Pending validation, discontinue or modify the use of tests, minimum academic achievement, or other hiring criteria which screen out a disproportionate number of black applicants.

3. Make use of tests comprised of a sampling of work to be performed on the job.

4. Make increased use of the probationary period, affording an opportunity for on-the-job training and enabling the applicant's ability to be judged on the basis of job performance.

PLACEMENT AND PROMOTION

1. Make available to black applicants and to present black employees a complete description of positions for which they may be eligible to apply.

2. In the initial placement of newly hired employees, whenever possible place them in a position or area with low black concentration.

3. Broaden job experience and facilitate transfer of blacks by creating a system of temporary work experience assignments in other positions or areas of work.

4. Individually appraise the promotion potential and training needs of black employees, and take action necessary to permit advancement.

5. Announce all position openings on a basis which bring them to the attention of all agencies and makes clear that blacks are eligible and encouraged to apply.

DISCIPLINE

1. Formulate disciplinary standards and procedures in writing, and distribute them to all employees.

2. In case of proposed displinary action, inform the employee of the infraction alleged and afford an opportunity for rebuttal. If the rebuttal is unsatisfactory, clearly state the reasons why.

FACILITIES

Assure that facilities, including all work related facilities and those used in employer-sponsored recreational or similar activities are not segregated, whether by official policy or by employee practice.

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Pick up — 12:00 Noon
6 & Lincoln St.
Columbia

May 5, 1971

Meet Mathis
at Coffee Shop
9:00 - 9:15

Atl.
7:35a — #910
Pi — 8:56a
8:35 — 9:55
DL #329 (1 stop)

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

This letter comes to confirm our telephone conversation of yesterday, in which I requested your services for the May session of our Board of Directors Orientation Program.

The subject of the session, to be held May 22 in Columbia, is economic development. The first part of the session will be led by our Associate Director, Rodney Albert, who will discuss the status of rural economic development in the state and the South, with particular emphasis on cooperative efforts in agriculture and small industry.

I am asking you to lead the second part of the session, which should deal with economic development in the more urban setting in the state and region, with particular emphasis on the organized labor movement.

What we are attempting to get at, really, is a consideration not just of economic development, but of reformative economic development. We want to look at concepts of economic development designed to facilitate the self-help and self-determination efforts of those segments of the population who have been the objects of oppression and exploitation--blacks and working class whites. In the urban context, then, we want to look at organized labor as the potential force which could assure that the rights and interests of working class people not just be considered, but indeed prevail out of the current industrial boom in our state and region.

In that light, I think appropriate topics would be, first, a look at the philosophy of organized labor, secondly, at the historical development of the movement in the South, thirdly, at where the movement stands at this point in time in the South, and lastly at where the movement is headed in the South.

Our meeting will be held on the Benedict College campus in Columbia, and will commence at 10:00 A.M. Lunch will be taken at approximately 12:30 P.M., and your portion of the program will begin at around 1:30. The duration and form of your time will be left to your discretion.

1420 Lady Street / Columbia, South Carolina 29201 (803) 252-3651

Mr. Emory Via May 5, 1971

I want to thank you for your agreeing to come and help us out. We will, of course, reimburse you for all costs involved, and will be happy to assist in making whatever arrangements are needed at this end of the line for your transportation, etc.

I will look to hear from you in confirmation of your coming, and regarding any additional arrangements that should be made.

Sincerely,

Tim Rogers

Tim Rogers
Administrative Assistant

TR:mgg

CP - S.C. Human Rels.
5/27/71

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

May 14, 1971

MEMORANDUM

TO: Board of Directors Orientation Program Participants

FROM: Tim Rogers, Administrative Assistant

RE: May Orientation Session

The May session of the Board of Directors Orientation Program will be held Saturday, May 22, from 10:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M., at Benedict College in Columbia. The Benedict College Campus is located at Harden and Blanding Streets; we will meet in the Group Study room located on the 12th floor of Mather Hall. Mather Hall is the very tall dormitory building, the tallest building on campus, and can be seen from any point on the campus. The easiest access to Mather Hall is through the main gate on Harden Street. Directional signs will be posted.

The May session will deal with the issue of economic development in South Carolina and the South. The morning portion will be lead by SCCHR Associate Director Rodney Albert, who will discuss economic development in rural areas, with special emphasis on cooperative efforts in agriculture and small industry.

In the afternoon, Emory F. Via, Director of the Resources Development Center of the Southern Regional Council, will lead a discussion on economic development in urban areas, with special attention to the role of organized labor.

Orientation Program participants will be the guests of SCCHR for lunch at the Benedict cafeteria.

We'll look forward to seeing you on the 22nd.

1420 Lady Street / Columbia, South Carolina 29201 (803) 252-3651

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

May 25, 1971

JUN 1 1971

Dr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Just a note to say thanks for your fine presentation this past Saturday. Our prospective Board members seemed to be very interested in what you had to say, as was I, and it was very helpful.

Should you want to pursue the consultant discussion with the director of the Governor's Advisory Commission on Human Relations, his name is George Hamilton and his telephone is (803) 758-3261.

Take care.

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul W. Matthias
Executive Director

PWM:mgg

1420 Lady Street / Columbia, South Carolina 29201 (803) 252-3651

COUNCIL CURRENTS

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

MAY 1971

WE'RE MOVING!

During the first week in June, SCCHR will move into new offices in the Columbia Building, located on the corner of Main and Gervais Streets (directly across from the capitol building in Columbia.) The move is necessitated by the expansion of the SCCHR staff with the beginning of the Operation Advocacy program June 7.

Our new address, effective June 7, will be:

The Columbia Building - Suite 200
1203 Gervais Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

Our new telephone number, also effective June 7, will be: 253-832~~4~~5

* * * * *

SAMPLE QUARTERLY ATTACHED

Accompanying this issue of the newsletter is a recent issue of SOUTH TODAY, published monthly by the Southern Regional (SRC) in Atlanta.

Up until now SCCHR has made this digest available to our members for $2.00 a year. Beginning immediately, anyone who wants to start receiving it each month should write directly to:

South Today
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Their voluntary subscription rate is $2.50 per year.

SCCHR will continue sending copies only to our member subscribers until their subscriptions expire. Thereafter they too will deal directly with SRC if they wish to continue receiving SOUTH TODAY.

If the attached issue is one you've already seen, please pass it on to a friend.

SPECIAL EDITION

This issue of CURRENTS is given over to SCCHR's recently released report on Black Employment in Selected Agencies of South Carolina State Government. The report is reprinted in its entirety beginning on page two.

BLACK EMPLOYMENT
in
SELECTED AGENCIES OF SOUTH CAROLINA
STATE GOVERNMENT

A COMPARATIVE STUDY
RACE-SEX-SALARY

INTRODUCTION

This is a report by the South Carolina Council on Human Relations dealing with the status of Black employment in selected agencies of South Carolina state government. The data for this document was obtained from records of the South Carolina State Personnel Division, questionnaires and personal interviews.

We make no claim that this is in any way an exhaustive study. To the contrary, it represents only an initial compilation of facts and information of which the citizens of South Carolina need to be aware. It is offered in the hope that it will encourage others both within and without state government to initiate thorough analyses of the situation as well as the necessary remedial actions.

TABLE I

STATE GOVERNMENT - EMPLOYEES
AND SALARIES IN EACH COUNTY BY RACE *

County	Employees		Total Salary	Average Salary
Abbeville	Black	28	107,987	3,856
	White	52	301,139	5,791
Aiken	Black	55	210,590	3,828
	White	121	722,142	5,968
Allendale	Black	21	83,449	3,973
	White	43	243,717	5,667
Anderson	Black	28	107,829	3,851
	White	166	904,080	5,446
Bamberg	Black	78	453,908	5,819
	White	47	262,058	5,575
Barnwell	Black	27	105,261	3,898
	White	60	370,088	6,168
Beaufort	Black	41	187,614	4,575
	White	96	610,277	6,357
Berkeley	Black	63	261,937	4,157
	White	138	807,426	5,850
Calhoun	Black	25	97,919	3,916
	White	50	332,388	6,647
Charleston	Black	113	446,483	3,951
	White	286	1,812,281	6,336
Cherokee	Black	13	51,292	3,945
	White	67	351,370	5,244
Chester	Black	38	151,564	4,146
	White	156	1,064,306	6,822
Chesterfield	Black	28	119,626	4,272
	White	192	1,278,333	6,657
Clarendon	Black	42	172,603	4,109
	White	79	447,886	5,669
Colleton	Black	33	128,791	3,902
	White	132	759,483	5,753

Darlington	Black	34	127,697	3,755
	White	74	423,590	5,724
Dillon	Black	30	116,991	3,899
	White	76	397,550	5,230
Dorchester	Black	297	1,150,586	3,874
	White	231	1,341,137	5,805
Edgefield	Black	23	87,580	3,807
	White	50	296,589	5,931
Fairfield	Black	38	153,606	4,042
	White	43	267,164	6,213
Florence	Black	100	390,380	3,903
	White	382	2,457,664	6,433
Georgetown	Black	36	148,396	4,122
	White	88	476,544	5,415
Greenville	Black	28	113,235	4,044
	White	406	2,572,708	6,336
Greenwood	Black	33	128,401	3,890
	White	160	1,129,921	7,062
Hampton	Black	23	94,246	4,097
	White	50	299,232	5,984
Horry	Black	17	68,188	4,011
	White	166	892,759	5,378
Jasper	Black	34	129,193	3,799
	White	47	250,899	5,338
Kershaw	Black	62	236,952	3,821
	White	109	700,932	6,430
Lancaster	Black	28	115,055	4,109
	White	80	452,363	5,654
Laurens	Black	259	998,449	3,855
	White	847	4,275,015	5,047
Lee	Black	36	135,894	3,774
	White	61	344,183	5,642
Lexington	Black	42	176,050	4,191
	White	260	1,652,960	6,357

McCormick	Black	29	109,159	3,764
	White	83	498,430	6,005
Marion	Black	25	93,501	3,740
	White	58	302,757	5,219
Marlboro	Black	39	148,298	3,802
	White	53	315,154	5,946
Newberry	Black	16	61,651	3,853
	White	94	583,503	6,207
Oconee	Black			
	White	145	768,127	5,297
Orangeburg	Black	62	250,446	4,039
	White	219	1,452,422	6,632
Pickens	Black	2	7,364	3,682
	White	129	694,198	5,381
Richland	Black	872	3,814,820	4,374
	White	4,194	31,506,739	7,512
Saluda	Black	12	43,848	3,654
	White	63	321,148	5,097
Spartanburg	Black	93	489,704	5,265
	White	385	2,455,577	6,378
Sumter	Black	57	221,184	3,880
	White	117	700,039	5,983
Union	Black	24	94,864	3,952
	White	76	444,133	5,843
Williamsburg	Black	64	243,726	3,808
	White	100	575,695	5,756
York	Black	58	229,973	3,965
	White	133	766,653	5,764
No Definite County	Black	0		
	White	20	218,000	10,900
TOTALS	Black	3,106	$12,866,290	$4,142
	White	10,684	$70,100,759	$6,561

*The information for this table was obtained from the State Personnel Division records dated October 2, 1970 and includes data for seventy state agencies; not included are such large employers as the Department of Public Welfare, Department of Mental Health, Tax Commission and Employment Security Commission.

INTERPRETATION

An analysis of the data set forth in Table I shows that Blacks comprise 22.5% of the total work force in these state agencies but earn only 15.5% of the salaries paid out by them. When compared with the fact that Blacks comprise 45% of the working age population in South Carolina,* it is evident that they are neither being employed nor paid by the state government in proportion to their numbers.

The difference of $2,419 between the average salary paid to White and Black employees in these state agencies indicates that Black workers in general are assigned to the relatively low paying positions. Such jobs, principally those of common laborers and general service workers, usually require few, if any entry skills, and are often characterized by limited opportunity to advance through the ranks by virtue of experience and demonstrated ability. Traditionally considered by many as "Negro Jobs", these positions are still apparently viewed by many in places of authority in state government in just such a light. Such persons would seem to entertain the fallacious concept which maintains that Blacks are suited only for certain kinds of work and certain kinds of jobs are suitable only for Blacks.

*1960 Census - (Essential labor force 14 and over)

TABLE II

SELECTED STATE AGENCIES - EMPLOYEES
BY RACE AND SEX*

	Black		White	
	M	F	M	F
Agriculture Marketing Commission	6	0	26	7
Alcholic Beverage Control Commission*	1	0	19	13
Attorney General*	0	0	18	9
Board of Bank Control Examining Division*	0	0	14	5
Childrens Bureau	0	2	0	18
Civil Defense Agency	1	0	21	7
Comptroller General's Office*	3	1	9	34
Department of Agriculture*	1	0	94	39
Department of Education*	89	3	494	224
Department of Labor	0	0	23	16
Department of Parks, Recreation & Tourism*	21	9	140	61
Division of General Services*	105	45	106	48
Educational Television Center*	14	1	128	34
Forestry Commission	2	0	385	125
Industrial Commission*	0	1	11	35
Insurance Department*	0	0	51	42
Interagency Council on Aging*	0	2	5	5
Judicial	1	0	13	23
Juvenile Corrections Reception and Evaluation	26	10	12	15
Planning and Grants	0	1	11	8
Probation, Parole and Pardon Board*	6	1	79	61
Public Service Commission*	1	0	45	17

	Black		White	
	M	F	M	F
Secretary of State	0	0	4	11
State Board of Health-Central Office	16	26	156	280
State Board of Health-County Office	0	26	115	382
State Board of Juvenile Correction	1	0	7	6
State Development Board	1	0	26	17
State Highway Patrol*	4	0	665	0
State Law Enforcement Division*	4	0	87	13
Tax Commission**	2	1	334	219
TOTALS	305	129	3,098	1,774

*The information for this table was obtained from the State Personnel Division records dated October 2, 1970, and verification of its accuracy was requested from the agencies listed. In those instances where agencies provided corrected data, we have used their figures and indicated these agencies with an asterisk.

**Information on the Tax Commission did not appear in the State Personnel Division records which we used. The totals were provided upon request by the Tax Commission office.

INTERPRETATION

These thirty agencies were selected for consideration because, with a few exceptions, they represent fields of endeavor in state government which up until now have been open to Blacks only on a token level, if at all. This has been so even though the type of activities they engage in are in many instances of direct concern and interest to South Carolina's Black citizens. There are of course other agencies with records similar to many of these, however we have attempted only to provide a sampling in this study which sets forth the figures on less than one-third of the total number of state government agencies in South Carolina.

We believe this table speaks for itself. Perhaps the only comment we should make is that the low number of Black women employees in most of these agencies raises the question of sexual as well as racial discrimination.

RECOMMENDATIONS

On the basis of this initial look at employment practices and patterns in South Carolina state government, we submit the following for consideration:

1. The responsibility for maintaining personnel information on all state government employees should be vested in one central State Personnel Agency. It would appear that this is not now the case since the records from the State Personnel Division did not contain data on such agencies as the Department of Public Welfare and the Employment Security Commission.

2. This central State Personnel Agency should be required to prepare and issue as public information an annual report setting forth for each state agency the total number of employees, with breakdowns according to race, sex, grade or salary level, and the counties in which they are employed.

3. The Governor's Advisory Commission on Human Relations should on the basis of its evaluation of employment practices and employee utilization patterns in state government agencies prepare and implement a program of action which is calculated:

   (a) to eliminate or neutralize all discriminatory barriers to equal employment; and

   (b) to undo any patterns of minority underutilization which have been brought about by past discrimination.

Such a program should include an annual performance reporting to the citizens of South Carolina on all state government agencies, and should cite statistical progress since the previous year as well as set forth in narrative form what affirmative action has been taken in each instance with regard to the following guidelines:

RECRUITMENT

1. Maintain consistent continuing communication with Black schools, colleges, community agencies, community leaders, organizations, publications, and other sources affording contact with potential Black and minority applicants in the job area.

2. Inform all applicant sources, both generally and each time a specific request for referral is made, that Black applicants are welcome and that discrimination in referrals will not be tolerated.

3. Fully inform each Black applicant of the basis for all action taken on his or her application - Supply in detail the basis for rejection, including evaluation of tests and interviews. Suggest to rejected Black applicants possible methods for remedying disqualifying factors.

4. Invite Blacks to visit state government facilities; explain employment opportunities and the non-discriminatory policies of particular agencies.

5. Solicit cooperation of academic and technical schools to establish curricula which will provide Black candidates with the skills and education necessary to fulfill manpower requirements.

SELECTION

1. Take steps to assure that tests used for the purpose of selecting or placing applicants are demonstrated to be valid in forecasting the job performance of Black applicants.

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3. Make use of tests comprised of a sampling of work to be performed on the job.

4. Make increased use of the probationary period, affording an opportunity for on-the-job training and enabling the applicant's ability to be judged on the basis of job performance.

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1. Make available to Black applicants and to present Black employees a complete description of positions for which they may be eligible to apply.

2. In the initial placement of newly hired employees, whenever possible place them in a position or area with low Black concentration.

3. Broaden job experience and facilitate transfer of Blacks by creating a system of temporary work experience assignments in other positions or areas of work.

4. Individually appraise the promotion potential and training needs of Black employees, and take action necessary to permit advancement.

5. Announce all position openings on a basis which bring them to the attention of all agencies and makes clear that Blacks are eligible and encouraged to apply.

DISCIPLINE

1. Formulate disciplinary standards and procedures in writing, and distribute them to all employees.

2. In case of proposed disciplinary action, inform the employee of the infraction alleged and afford an opportunity for rebuttal. If the rebuttal is unsatisfactory, clearly state the reasons why.

FACILITIES

Assure that facilities, including all work related facilities and those used in employer-sponsored recreational or similar activities are not segregated, whether by official policy or by employee practice.

* * * * * * *

REPORT ELICITS BROAD RESPONSE

The preceding SCCHR report brought reaction from a number of political figures and other prominent individuals when it was discussed at a May 10 press conference in Columbia.

Reps. James L. Felder and I. S. Leevy Johnson of Richland County called for a state civil service system in South Carolina to combat employment discrimination, and said they would propose such legislation in the General Assembly next year.

Johnson said that "any agency head who says he can't find qualified Blacks is unqualified himself to be holding such a position."

Felder agreed and suggested that Black principals and teachers displaced in the transition to a unitary school system would be a good source from which state agencies could recruit experienced Black administrators.

Also present at the press conference were James Courson, representing the S. C. Republican Party, Rev. I. D. Newman, representing the Black Caucus of the Democratic Party, SCCHR staff members Paul Matthias and Rodney Albert who prepared the report, and SCCHR state president, Atty. Mordecai Johnson.

In a prepared statement, Atty. Johnson declared that "These facts -- these figures -- speak for themselves. They speak so loudly that we can't hear excuses and mere promises and nitpicking responses. They speak so loudly that we can't hear mere words in rebuttal. They literally cry out for corrective action."

The report was personally presented to Governor West by Matthias and Albert, and copies were sent to all members of the Governor's Advisory Commission on Human Relations which is also examining state agency employment practices. It was stressed that SCCHR's study is limited in scope and is designed only to facilitate the Advisory Commission's efforts by giving an initial picture of discrimination in selected state agencies, and by making suggestions as to methods that might be adopted to deal with this unacceptable situation.

Copies of the report have also gone to all state legislators, department heads, and appropriate federal agencies.

CALENDAR OF UPCOMING EVENTS

June 12.....SCCHR Executive Committee Meeting, Ramada Inn (Flaming Pit Restaurant), I-26 and U.S. 378, Columbia at 10:00 A. M - 12:30 P.M.

June 12.....SCCHR Board of Directors Meeting, Ramada Inn (Flaming Pit Restaurant), I-26 and U.S. 378, Columbia at 2:00 P.M.-4:30 P.M.

June 26.....Fifth session of the SCCHR Board of Directors Orientation Program.

* * * * * * *

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Staff Members

Paul W. Matthias.....Executive Director
Rodney Albert.....Associate Director
Ida L. Johnson .....Outreach Worker
Tim Rogers .....Administrative Assistant
Mary G. Golding.....Administrative Secretary
Hattie M. Glover .....General Secretary

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Columbia, South Carolina 29201

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Mr. Paul Athony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

PRESS RELEASE October 18, 1971

South Carolina Council on Human Relations
Suite 200, Columbia Building
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

SCHR

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Columbia. The following is an open letter from Paul W. Matthias, Executive Director of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations, to South Carolina Governor John C. West.

October 18, 1971

The Honorable John C. West
Governor of South Carolina
The State House
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Governor West:

During the past week, successive articles in both Columbia newspapers and other newspapers in the state have indicated that South Carolina has been chosen to receive $2 million from the United States Department of Labor under the Emergency Employment Act to place AFDC mothers in jobs to be created from those funds.

We welcome any opportunity and any source of funds provided this state which will effectively, and with due regard for human rights and dignity, improve the financial and living conditions of those mothers and children who now eke out an existence on the minimal amount they receive from the welfare department. (Presently a woman with three children, and no other source of income is expected to survive on a maximum of $104 per month.)

However, as headlined and reported in the newspapers, certain aspects of this proposed project seem to us to be of a character that would infringe upon human rights and dignity. Indeed, the project could bring about even more suffering for the children and the mothers involved.

Consultation with the Director of the State Department of Public Welfare, Dr. R. Archie Ellis, and with the member of your staff who indicated he was responsible for coordinating the functions of the various agencies involved in the project, have not alleviated our misgivings. Our concern is made more urgent in view of the fact that the project is supposed to be approved by November 1st, then go into effect in the four counties of Charleston, Greenville, Horry and Orangeburg.

The two major points which cause us concern are as follows:

(1) The mandatory requirement to work under threat of reduction in the amount of welfare payments.

This approach assumes, initially, that the opportunity to work is not sufficient motivation for mothers on welfare to accept employment, but rather that they must be coerced -- much like recalcitrant adolescents -- into job situations.

The truth of the matter -- as attested to by most of the welfare caseworkers with whom we have talked -- is that most mothers receiving AFDC would welcome the opportunity to work, if only they could find jobs. The fact that South Carolina presently has an unemployment rate of some 5.4% - 61,300 unemployed persons - is testimony enough that the jobs are not now available. Additionally, some AFDC mothers may well have valid reasons which would prohibit them from accepting employment. We sincerely question whether provisions in the project proposal designed to protect the rights of the AFDC mother and her children in such circumstances will be adequate.

(2) The possibility of additional suffering and hunger on the part of innocent children.

Should the threat to reduce a check be put into effect, a mother and her three children with no other source of income than governmental assistance would be compelled to live on less than $85 per month, rather than the present maximum of $104 per month. The statement that only the mother will suffer, and not the children, is patently absurd. The fact is that the whole family, including the children, would be forced to live on an even smaller amount than the miserably low grant they now receive from the welfare department.

We are convinced that the course this state and this nation must take lies in putting priority on increasing the level of governmental assistance payments across the board to realistic levels, and improving the over-all job situation so that those welfare recipients who can work will be able to do so. Recognizing, however, that the limited financial resources of South Carolina are such that the state must avail itself of all reasonably attainable federal money -- even within the context of limite and questionable programs such as in the instant case -- we cannot expect you, nor would we want you to ignore the offer of these funds to the state.

However, we do feel that if the project is implemented in its present form, more harm will come as a result than could possibly be offset by the project's more positive dimensions. Accordingly, we do urge you to insist on at least the following alterations in the proposed Emergency Employment Act project for employment of AFDC recipients as a pre-condition to South Carolina's participation therein:

(1) The mandatory work requirement, with the accompanying threat of reduction in welfare payments, should be removed, so that this project may become a "work opportunity" program rather than the "work enforcement" program it now is.

(2) Under no condition should the project contain any provision which may cause reduction in payments presently contributing to the support of minor children.

I shall be most happy to discuss with you, at your pleasure, this most urgent matter.

Sincerely,

Paul W. Matthias
Executive Director

PWM:mgg

cc: Dr. R. Archie Ellis
Mrs. T. K. McDonald
Mr. W. W. Smoak, Jr.
Rev. Frederick C. James
Dr. W. Wright Spears
Mr. James H. Sherard
Mr. Thomas L. Poteat
Mrs. J. Derham Lewis

****

For further information, contact:
Tim Rogers
Administrative Assistant
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
Suite 200, Columbia Building
Columbia, South Carolina 29201
(803) 253-8325

PRESS RELEASE October 25, 1971

United States Commission on Civil Rights
Southern Field Office
75 Piedmont Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

SCAR

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Greenville. The following is an open letter from Dr. W. F. Gibson, Chairman of the South Carolina State Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, to South Carolina Governor John C. West.

October 25, 1971

The Honorable John C. West
Governor of South Carolina
The State House
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Governor West:

I am writing with reference to the proposed "work-enforcement" pilot project for AFDC mothers in South Carolina, to be funded by the U.S. Department of Labor under the federal Emergency Employment Act. As Chairman of the State Advisory Committee (SAC) to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, I am compelled to protest against the proposed project in its present form.

As you know, last month SAC released a comprehensive report on the welfare system in South Carolina, along with a list of recommendations for improvements in the present system. While I applaud efforts by your administration to obtain additional monies to facilitate the plight of poor people, it seems clear to me that certain aspects of the proposed "work-enforcement" project will only be counter-productive to the end of a just system of provision for those who must depend on governmental assistance for their survival.

My first objection is relative to the "work-requirement" provision of the proposed project. This seems to me, first of all, to be a direct insult to AFDC mothers, the majority of whom want employment but have not been able to find it in the past. These people do not have to be "forced" to work, and a program built around this philosophy would have the two-fold deficiency of perpetrating the myth with the general public that welfare recipients are "lazy" and can only be dealt with in a punitive manner, and secondly, generating considerable hostility among those poor who are treated in this fashion. Additionally, I question the adequacy of administrative procedures set up to determine

whether or not an AFDC mother has sufficient justification to refuse to accept employment in a particular context.

I am also concerned that this program might become racially identifiable, as did the Work Incentive and Training Program (WIN). In the period from October to December, 1970, 637 of 717 participants in South Carolina's WIN program were Black. Of 125 participants referred from the WIN program, 107 were Black. Such figures in the proposed "work-enforcement" project inevitably would be interpreted by the state's Black citizenry as indicating discrimination. The proposition of an involuntary Black work force being created to meet the state's manpower needs is hardly one that would contribute to improved race relations.

The proper approach to this problem would seem to me to be in creating a situation of full employment, where jobs, training and other allied services such as day care, transportation, etc., would be provided to welfare recipients, who would then be allowed to choose arrangements suitable to their particular circumstances.

I also object strongly to any project which holds the possibility that payments to a family now receiving AFDC would be reduced as "punishment" to a mother who refuses to accept a job designated for her by the state government. As noted in SAC's report, payments to all welfare recipients are already grossly inadequate, and they are so low in the AFDC category that our Committee felt these persons were being discriminated against. To reduce payments further would be an unconscionable act, particularly in light of the fact that innocent children would be penalized.

Unless these aspects of the proposed plan are altered, I think it would be most inadvisable for South Carolina to participate in the project. To do so would be totally inconsistent with your stated goals of economic justice, and reconciliation between divergent racial and economic groups in our state.

Sincerely,

Dr. W. F. Gibson
Chairman
S. C. State Advisory Committee
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights

WFG/kmp
cc: Dr. R. Archie Ellis
Mrs. T. K. McDonald
Mr. W. W. Smoak, Jr.
Rev. Frederick C. James
Dr. W. Wright Spears
Mr. James H. Sherard
Mr. Thomas L. Poteat
Mrs. J. Derham Lewis

October 26, 1971

Rev. Paul Mathias, Director
SCHR
1203 Gervais Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

Dear Paul:

I saw and applaud the news releases from SCHR and SAC regarding the "Work Enforcement" Project.

Is there any special Washington pressure to cast the program in one mold rather than another? Could the state's position be altered if Washington indicated acceptance or encouragement of such alterations?

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

SCCHR

COUNCIL CURRENTS

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

NOVEMBER 1971

ANNUAL MEETING DECEMBER 4; FANNIE LOU HAMER TO SPEAK

The 1971 SCCHR Annual Meeting will be held Saturday, December 4, on the campus of Columbia College in Columbia. The agenda for the Annual Meeting appears on page five of this issue.

The speaker for our Banquet Saturday evening will be Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, the celebrated fighter for human rights from Ruleville, Mississippi. One of twenty children, Mrs. Hamer worked for 18 of her adult years as a sharecropper. In 1962, she began a life of activism which has included the founding of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, running on the independent Democratic slate headed by Charles Evers in the recent Mississippi elections, and the founding of the Freedom Farm Co-op in Sunflower County, Mississippi. Mrs. Hamer has received honorary degrees from Toughallow College and Shaw University.

Excerpts from an article which appeared in the October, 1971, issue of ESSENCE magazine, entitled "Fannie Lou Hamer Speaks Out," are reprinted on pages 6 and 7 inside.

The Annual Banquet has always been a vital catalyst for the enthusiasm and unity of the Council, a time for renewing our spirits and our commitment. This year the Executive Committee has decided to make a special effort to attract new SCCHR members in conjunction with the Banquet. Each Council member is asked to pass along his copy of this issue of CURRENTS to a friend who is not now a member of SCCHR, and to ask that friend to be with us at our Annual Banquet.

Ticket prices for the Banquet will be $6 for Council members, and $11 for non-members. The cost of a new membership and Banquet ticket are equal to that of a purchase of a Banquet ticket by a non-member. Tickets may be ordered from the SCCHR office, or purchased from any member of the SCCHR Board of Directors, or any local council president. Reservations placed through the SCCHR office should be made no later than Wednesday, December 1.

The deadline for submission of nominations for the James McBride Dabbs Award has been extended to November 26. Nominations should be addressed to Mrs. Catherine Lewis, c/o the SCCHR office.

FORCED WORK: THE WELFARE DEMONSTRATION PROJECT

SCCHR has been embroiled in the escalating controversy over a proposed experiment involving welfare recipients in four South Carolina counties. The experiment calls for cutting welfare payments to recipients who refuse jobs designated for them by state government. A report on the dispute begins on page 2.

WELFARE DEMONSTRATION PROJECT: A STATUS REPORT

Wednesday, October 13, Governor John West announced that South Carolina would be one of five states to participate in a "demonstration project" involving welfare recipients in four of the state's counties: Orangeburg, Horry, Greenville, and Charleston. The project would be administered under the U.S. Department of Labor, with funds provided from the recently-passed Emergency Employment Act. Other states participating would be New York, New Jersey, Illinois and California.

The project would be designed to test the effectiveness of threatening to reduce welfare payments to recipients -- principally mothers receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) -- if those recipients refuse to accept employment designated by state government. "Public service" jobs would be created by the Emergency Employment Act (EEA) funds for use in the project.

In three of the four counties, the project would require recipients to accept the new jobs or have their checks cut. A mother with three children, receiving a maximum of $104 per month under present South Carolina Department of Public Welfare (DPW) regulations, could have her check reduced to as little as $65. In the fourth county, recipients would not be penalized for refusing to accept jobs.

Soon after the announcement, several groups began raising questions about the proposed project. SCCHR Executive Director Paul Matthias was the first to publicly question the proposal. In an open letter to the Governor, dated October 18, Matthias questioned the need for a program to "force" welfare mothers to work, while pointing out the distinct possibility that innocent children could be penalized were the project to be implemented.

Statements critical of the proposal were subsequently issued by representatives of the state NAACP, League of Women Voters, professional and student affiliates of the National Association of Social Workers, the Midlands Welfare Rights Organization, the South Carolina State Advisory Committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, the United Citizens Party of South Carolina, and other groups. News media coverage of the developing controversy became extensive. Editorials ciriticizing Matthias and others for questioning the proposal appeared in several of the state's commercial newspapers, while articles challenging the forced-work project and commending those opposing it appeared in several state collegiate newspapers, including the Clemson TIGER and the Winthrop JOHNSONIAN.

In the wake of the criticism, the approach of state officials to the issue became markedly different, at least in their public comments. While earlier statements had emphasized that welfare recipients were being given an ultimatum, with little attention to the possible inequities and further suffering of welfare mothers and their children, later comments had a considerably altered emphasis. DPW Director Archie Ellis made several statements to the effect that the project should be dubbed "work encouragement" rather than work enforcement. Governor West

more

subsequently announced that some $3 million in federal funds had been obtained to set up comprehensive day care programs in the state, with priority for the four counties involved in the demonstration project.

Meanwhile, South Carolina's proposal for participation in the project, which was supposed to have been submitted by November 1, has not yet been submitted. Legal challenges to the project's implementation are also being prepared.

In an effort to encourage state legislators to speak out, the SCCHR Executive Committee authored a letter to members of the General Assembly, asking their cooperation in obtaining definitive responses to as yet unanswered questions concerning the proposal. The text of that letter is reprinted immediately following this article.

The future of the forced-work experiment is still in doubt. Whether or not it is implemented could well depend on concerned citizens making their feelings known to those in position to affect the final decision.

* * * * *

Reprinted below is an open letter from the SCCHR Executive Committee to the following: Members of the Orangeburg County Legislative Delegation
Members of the Richland County Legislative Delegation
Members of the Charleston County Legislative Delegation
Members of the Greenville County Legislative Delegation
Members of the Horry County Legislative Delegation
Senator John Drummond, Greenwood County
Senator Eugene Zeigler, Florence County
Representative Thomas Smith, Florence County

Dear Sir:

The Executive Committee of the Board of Directors of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations wishes to call to your attention the proposed Welfare Demonstration Project scheduled to go into effect in the four counties of Charleston, Greenville, Horry, and Orangeburg. The enclosed material, abstracted from an official copy of the Proposal Model received from the Governor's Office, provides information on the basic elements of the project.

In recent weeks, several organizations throughout the state have publicly expressed concern about certain aspects of this project. This Committee feels that the concern expressed has not been adequately answered. We are requesting that you take whatever steps are appropriate to seek clarification on the following questionable aspects of the project:

1. Project participation is mandatory for Welfare Mothers judged employable in three counties. Refusal to participate means a reduction of from $20 to $40 in the welfare check of that family. (Maximum grant for an AFDC mother and three children is now $104 per month; this ranks South Carolina 49th among all states.) Who is going to judge whether or not a mother is employable under the conditions prescribed? What protective measures will be provided to guarantee that a mother is not unjustly punished?

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2. Why is it necessary to convey the impression that Welfare Mothers must be forced to work when our State Director of Public Welfare himself says that only 4.8% of employable mothers receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children are not actively seeking work?

3. Why is "work" in this program construed to be only a job outside of the home? Are women who are filling the roles of both father and mother in maintaining a home and rearing children not working?

4. How many children in the state will be forced to live on less money each month as a result of this Project? In the case of the mother who refuses to participate without "good cause" are there provisions or programs available to help that family? Are we simply going to allow them to starve a little more until the mother comes to her "senses"?

5. What kinds of public-service jobs will be created for the Project participants? Since many of them are untrained and unskilled and this project does not include job-training, can they really hope to move into economically viable jobs? Is a program which creates jobs with outside resources, and not by economic demand, a wise program? Will the jobs continue when the outside funds are terminated?

6. Will this program become racially identifiable as was the case with the Work Incentive and Training Program? Such a possibility would do nothing to further amicable relationships between black and white people in this state.

7. Is it possible that participating mothers may earn enough to become ineligible by a few dollars for welfare benefits, services or Food Stamps? Will they become too rich to receive welfare, but too poor to buy medical services or sufficient food for themselves and their children?

The members of this Executive Committee would appreciate any information you can provide to clarify the questions raised above.

Yours sincerely,

Attorney Mordecai Johnson, President
Dr. Robert J. Moore
Attorney Theo Mitchell
Mrs. Catherine Lewis
Mrs. Freida Mitchell
Mr. Willar Hightower
Dr. Edward Beardsley
Mr. M. Hayes Mizell

The Executive Committee of the
S. C. Council on Human Relations

The 1971 Annual Meeting of the
South Carolina Council on Human Relations

Date: Saturday, December 4, 1971
Place: Columbia College, Columbia, South Carolina

AGENDA

Afternoon Session - Cottingham Theatre (on campus)

1:00 P.M. - Board of Directors Meeting
3:00 P.M. - Break and Registration
3:30 P.M. - Annual Membership Business Meeting

Executive Committee Reports*
Atty. Mordecai Johnson, President
Mr. Willar Hightower, Treasurer
Staff Report*
Mr. Paul Matthias, Executive Director
Nominating Committee Report*
Dr. Robert J. Moore, Chairman
Credentials and Awards Committee Report*
Mrs. Catherine Lewis, Chairman
Local Council Reports*

5:30 P.M. - Unstructured Discussion Groups (SCCHR Staff members will be available to discuss current and projected programs.)

Evening Session - Daniel Dining Hall (on campus)

7:00 P.M. - Banquet

Presentation of Outstanding Local Council Award
Presentation of James McBride Dabbs Award
Introduction of Speaker
Address - Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer

*Discussion and/or balloting, as appropriate, to follow reports.

FANNIE LOU HAMER SPEAKS OUT

(Editor's note: The following are excerpts from an article in the October, 1971, issue of ESSENCE Magazine.)

(When I was a child.) I really didn't know what everything was about but I just couldn't understand why the white people that weren't working were always riding in nice cars, two or three cars, and a truck. I just couldn't understand. They had everything, and it seemed that we worked all the time and didn't have nothing.

Later on, when I was in my early teens, my parents finally got enough money out of a crop to buy three mules and a wagon and a cultivator. That was a fortune! My father planned to rent the land which would have given us a chance to buy a house and it wouldn't have been so hard for us. So I remember one night, my parents had to move out of the house on the plantation we were staying in and move into another one while ours was being repaired. All of our livestock stayed behind, and some man went to our lot, stirred up about a gallon of Paris green in our livestock's food, and killed everything we had. I remember hearing my father say, 'I would be willing to just join hands with any man that would do anything that dirty and just shoot it out with him.' He never was able to get back on his feet again.

I really don't hate any man. There has got to be something wrong psychologically with a person, to have me beaten, because of the color of my skin. They are in worse shape than I am because hate is something that is like a cnacer and there's no cure, so far. They've spent billions of dollars, trying to cure cancer but it ate them up. Hate is the same way. It eats away at a human being until they become nothing but a shell. That same hate will make you stay up at night, that's the reason you have the Ku Klux Klan and all of these other hate groups. That a man would stay up all night, trying to figure out how he can fix a sheet to make a point in it, to go out and terrorize another human being is really stupid. The point is not in the sheet it's in his head. And if I hate a man because he hates me, I'm no better than this man.

This is what is destroying this country today. Hate. Hate and racism. 'Righteousness exalts a nation but sin is the reproach to any people,' and hate has done so much now to this country until white America is frightened to death. In the Book of Galatians, it says 'Be not deceived, for God is not mocked, for whatsoever man soweth, that shall he also reap.' These men live with this night after night, after night.

We hear a lot of talk about how many Jewish people were destroyed in Nazi Germany - over six million, but they don't talk too much about how when they were bringing our people here on the slave ships from Africa, they destroyed 40 million of our people. Today, the man is living with this. The Devil believed in God and he trembled; the white man today is frightened to death and he's frightened because of his guilty conscience. They said 'Black people are savages.' But, they are the savages. They got this belief because of their guilt. Do you know, one Scripture says, 'So thinketh a man, so is he' so if you think a man is a savage, this is exactly what you are.

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And this man, can't rest at night. He's afraid of his own shadow. He's so afraid, he's not only killing my kids, he's killing his own. Look at what happened at Kent State. Look what happened at Jackson State, and in Drew, Mississippi. Look what happened a few years ago to Medgar Evers.

Some folks say, 'Well, I didn't care nothing about them killing the Kennedy's, they were white.' But I wept with Mrs. Joseph Kennedy because I am a mother too. I wept, because Bobby Kennedy was a man and he had a right to live, and I wept when John F. Kennedy was killed. I wept when Malcolm X was killed because I hate to see people shot down or murdered for nothing. I can't help what people say about me. Say, I should hate white folks. I don't hate anybody and I can't help it that I don't hate anybody. 'Cause I would rather be in this condition and get me a good night's sleep. Nobody on earth can tell me these people who hate, sleep, because if they did sleep, they wouldn't have the time to be going around bombing folks' houses and shooting Black folks in the back.

A house that's divided against itself cannot stand. If you got a family and you can't get along with that family, it's going to be a split somewhere. A nation that's divided against itself is on its way out, you know. Regardless of how we feel, and how we think we've been mistreated and how we think and talk about what we ain't goin' to take, somewhere along the line we have to talk to somebody. Come, let's reason together because this country is not going to survive as an all Black America but it's going to survive if all people try to work together, to save this sick country. It's just like Martin said, 'America is sick and man is on the critical list.'

I'm goin' to do all I can for every oppressed person because if I try to do something for one and oppress the other, than this is not right. So that's the reason my whole fight is for the liberation of all people because no man is an island to himself; when a white child is dying, is being shot, there's a little bit of America being destroyed. When it's a Black child shot in America, it's a little bit of America being destroyed. If they keep this up, a little of this going, and a little of that going, one day, this country will crumble. But we have to try to see to it that not only the lives of young and adult Blacks are saved in this country but also the whites. Of all the bad that they had done, some of those people are good and of all of the good that we have done, we got some bad ones too and that's what it's about.

My bother used to preach a sermon that is so true, on the substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen. 'If you didn't have faith in a chair, Fanny, you couldn't sit in that chair if you didn't believe it would hold you. But you didn't question that chair. You sat down because you have faith to believe it will hold you. And that's what I have in this country. I have faith to believe if we turn away from the dirty things that we've been doing - the white society against the Black man in this country and against all minority groups in this country - maybe this time we could come together and build this country. Then I wouldn't have any trouble singing the National Anthem."

DABBS EXHIBITION OPEN AT USC

A literary exhibition entitled JAMES McBRIDE DABBS -- SOUTHERNER is now open to the public at the South Caroliniana Library on the horseshoe of the University of South Carolina campus in Columbia. Last day of exhibit December 4.

COUNCIL CURRENTS is the newsletter of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations, Inc. (SCCHR). SCCHR is a private, non-profit research and action agency committed to the attainment of social justice and equal opportunity for all peoples in South Carolina. President: Attorney Mordecai C. Johnson, Florence, S. C.; Executive Director: Paul W. Matthias; Associate Director: Rodney Albert; Administrative Assistant and Editor of COUCIL CURRENTS: Tim Rogers. News items for COUNCIL CURRENTS are welcome.

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Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

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ROBERT H. WALLING
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ANDREW C. HALL
HAROLD D. CORLEW
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*N.Y. BAR ONLY

LAW OFFICES
2709 FIRST NATIONAL BANK TOWER
ATLANTA, GA. 30303

TELEPHONE 525-6141
AREA CODE 404

February 16, 1972

Mr. Jim Wood
Southern Regional Council
52 Farlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

RE: South Carolina Council on Human Relations

Dear Jim:

This is in reply to your letter dated February 2, 1972 enclosing a letter from Paul W. Matthias, Executive Director of South Carolina Council on Human Relations.

Mr. Matthias raised certain questions concerning the tax implications of a grant proposed to be made through his organization to Parallax Media Project ("Parallax"). Specifically, he raises three (3) questions and I will respond to them in the order they are presented in his letter.

1. If Parallax is a "Private Foundation", the Council must exercise "expenditure responsibility" to determine that the grant is not used for prohibited activities such as partisan politics. Expenditure responsibility means that the grantee must constantly furnish the grantor with reports and financial statements indicating the application of the funds. If the funds are improperly applied, the granter organization must take steps to recover such funds.

If the Council properly exercises its expenditure responsibility, I doubt that it would be jeopardized by any impermissible application of the funds.

2. Expenditure responsibility applies only until the grant is expended. Thereafter, the grantor is not responsible for any misconduct by the grantee, unless it had reason to anticipate such conduct at the time it made the grant.

3. I am enclosing language that should be contained in the grant letter so as to comply with the requirements of expenditure responsibility.

Please let me know if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

David

David F. Rock
For the Firm

DFR/pjs
Enclosure

Dear _____,

The terms and conditions of our grant are as follows:

1. Funds disbursed to you in connection with our grant will be used only for the purposes designated in our grant letter.

2. Within ninety (90) days after the close of your fiscal year, you will submit an audited statement of income and disbursements, and a detailed schedule indicating how funds received from us during the previous year have been expended. If an audited statement is not available, please have the statement verified by an officer of the organization. This information whall be kept by you for a period of four years.

3. Annually, or sooner upon request, we will expect a narrative report, signed by an officer of your organization, indicating the entire spectrum of your activities, including a detailed description of projects conducted with funds received from us and the progress that has been made in accomplishing the purposes of the grant.

4. Upon completion of the grant, you will submit a final report detailing all expenditures made from the grant and indicating the progress made towards the goals of the grant.

5. You will repay any portion of the amount granted which is used for the purposes other than those designated in the grant letter.

6. We will expect your full cooperation in supplying any additional information and in complying with any procedures which may be required by the Internal Revenue Service in order for us to establish that we have exercised "expenditure responsibility" with respect to the grant made to you.

7. No part of the funds received by you pursuant to our grant will be used to carry on propaganda, or otherwise to attempt, to influence legislation or to influence the outcome of any specific public election, or to carry on, directly or indirectly, any voter registration drive, or for any purpose which is not religious, charitable, scientific or educational.

8. We will expect immediate notification if: (i) your exemption is revoked, (ii) you have any reasonable grounds to believe that it may be revoked, or (iii) you believe that you cannot continue to expend the grant in the manner designated in our grant letter.

Sincerely yours,

We agree to abide by the terms and conditions set forth in this letter.

By:_____

Dated: This_____ day of _____, 19____.

August 12, 1970

Mr. Paul Mathias, Director
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1420 Lady Street, Suite 207
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

Dear Paul:

I was interested in reading in your "July Council Currents" of the loan from the National Sharecroppers Fund for a rural land program.

Would you have other information, such as, the proposal that went to NSF, which you could share with us? We would be very much interested in this and other plans of SSCHR in the economic development field.

Please feel free to call on us if there is any way in which we can be of assistance.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development

EFV/gms

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

August 21, 1970

File

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I plan to be in Atlanta this coming Tuesday, August 25 and shall try to get by SRC in the late afternoon probably between 4 and 5 p.m. I will bring our copy of the proposal for the Rural Land Program about which you wrote.

I will also want to see Paul Anthony for a few minutes while there, so would you please ask him if he can reserve me about that amount of time while in the office.

P.A.

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul W. Matthias
Executive Director

PWM:mgg

1420 Lady Street / Columbia, South Carolina 29201 (803) 252-3651

Black Activists, Whites Unite Efforts

Atl. Const 8/20/72

By JACK BASS
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

COLUMBIA, S.C. — South Carolina's new 19-member Human Affairs Commission is dominated by moderate-to-conservative whites and activist blacks — and it's no accident.

The membership includes eight blacks and 10 whites, with one vacancy yet to be filled by Gov. John C. West. Only three of the 18 appointed members are women, two of them black.

Although most of the blacks long have been involved in traditional civil rights activities, only one of the whites — businessman Malcolm Haven of Charleston — had been very active in race relations before being appointed by West to either the new commission or its predecessor, the Governor's Advisory Commission on Human Relations.

Philip G. Grose Jr., an aide to West, explained recently that the appointments were designed to provide black members who are sensitive to the problems of discrimination and whites who are in positions to solve the problems. "The long range solutions must come from total community awareness and support," he said.

THE NEW commission will deal with discrimination and

SOUTH CAROLINA

race relations at all levels, but the primary focus will be on discrimination in employment. The Commission will have broad authority to issue orders after investigating complaints of discrimination against any state or local governmental body.

Authority in dealing with complaints involving private employers is more limited. The federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission will handle such complaints if the state agency fails to obtain a conciliation agreement within 120 days.

The male whites on the commission are all business executives or lawyers, with top executives from several major corporations, including President Arthur M. Williams Jr. of South Carolina Electric & Gas Co. and chief executive officer John H. Lumpkin of South Carolian National Bank. The commission chairman is Harry Lightsey Jr., a Columbia attorney and former chairman of the S.C. Democratic party, who served as chairman of the advisory commission.

The black members have more varied backgrounds, including a college president, Dr. Benjamin Payton of Benedict College; a minister, the Rev. Matthew McCollum of Orangeburg, who also is state NAACP president; a professional civil rights executive, Elliott Franks III of the Columbia Urban League and several veteran community orgainzers.

When the legislature approved the act creating the new commission, officials of six human rights groups—five of them white—urged the governor "to appoint citizens who have shown a consistent concern for the civil rights of all the people of this state."

Although the S.C. Council on Human Relations alter offered a list of whites with such records, not one from the list was appointed.

M. Hayes Mizell, South Carolina Community Relations Director for the American Friends Service Committee, said he has hardly heard of most of the governor's new white appointees, but he added, "It doesn't bother me the whites don't have any sterling civil rights records, so long as they are fair-minded people with an understanding of the issue. I'm withholding judgment. If they move aggressively in the field of discrimination in employment, then good."

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

Emory F. Via

S.T.T.H.R.

Re Task Force

Gary Meyers – Pres. Keene SGA

Richard Geroger –

Do they know about it? – What's happening

Please return
Butch Wright

"PROJECT BLACK LAND"

Background and Justification:

For a core component of its program of Black Economic Development, Penn Community Services has formulated the following proposal on Black Land ownership.

This proposal is based on the recognition of several facts and ideas. One of these is awareness of devastating erosion of Black Land ownership over the past seven decades through innocence, attendant land frauds, legal and illegal tax sales, mortgage foreclosures and partition sales. This loss is continuing at an alarming rate. A recent report states that in Hancock County, Georgia, where Blacks once owned 60% of the land, they now own only 7%, and in Beaufort County, a rough survey conducted by a local attorney revealed that since 1965 some 300 acres of land worth $200,000 were sold for taxes.

A second factor is that of Black Land remaining, the majority of it is almost hopelessly tied up and rendered economically useless by operation of the laws of intestacy upon the title.

Yet another fact, which may seem contradictory, is that in the South land constitutes the greatest potential economic asset which Black people have.

Preservation and utilization of this asset is the keystone of Black Economic Development and is the ultimate determinate of success or failure.

Objectives of Project:

This project seeks to:

1. Prevent the further loss of Black land ownership through and by reason of tax sales, mortgage foreclosures and partition sales.
2. Mobilize legal and technical resources in a concentrated effort to turn this potential economic asset into a positive and actual instrument for economic elevation of the Black Community.
3. To develop new techniques and methods in the achievement of items 1 and 2.

Methods of Implementation:

It is proposed to carry out this project in the following manner:

Penn, as the sponsoring agency, would cause to be formed a non-profit corporation called "Black Land Services, Inc." The coporate purposes would include and cover the following activities:

1. The survey of those properties of Blacks which have been the subject of tax sales within the past five (5) years, and notification of the owners with advice as to the status of their property and possibilities of recovery.

A broader, comprehensive and in depth survey and inventory of land owned by Blacks in the areas of activity.

2. The purchase of land at tax, foreclosure and partition sales with appropriate arrangements with the owners for redemption by them where this is possible;

3. Where such arrangements are not possible, the corporation would hold the property under the conditions described in the following paragraphs;

4. The provision of emergency funds to aid owners in critical situations threatening loss of land. For example: Funds could be made available to pay taxes and stop a pending sale; or, funds could be made available to enable owners to successfully bid at foreclosure or partition sales; or, where an owner is in such financial stress that sale of his property is thought to be the only relief, funds could be made available, with appropriate safeguards, to make this unnecessary;

5. The corporation would give legal assistance to indigent Black land owners. Where possible, this would be by referral from a list of cooperating attorneys. There is no agency providing legal services for the poor in Beaufort County, and the nearest service program is located at Charleston, South Carolina;

6. The corporation would conduct a continual program of education on the legal consequences of land ownership, the value of estate planning, and resources available for land use and development.

It would achieve this objective by holding a schedule of seminars, forums and institutes. It would make its services available to other private or governmental agencies, and educational institutions.

The non-profit structure provides the most feasible method for Penn and is highly compatible with its philosophy of community service. A possible drawback is that persons or groups motivated by profit would hesitate to invest resources, and the opportunity for gain could plague the organization during its existence, particularly where the opportunity is great. Arguable objection may also be made that the organization would become a dormant holder of property with no impact upon Black Economic Development.

These possibilities can be avoided by adoption of the view that the corporation's overriding goal is the achievement of community good. This is not to say, however, that its existence will not provide opportunities for individual or group economic gain. Indeed the corporate concept here involves a constant "spin-off" vehicle, with land being placed in the hands of Black entrepreneurs as a tool of production.

Some examples: The corporation purchases property on foreclosure sale and holds title. Three members wish to construct low income dwelling units. They would apply to the corporation to buy at a modest profit to the corporation, secure a loan from the MESBIC and proceed to provide the improved housing for members of the Black community;

Or: Land owned by Blacks is bid on by the corporation at a tax sale. Pending possible redemption by the owners, the corporation would rent or lease the property to a local Black farming cooperative, which could in turn use the lease document as assets in its operation;

Or: An individual in the Black community desires to sell his land and has offers from a white land developer who intends to erect a subdivision. The corporation would actively encourage formation of a new Black company to develop the property at a profit with the aid of technical personnel from the MESBIC.

The affairs of the corporation would be governed by a board made up of Black people who live in the areas to be covered by the activities of the project.

Geographical Extent of Project:

Several counties in the Southeastern section of South Carolina, Beaufort, Jasper, Hampton, Colleton and Charleston, are representative, it is believed, of Black land ownership problems. Within this area Blacks constitute a large percentage and sometimes a majority of the total population. The area is one where agricultural, industrial, and tourist interests are in competition with each other for land space. Added to these factors is the documented and undisputed proverty of Blacks in the midst of affluence.

Penn concludes that in this contaxt, and in these counties a meaningful project for Black Land must be developed as a part of Black Economic Development.

TIME TABLE

This proposal is written for a two year period, starting April 23, 1971 through April 23, 1973 for development and refinement.

2 - 9 months

Incorporation and organization of a non-profit corporation, Black Land Services, Inc., will be completed, scope of the survey, and estimates of actual costs completed, staff employed.

6 - 18 months

Notification and advice to owners of status of land loss through tax sales, activities for sales continues, situations catalogued and classified, inventory and maps completed, arrangements with co-operating attorneys sought and concluded, education programs scheduled and conducted, assistance in partition sales and mortgage foreclosures rendered, property purchase to be held in trust for original owners, development of property and new enterprise encouraged.

12 - 24 months

as

Findings published, organizational techniques utilized, evaluation and reports of project and format for continuation completed.

PROPOSED BUDGET

BLACK LAND SERVICES, INC.

Personnel: (Per Year)	
Attorney-Legal Analyist (Part-time)	$ 7,500.00
Project Coordinator	9,000.00
Secretary	5,200.00
	21,700.00
Consultants and Contract Services:	
Accounting, Survey Stipends Consultants, Temporary Secretarial & Clerical Help	10,000.00
Travel:	
Estimated 30,000 miles over area via auto @ .10	3,000.00
Out of Town Travel	700.00
Volunteer Expenses	1,000.00
Rentals, Lease or Purchase of Equipment:	
Desks, chairs, typewriters, tables filing cabinets, copy equipment, etc.	2,900.00
Consumable Supplies:	
Paper, Ink, pencils, postage, etc.	750.00
Funds for Legal Fees, Research & Referrals:	10,000.00
Educational Programs & Publication Costs:	6,000.00
Capital Fund for Loans & Land Purchases:	30,000.00
TOTAL BUDGET	$ 86,050.00

Please return
Butch Wright

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INC.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

Penn Center, a community of history and achievement for 100 years, is located in the far Southeastern corner of South Carolina in Frogmore, South Carolina. The area is coastal and contains an area population of approximately 70,000 with 40 per cent of the population identified as Black.

Frogmore, St. Helena, and the other small islands on the coast are believed by many scholars to be one of the rare remaining areas in this country in which identifiable remnants of an African culture remain.

Since the founding of Penn School in the 1860's, the Center has been a beacon light for blacks not only in the surrounding area, but the entire South. Graduates of the school, and later of the Community Center have made important, and significant contributions to the cultural, social, political and economic fabric of the South. Throughout this period, Penn has been at the forefront in two revolutions which benefited blacks in this country. Secondly, the the 1950's Penn made a major change in its program to concentrate on activities in human relations, such as voter education and registration, merit employment, and general community organization for social services including health and recreation.

Now Penn is seeking to undergo a third change in its programmatic format necessitated by the change of emphasis in the Black community in the area and the Southern Black community as a whole. This is the development of the black community around community economic development in which Penn would be the center for national, regional, and local technical assistance.

Penn Center recognized that for declining population areas such as the rural South, in order to keep the talents of the young, it must provide opportunities for their endeavors after they complete school. Penn is also cognizant of the direct relationship the rural, unskilled, mostly poor population migration has had, and continues to have on urban centers creating social and economic disorganization.

It is with this thought in mind that Penn is developing its new programmatic thrust for the 1970's.

GOALS

Penn Center's program thrust is to improve the economic status of the Black community. This is to be done by concentrating the programmatic goals of Penn in the following areas:

A. CONFERENCE CENTER - Penn would seek to improve its facilities as a major conference center.

B. TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO ECONOMIC COOPERATIVES - The center would provide technical assistance to local and regional cooperatives using public and private resources.

C. CREATION OF A MESBIC - This would enable the center to establish a capital institution which would provide for the capital needs of the local community as well as selected regional ventures.

D. EMPLOYMENT - Penn will seek to improve the number of Blacks employed in existing industries and government. It will also seek to attract new industries to the area which will provide additional employment opportunities.

After submitting our initial request to the Field Foundation for assistance for the Economic Development Program, the National Urban Coalition sponsored a conference at Penn Center to help us focus on rural economic development. The Coalition then assigned a consultant to work with us over a period of time in developing the concept.

We have also received assistance recently from VITA (Volunteers for International Technical Assistance) in the area of food service, lodging, and housing.

In our new thrust there are six divisions, including:

MESBIC--(Minority Enterprise Small Business Investment Corporation) When developed with its own Board of Directors and Penn serving as the parent organization, this fund will provide venture capital and technical assistance for those who have a change to succeed in business ventures in the area. We have made contact with key businessmen in the area, and we are following up these contacts. The idea has met with favorable reaction from all those contacted. An organizational meeting is planned for the near future.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE--The program also calls for educational provision and the provision of technical assistance through our staff and by maintaining contact with other organizations who will be able to give assistance to local people in human resources and economic ventures. Among the kind of organizations that we are proposing to help are cooperatives, credit unions, small businesses, housing, and efforts that will work toward the creation of new jobs.

Our housing efforts will have two objectives: the provision of adequate housing, and the development of economic potential for home construction.

MANPOWER AND EMPLOYMENT-- The staff will work actively for better employment opportunities through existing agencies as well as work toward the creation of new opportunities.t We will seek manpower training programs that will help us train individuals in skills and management types of jobs.

CONFERENCE CENTER-- With the assistance of the National Urban Coalition and VITA, as well as working with other individuals, we believe that Penn's facilities can continue to serve a need as a conference center provided certain important steps are taken. These steps include capital improvements, special recruitment efforts, improved management efforts, and an improved public relations program. Several suggestions for improvements have been made by the Property Committee and some of these are being followed up now. We have made a building-by-building cost analysis for improvements of the facilities and this analysis is presently being worked on by our consultant with the Coalition.

BLACK LAND SERVICES-- We have all waited too long to attempt in a real way to slow down the loss of property from the hands of Black people in this area, as well as the rest of the South. We asked Attorney Charles Washington, Jr. to work with us in looking for ways in which Penn might provide assistance to local people who find themselves in difficulty with land ownership. In a brief survey, we found the rate at which Black landowners are losing their land on tax sales alone is alarming. Therefore, Penn proposed to organized Black Land Services, Inc. whose objective will be to help stop the outflow of land ownership. We are planning an organizational meeting on April 23. We have received a letter of commitment from the Black Economic Research Center for some financial assistance in this effort.

CULTURAL PROGRAM-- We are developing a cultural center at Penn with at least the following features:

A library of information about Blacks, including books, art, music, youth and adult programs, as well as other creative activities that might be put together with a creative staff. The program will base its core program on the riches of the local area.

We have received a grant from HEW through its Emergency School Assistance Program, Community Group, to do a cultural program for a one year period. We are in the process of implementing this program presently.

The above new program thrust takes into consideration suggestions that were made in the evaluations of the recent community development training program, the Program Review Committee meeting of a year ago, committee meetings that were held with members of the Board during the year, and suggestions coming from various groups and individuals.

If we are able to implement these programs, we will be on the way toward developing meaningful programs that may have regional and national implications.

To help us start the new thrust, Mr. George Smith has accepted a position on Penn's staff as director of Economic Development Programs. His official starting date was April 12, 1971. Mr. Smith has an A. B. Degree from Clark College in Business Administration, has worked on his Masters in Accounting, and has worked for the Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation in the packaging and provision of technical help to grassroots businessmen in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn.

TIMETABLE

This proposal is written for a two-year period, starting October 1, 1970 through October 1, 1972. There will be several phases as follows:

3 - 6 months

Data will be gathered, staff will gear-up, consultations with technical persons, consultive assistance, community preparation and organization, planning, estimates gathered, community cooperatives established, new resources and funds sought, additional staff hired.

8 - 12 months

We will work with getting people into existing public and private industries; renovation of buildings, creation of MESBIC, technical assistance services provided and private resources sought, conferences held, land purchases made and held in trust.

12 - 24 months

Completion of renovations, new building planned, resolved loans made, major conferences being held, new cooperatives started, new evalutions being made, major job placement.

MORE HAPPENINGS AROUND THE COUNTRY THIS SUMMER

CHICAGO.....Training began under the now-funded Chicago Plan for Equal Employment Opportunity Inc. to increase minority employment in the building trades. Ninety men, from ages 17 to 40, are enrolled in an eight-week program conducted by Local 150 of the Operating Engineers.

WASHINGTON, D.C.....HRDI representative Arline Neal has been elected to the 21-member National Labor Advisory Committee of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

INDIANA.....HRDI President Rothman and Director McGlotten spoke at sessions of the State Summer School in Bloomington. Rothman also spoke to the OEO Midwest Labor Leadership Training Conference.

SOUTH CAROLINA.....Ninety blacks and other minority youths will be prepared for apprenticeship in the building and construction trades in four new Urban League programs in Aiken, Charleston, Columbia and Greenville. They will receive ten weeks training to pass entrance exams in the trades plus additional counselling after they become apprentices.

TENNESSEE.....HRDI's Memphis representative, Bill Ross, conducted the session on manp ... Ross also serv ... relations.

ST. ... ase minority empl ... ics who can qual ... g program at what ... or Department has

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

Gwen Sapp

Apprenticeship - Outreach
South Carolina

Columbia - Milt Green
(803) 754-6524 - LEAP(?)

CONN ... representative Don ... tate AFL-CIO conv

NORT ... iscussed at the ... was the spea ... ended.

WASH ... jobs is pro- pose ... bill provides fede ... schools, police and fire departments and other agencies. Up to 3 billion dollars is authorized for the first year of operation.

HOUSTON.....HRDI representative Don Bridges was one of the experts on hand to brief teenagers at the 5th Texas AFL-CIO Summer Youth Citizenship Conference. Youngsters attending this annual five-day conference are sponsored by local unions to help defray expenses and Bridges was responsible for contacting some 100 locals.

MOBILIZATION FOR LAND RETENTION, ACQUISITION, AND UTILIZATION

A PROPOSAL SYNOPSIS

from the

National Sharecroppers Fund
and the
South Carolina Council on Human Relations

Rural Project
(Retention, Utilization, Reclamation,
and Acquisition of Land)

BACKGROUND

That a great redistribution of the Black population of the United States took place between 1910 and 1960 is well known, and that this fact has tremendous implications for social and economic life throughout the nation is widely accepted.

Nevertheless, even the more general aspects of the changing population have never been thoroughly explored, and many significant changes within a given community, district, state, or region still are awaiting analysis.

We are concerned with a very narrow segment of this chaotic pattern of dispossession, migration, disillusionment, and ghettoization - the retention, acquisition and utilization of Black landholdings, and their effect upon Black migration.

Between 1920 and 1960 the number of rural-farm Blacks fell off by more than 450,000 (a 70% drop). In South Carolina, the decade 1950-60 saw a dramatic exodus of Blacks from farms. In every county in South Carolina there were fewer Blacks on the farms in 1960 than in 1950 with losses running as high as 7,422 (77%) in Spartanburg County; 7,352 (66%) in Berkeley County; 9,033 (37%) in Orangeburg County, and 7,023 (30%) in Williamsburg County.

Why these Blacks left, where they went, what was taken with them, and what they left behind are questions which remain inadequately answered. However, we are certain of one legacy left behind - land ... Land which could have provided a real

and practical means of participation in the political and economic life of these rural communities ... land which could have provided better education and healthier lives for their off - spring ... land which could have provided more equitable returns for the labor and sacrifice of their daily struggles.

Land represents an unreplenishable value, and that value represents power. Throughout South Carolina we are witnessing the increased impoverishment and dispossession of the small Black landowner through denial of meaningful participation in government assistance programs, through discriminate use of the laws of eminent domain, and through unmitigated chicanery. The NSF and the SCCHR see the continued ownership of land by Blacks as crucial to the reversal of trends driving Blacks into urbanized squalor and continued economic and political disenfranchisement.

PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

*To inventory the amount of land presently owned by Black citizens in the State of South Carolina beginning with Orangeburg, Allendale, and Bamberg Counties;

To organize at both the local and state level these Black landholders;

To sensitize these organized landholders to understand some of the primary causative factors responsible for the dramatic and chaotic disposition of Black landholdings in South Carolina;

To identify and develop individuals and organizations capable of guiding relatively uneducated landholders in the retention, acquisition, utilization, and disposition of land;

To create a sales referral service so that Black landholders may sell parts or all of their land to other Blacks;

To create an emergency holding fund to enable despondent landowners to weather emergency situations which would normally lead to "crisis sales: and financially unsound dispositions.

*These counties were chosen primarily on population and voting statistics, and proximity to the state capital - Columbia.

If the project is not fully funded, we would have to move to alternate continguous counties of Fairfield, Newberry and Union. A survey of Union County has been completed, and although these counties offer less potential, interest in the project has been substantially developed.

The ideal combination would be Jasper, Orangeburg, Williamsburg, and Fairfield Counties.

The immediate aim of the project is to end the erosion of Black land tenure in South Carolina. It is hoped, however, that this effort in South Carolina will become a model which can be duplicated across the South.

THE SPONSORS

The National Sharecroppers Fund and the South Carolina Council on Human Relations will administer the project and provide technical assistance as needed.

The National Sharecroppers Fund (NSF) is a private, non-profit organization which has worked for the improvement in the quality of rurual life for over 32 years. NSF supports a broad, national program of rural community development, farmer organization, educational activities, and cooperation with other rural-oriented agencies.

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations (SCCHR) is a private, non-profit, multi-racial organization involved in a number of human relations, economic development, educational, and fair housing projects throughout South Carolina. SCCHR has 13 local councils and over 1400 members, and has been incorporated by the State of South Carolina since 1954. SCCHR sponsored the first Headstart programs in South Carolina.

OPERATIONAL PROCEDURE

Local student and other volunteer help will be utilized to identify Black landowners in a selected area. The assistance of local morticians, ministers, and octogenarians will augment searches of the real estate title records in the county seats. These rudimentary title searches will also be performed by local persons, who will have been trained by local attorneys. Expenses, such as travel, in connection with these tasks will be borne by the project.

A sample survey of Union County, South Carolina (Appendix A) indicates the necessity of organizing the project with both resident and non-resident thrusts.

The initial organizational phase of the effort for resident landowners will consist of exposure to seminars and workshops focusing on, but not limited to, such topics as:

History of land tenure, especially Black land tenure;
Economic and Political importance of land tenure;
Legal rights and obligations of land tenure;
Assistance programs available to maximize utilization and productivity of land;
The importance of holding on to land and/or selling land to Blacks

Non-resident landowners will be exposed to the same basic information via a "Black Land Tenure Packet:, which will emphasize the importance of their landholdings to the total development of minority peoples in the region. Local attorneys, university economists, retired agricultural extension workers, university agricultural staffs, etc. have indicated a strong

interest in assisting in the development of a comprehensive approach to this project.

The effectiveness of this initial educational thrust will determine the point at which resident and non-resident landowners will be brought together for long-range planning and actualizing sessions. We anticipate that the first phase will involve at least three months of concentrated title searches, etc.

A sales referral bureau will be established to promote sale of land to Blacks and to investigate FMHA and other federal assistance programs.

Emergency capital in a revolving fund will be raised to purchase and hold land in jeopardy of foreclosure, or to further the cause when an owner is forced to sell before he can locate a Black buyer. The Black Economic Research Center's Southern Land Bank has already begun efforts to establish a similar fund.

A second type of technical assistance which is envisioned, but not budgeted, by this proposal would be provided to Black landowners in a given county by a three-person team: a lawyer, an accountant, and an industrial engineer. They would be supported by consultants and/or staff with special knowledge in a variety of business enterprises. This team would prepare economic analyses of possible economic ventures, do the legal-work for community-based corporations, design and install accounting

systems, recruit and/or develop competent management, and seek financial backing. A supplimentary proposal will be submitted after the land inventory phase of the project has been completed.

Group action by the Black, and the poor, is more effective than individual action in bringing about social, economic and political change. The success of group action relies heavily on its leadership. Good leadership consists, in part, of the ability to identify programs, to design programs and to marshall human, financial and physical resources. Black landowners represent an essentially untapped and roughhewn source of leadership in South Carolina. The NSF and SCCHR hope, through this project, to make life more equitable for all of our citizens, both urban and rural.

BUDGET

PERSONNEL COSTS

Salaries and Wages	First Year
1 Project Director	$ 10,000.00
1 Secretary/Research Assistant	6,500.00
1 Secretary (½ time)	2,400.00
3 Field Representatives (¼ time)	4,500.00
	$ 23,400.00
Fringe Benefits @ 15% of total salaries	3,510.00

Staff Travel	
1 Project Director	2,200.00
1 Secretary/Research Assistant	1,000.00
3 Field Representatives ($600 each)	1,800.00
Legal Consultants	1,200.00
	6,200.00

Space Costs and Rentals	
Office Space @ $100/month	1,200.00
Office Equipment	1,200.00
Telephone @ $200/month	2,400.00
Postage	1,200.00
Conferences	1,000.00
Miscellaneous	1,500.00
	8,500.00
TOTAL	$ 40,610.00

State Divs - Ark.

March 18, 1952

Mr. C. C. Walker
1216 Chester St.
Little Rock, Ark.

Dear Mr. Walker:

We are very grateful for the good letter giving us the facts about the Washington's birthday meeting of the Arkansas Division.

It is heartening to hear that you had such a good occasion.

Mr. Deer told me that you all wanted 300 copies of RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT. I was driving west and mailed them to him from Thiontown, Alabama, the other day. It will be quite a job to get them out to the people who will carry them to the sheriff, but I am sure it will help matters to do it.

With warm regards,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

W. W. WILKE, PRESIDENT OCIE LEE SMITH, V. PRES. CHAS. C. WALKER, SEC'Y. MRS. W. FLOYD BATES, TREAS.

Southern Regional Council

ARKANSAS DIVISION
1020 RINGO STREET
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

RECEIVED
MAR 15 1952
Southern Regional Council

March 13, 1952

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

On Friday Evening, February 22, 1952, some 50 persons gathered in the Continental Room of the Hotel Marion in this city for a Luncheon Meeting of the Arkansas Division of the Southern Regional Council. Our toastmaster, the Reverend W. W. Wilke, called us together by some introductory remarks about the purpose of the meeting. He then asked God's blessings upon the food and for the success of the occasion.

After a delicious meal of fruit cocktail, ½ fried chicken, string beans, scalloped potatoes, tomato salad and cherry cobbler with coffee (or milk if desired), the meeting was opened by an informal introduction of all persons present. The majority of the group came from the local community, followed closely by a representative number from Pine Bluff. Other cities were represenated as far away as Texarkana and Dayton, Ohio.

Then the Master of Ceremonies, Mr. Wilke, called upon Attorney J. R. Booker to introduce the guest speaker, Mr. Harry S. Ashmore, Executive Editor of the Arkansas Gazette. Our speaker, very informally, spoke at length about the progress of understanding which was now taking place throughout the South. This understanding was due to improved economic conditions and educational facilities for both Negroes and whites. However, the most obvious weapon which had become available was the use of the ballot. Mr. Ashmore continued that as long as there was proper leadership in both groups, the South could reach the point where a minimum of friction might exist. Nevertheless, he feared that some smart race-baiter (Negro or white) could exploit the voters and destroy the good work quite easily and disastrously. Our speaker was definitely opposed to FEPC Legsilation, stating that private business should be left to hiring voluntarily those whom it wished. He closed out his great speech by permitting questions from the floor.

W. W. WILKE, PRESIDENT OCIE LEE SMITH, V. PRES. CHAS. C. WALKER, SEC'Y. MRS. W. FLOYD BATES, TREAS.

Southern Regional Council

ARKANSAS DIVISION
1020 RINGO STREET
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

After this great speech which our toastmaster had to interrupt because of the lateness of the hour, an appeal was made for memberships in the Arkansas Division of the Southern Regional Council. Practically every member present pledged and paid for the fee. With approximately $60.00 taken in, and a renewed interest in the desire for racial harmony in and throughout this area and a deeper understanding for working towards a common goal, the meeting closed with benediction by the secretary, the Reverend Charles C. Walker.

Only one new officer was elected to a post. He was the Reverend Lewis H. Deer who is now president. The Reverend Mr. Deer is pastor of the Pulaski Heights Christian Church, a fearless champion for brotherhood, social justice and christian democracy. The entire membership regrets the loss of the Reverend Mr. Wilke as president. However, his decision to remain active as a member of the Executive Council encourages the work very much.

Personally, I certainly would like to do something to interest our white friends in the movement. Although both Mr. Wilke and Mr. Deer did everything possible to invite white persons to the luncheon meeting, only 10 appeared. I do not believe that white people are indifferent, but they do not wished to be "counted or seen." So our main job here is to do something to stir our friends from the white group.

The Hotel Marion was exceedingly cooperative in granting the Council one of its very large dining rooms. And since it is one of the largest and best hotels in the city, such a step was sincerely appreciated.

I would suggest you contacting through mail Mr. Charles Hicks. He is Ass't Director of Negro Education of the State of Arkansas. His address is the Educational Building, State Capitol, Little Rock, Arkansas.

With sincerest regards, I remain

Charles C. Walker
Charles C. Walker
Secretary

P.S. My local address is:
1216 Chestnut St

State Divs - Ark

December 15, 1952

Rev. Charles C. Walker
1216 Chester St.
Little Rock, Ark.

Dear Mr. Walker:

How very kind that was of you to write so warmly! I felt a lift of the spirit in working with you and your friends in Little Rock; you've got a real chance to go ahead.

My final suggestion to Scott Hamilton and one or two of the others at a luncheon the second day was that Little Rock build on the precedent of the voluntary admission of Negroes to the University of Arkansas, and acquire a reputation of doing all of these things ahead of time. I doubt whether any single thing would so greatly contribute to the future growth and prosperity of the city as that. If business people are thinking of coming South, the wise ones would pick a city which had already put itself on a course which would solve all of these tangles of prejudice.

Prosperity and success to the Arkansas Division.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

December 12, 1952

Mr. Charles C. Walker
1216 Chester St.
Little Rock, Ark.

Dear Mr. Walker:

Thank you for your letter of December 10.

I am sending you today 25 copies of the new, mimeographed edition of WHAT KIND OF SOUTH DO YOU WANT? More if you need them.

Sincerely,

Emily Calhoun
Secretary to George S. Mitchell

Lewis Deer

[redacted], PRESIDENT OCIE LEE SMITH, V. PRES. CHAS. C. WALKER, SEC'Y. MRS. W. FLOYD BATES, TREAS.

Southern Regional Council

ARKANSAS DIVISION
1020 RINGO STREET
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

RECEIVED
DEC 12 1952
Southern Regional Council

December 10, 1952

Southern Regional Council Headquarters
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

This letter is being written as an expression of sincere gratitude for the personal appearance in our city of Dr. George S. Mitchell. Words simply do not adequately portray the great feeling of "lift" which the members in this area received by his messages: first, at an evening luncheon-dinner at the Hotel Marion; and second, at a college chapel hour at Philander Smith College.

Since there is such an extent of enthusiasm among the official family of the Arkansas Division and since there have been some inquiries concerning the work of the Council, it has been requested that a letter be written to your office for any available literature on the official board members, the present work and the intended goals. This literature is very much needed here to be mailed out to prospective persons in lieu of securing additional members. (Enclosed is a sample of material sought. Unfortunately, this is not up-to-date.)

Thanking you in advance for your earliest consideration in this matter and joining in best wishes for a continuation for the success of the work-here in the South-, I am

Very truly yours,

Charles C. Walker

Charles C. Walker
Sec'y
1216 Chester Street
Little Rock, Ark.

CCW

(Not printed at Government expense)

Congressional Record

United States of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 85th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Origins and Aims—Report on Negro Voters

SPEECH

OF

HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 26, 1957

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, at various times in the past I have quoted the publications of the Southern Regional Council. The Southern Regional Council is composed entirely of southerners, men and women of good will of both races in the South. It is in no sense a lobbying organization. I have been able to obtain material it provides through the Library of Congress, at my request.

I think the statement which has been prepared on the origins and aims of the Southern Regional Council should be printed in the RECORD at this point so as to indicate the high qualifications of the council and its emotional attachment to the South. So I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the statement be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL: A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF ITS ORIGINS AND AIMS, APRIL 1956

"The South of the future toward which our efforts are directed, is a South freed of stultifying inheritances from the past. It is a South where the measure of a man will be his ability, not his race; where a common citizenship will work in democratic understanding for the common good; where all who labor will be rewarded in proportion to their skill and achievement; where all can feel confident of personal safety and equality before the law; where there will exist no double standard in housing, health, education, or other public services; where segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit, and will no longer be imposed; where, above all, every individual will enjoy a full share of dignity and self-respect, in recognition of his creation in the image of God." (From a Statement of Policy and Aims of the Southern Regional Council (1951).)

SRC AND THE COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

The Southern Regional Council and its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, have a history of 35 years of constructive activity.

In the troubled days following World War I, race conflict and the lawlessness of terror organizations reached such proportions that the need for new techniques of restoring harmony could not be ignored. To meet this need, interracial committees were formed in cities and towns throughout the South. It was found that by bringing together influential members of both races grievances could be aired, mutual problems discussed, and a meeting of minds effected. This method had such beneficial results that interracial committees became an established part of the life of the South in the early twenties. Their influence became southwide through the formation of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, a central organization with headquarters in Atlanta.

The commission was founded in 1919 by a group of the South's leading church men and women. Among them were Dr. M. Ashby Jones, prominent Baptist minister, Dr. John Hope, president of Atlanta University, Mr. John J. Eagan, businessman and philanthropist, Dr. Plato Durham, dean of the Emory University Theology School, Dr. Robert Moton, president of Tuskegee Institute, and Dr. Will W. Alexander, the commission's director. Its work in behalf of sound race relations was acclaimed by the South's leading newspapers, religious leaders, and by many public officials.

The commission helped organize, extend, and guide the work of State and local interracial committees. It assisted them in making their influence felt by newspapers, civil authorities, churches, school officials, police administrators, and health officers. It gave much attention to factual analysis of the problem of lynching and other forms of interracial violence. Its auxiliary, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, under the direction of Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, did much to educate public opinion in the causes and possible remedies for such violence.

From these early activities, the commission built up a body of acquaintance and confidence that has been an increasing asset through the years. The traditional barrier between the races was broken down to allow an interchange of ideas and mutual trust. The notion of cooperative action by people of good will, both white and Negro, took root and has continued to grow. In its 25 years of operation, the commission made the meeting of white and Negro citizens for the discussion of common problems an accepted practice almost everywhere in the South. It marshalled thousands of southern church people in opposition to lynching and other injustices, brought new light to bear on race relations, issued 2 million copies of pamphlets and leaflets, and symbolized the faith of the southern white people and Negro people in the processes of mutual agreement and cooperation.

Transition to SRC

In 1939 the leaders of the commission began to explore the possibility of expanding the activities of the organization to permit a broader approach to the problems of the South. In October, 1940, the commission instructed its executive committee to "take whatever steps are necessary to carry out the plans for the formation of a council on southern regional development," which would include in its program "the work of the commission and other activities connected with the economic, educational, and social development of the South."

Meanwhile the efforts of other progressive southerners were leading them to a similar purpose. The first movement in that direction took place when a group of southern Negro leaders met in Durham, N. C., on October 20, 1942, to set forth just what the Negro wants and is expecting of the postwar South

and Nation, and to enlist the aid of interested white southerners. The result of this historic conference was a comprehensive statement covering the following areas: Political and civil rights, industry and labor, service occupations, education, agriculture, military service, and social welfare and health. Many social thinkers regarded the Durham statement as the most hopeful pronouncement on race relations that had come out of the South in the last 75 years.

In April 1943 a group of southern white leaders met in Atlanta to consider the statement of the Durham conference. These white leaders found the statement so frank and courageous, so free from any suggestion of threat and ultimatum, and so demonstrative of good will, that they gladly pledged their cooperation. "The need," they concluded, "is for a positive program arrived at in an atmosphere of understanding, cooperation, and mutual respect."

SRC organized

Representatives of both the Durham and Atlanta conferences met in Richmond in June 1943, to work out further details. The Durham statement was adopted as a general guide to action, and a continuing committee was appointed to devise practical means of approach. The organizing meeting of the council was held in response to a call issued by some of the South's finest leadership, including C. H. Gillman, Georgia director, CIO; George L. Googe, southern director, AFL; M. Ashby Jones, Baptist minister; Ryland Knight, Baptist minister; Rabbi David Marx, The Temple, Atlanta; Bishop Arthur J. Moore, the Methodist Church; Ralph McGill, editor, the Atlanta Constitution; Stuart R. Oglesby, Presbyterian minister; Most Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara, bishop of Savannah-Atlanta; Dean S. Paden, president, King Hardware Co.; J. McDowell Richards, president, Columbia Theological Seminary; Bishop John Moore Walker, the Protestant Episcopal Church; Goodrich C. White, president, Emory University.

Following the deliberations of this group and a subsequent conference with southern Negro leaders, the SRC was chartered early in 1944. The incorporators were Bishop Arthur J. Moore; Ralph McGill; Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University; and Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina. At the charter meeting, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation met and formally merged its program and assets with those of the council. A strong and democratic council had been established to attain through research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

Since this auspicious beginning, the council's membership has included distinguished southerners, white and Negro, in all walks of life. Dr. Odum was the first president of the organization. He was succeeded by Paul D. Williams, of Richmond, Va., a prominent Catholic layman and cofounder of the Catholic Committee of the South. Mr. Williams served as president for 6 years—from 1945 until 1951. He was succeeded by Mr. Marion A. Wright, widely known as a South Carolina attorney active in civic and educational affairs, now living in Linville Falls, N. C.

How SRC works

The Southern Regional Council consists of a board of some 80 southerners representing the major religious faiths, both races, and the 13 States of the region. These people are the Southern Regional Council. They make the policies and review all activities at an annual meeting. They elect an executive committee which meets at least every 3 months to give closer direction to the organization. And full reports of all activities are sent to the members quarterly. The council is nonprofit, nonpolitical, and nondenominational.

Financial support for the council has come from many different individuals and organizations. Some of the organizations are: the Julius Rosenwald Fund, General Education Board, the Fund for the Republic, Division of Home Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church, Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church, Phelps-Stokes Fund, Catholic Committee of the South, Board of Education of the Methodist Church, Ashby Jones Memorial Fund, Committee on Woman's Work of the Presbyterian Church of the United States, the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Marshall Field Foundation, the Doris Duke Foundation, various trade unions, and some business firms. Individuals support the council through contributions, legacies, and payment of membership dues.

What SRC does

The council's present functions may be summarized as follows: (1) Clearinghouse and coordinating work with numerous agencies working on southern problems; (2) research and survey to determine the facts and the state of public opinion as a basis for sound social action; (3) educational activities through a monthly bulletin, the New South, and through pamphlets, press, radio, television, conferences, and personal contacts; (4) consultative services to private and official agencies; (5) promotion of specific programs of action through the council staff and affiliated State organizations.

Following are some of the areas with which the SRC's educational program has been concerned:

Employment of Negro policemen in southern communities.

Newspaper handling of racial news.

Community self-surveys, in which local people of both races study their problems as a basis for achieving local solutions.

Conferences of leading white and Negro southerners with common concerns and a common desire to further democratic practices in their areas of interest—religion, health, housing, education, etc.

Voluntary decisions to open professional associations, private colleges, public libraries, and the like to all qualified persons without respect to race.

The right to vote without racial discrimination or intimidation.

Impartial enforcement of the law and administration of justice in the South.

Orderly compliance at the community level with the recent decisions of the Supreme Court holding public school segregation unconstitutional.

Church support

Church people have always been the moving force in the southern interracial movement. This is as true today as it was 35 years ago. All of the major religious groups represented in the South have taken their stand in favor of the principle embodied in the Supreme Court's segregation ruling. The Court ruling was endorsed by the Southern Baptist Convention, many of the southern conferences of the Methodist Church, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (southern), the Province of Sewanee (southeastern) of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Catholic Bishops of the South, the various Jewish religious and fraternal groups, and virtually all of the other denominations found in the South. It is only natural that many religious southerners should seek to put the principles of their faith into everyday practice.

The Southern Regional Council and the affiliated State groups have enjoyed both financial and moral support from religious bodies representing the three major faiths.

Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director of the council, received the 1953 annual award of the Catholic committee of the South "for his significant contribution to the welfare of the South."

Affiliated State organizations

With the aid of a grant from the Fund for the Republic, the Southern Regional Council is assisting interracial organizations in 12 Southern States—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Each of these organizations has its own membership, officers, and staff. In each case, people of the State involved make their own decisions as to policy and program. Affiliation with the Southern Regional Council is voluntary, and the purpose of the short-term financial aid from SRC is to help the State groups become strong, self-sustaining human relations agencies.

Toward the South of the future

The Southern Regional Council's main asset is and has always been those southerners who believe deeply in democratic practices, and who know firsthand the problems of the region. On such people rest the hopes of the South. They have wanted a regional organization, not out of any provincial desire to separate the South's problems from the Nation's, but out of the conviction that such an organization has unique advantages. It can express the best and often neglected elements of Southern thought and con-

science; it can serve as a convincing demonstration of southerners working together as fellow citizens without regard to race; and it can tap local resources and initiative often inaccessible to national groups.

The Southern Regional Council and its affiliates seek to be practical organizations, aiming at working solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements. They hold the belief that every community must ultimately find its own answers within the framework of law and conscience. They offer no master blueprint, no sovereign remedy for the South's human problems. But they do offer a method—that of representative citizens, white and Negro, coming together in equal dignity to find the best ways to move ahead.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, following the statement with respect to the Southern Regional Council, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the body of the RECORD a most extraordinarily able survey the Southern Regional Council has made, which is just off the press, under date of July 18, 1957. Again I wish to emphasize I have obtained the material at my request from the Library of Congress to show that it was in no sense forced upon me, so to speak.

The survey deals State by State with the various ways in which Negroes are prevented from voting in the South. I highly commend this factual account to the Members of the Senate, as we debate part IV of the bill.

There being no objection, the survey was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE NEGRO VOTER IN THE SOUTH—PART OF A REPORT OF A SURVEY BY THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

(Furnished on his request to Senator DOUGLAS by the Library of Congress, Legislative Reference Service)

DISCRIMINATION AND INTIMIDATION

Just as the main segregationist movement has switched from the white sheet of the Ku Klux Klan to the white collar of the citizens council, so has the pattern of discrimination against the Negro southerner changed in recent years.

In no field is this gradual shift to subtler methods seen more clearly than in a study of Negro registration and voting. Killings, beatings, the dragging of Negroes from their homes in the middle of the night—these are now rare occurrences, compared to previous decades.

Overt violence is, in brief, the exception rather than the rule for racist dealing with assertive Negro citizens. The threat of violent tactics, however, is kept alive in some areas by anonymous telephone calls to Negro leaders. Crosses still are burned, jobs threatened. Occasionally, homes are shot into or bombed.

But, today, with less obvious means employed generally, Negroes interested in voting are far more likely to be barred by a question on the Constitution than by a rope or whip.

Alabama

The Alabama consultant directed a field survey in each of the counties in his State. According to these reports:

Negroes might be treated courteously, as in Bullock County, Ala., where the board of registrars has received Negro applicants pleasantly, let them fill out forms, then told them they didn't pass—with no reasons given. In this county, with 5,423 Negroes of voting age, only 6 were registered in the summer of 1956. In 1953, more than 100 attempted to register; in 1955, only 20 even tried, and of these 19 were refused. One of the six registered succeeded only on his seventh trip to the board.

In other counties of central Alabama, like Bullock, Negroes encounter greater difficulty. This is the black-belt section of the State, so-called because of the dark rich soil, an area where 15 counties have populations over 50 percent Negro.

Among these is Dallas, where only 275 of the 18,132 Negroes of voting age are registered.[1] In 1956 alone, at least 350 were turned down. Some reported that they filled out questionnaires 3 or 4 times but still were not sent registration certificates. Many reported they were given no help in filling out forms although white applicants were. One Negro teacher who registered was fired allegedly for being "too smart;" this frightened many other teachers.

Marengo, another county in the Alabama black belt, simply seems to have stopped registering Negroes. Of 10,223 eligible, 170 were registered before the Supreme Court decision calling for an end to segregated schools. This, plus formation of a local citizens council, is reported to have hardened the lines of white resistance to Negro equality and to have put the brakes on Negro registration.

In Monroe County, Ala., where 140 of the 5,914 Negroes of voting age are registered, other hopeful applicants said more often than not they found the board of registrars had "misplaced the application forms" or told them to return later. Registrars in Hale County, where 130 of 7,036 eligible Negroes are on the voting roll, have turned down 300 in the past 2 years for "failure to fill out forms correctly."

One Negro teacher in Alabama said she was refused because she didn't know the address of her estranged husband. Many Alabama boards require two voters to vouch for all Negro applicants and some require Negroes to produce white character witnesses. Registrars in one county where about 2 percent of nearly 7,000 Negroes over 21 have registered announced that a "good white man" must accompany Negro applicants.

In a black-belt county which is somewhat less than 50 percent Negro, registrars closed their office when a group of Negroes appeared. Other Negro applicants said they were told when the board would meet but then found no one present on arrival. A Negro leader who encouraged other Negroes to vote reported he was threatened anonymously by telephone and told to stop his activities or he would be run out of town. Only about 200 of over 5,000 Negroes have registered.

A Negro leader in Coosa County, Ala., also said he was threatened. Crosses were burned in front of the homes of two leaders of a Negro voters' drive in Choctow County. In the latter, 112 of 4,819 Negroes of voting age are registered; 28 said they were turned down on their first try, but accepted the second time. Most of those initially refused are teachers; maids and yardmen have found it somewhat easier to enroll.

Birmingham and surrounding Jefferson County present one of the gloomiest pictures for Negroes in the South. In no other major city of the region has it been so difficult for them to vote. Only about 7,000 of 121,510 Negroes over 21 are registered; at least that many more have been turned down. Instead of the standard form and the character witnesses, Jefferson County registrars have employed another method unique in the State: Added questions about government. They might ask on what date the 10th amendment to the Constitution became effective, what was the 14th State to be admitted to the Union, on what date did Oklahoma change from a territory to a State? They have recognized no limits to their power to interrogate. While Negroes have been the board's main target, white union members, particularly if they wear overalls or work clothes, have reported that they sometimes find registration difficult or impossible. Negroes appearing before the board often have been questioned for from 35 to 40 minutes; they have had to line up separately, and the longer the line the longer the questioning.

Strong, in his study of Jefferson County, described the method used by registrars to avoid suits with the following hypothetical case: a person who failed to satisfy the board was told orally he did not qualify; the applicant then secured an attorney and filed a suit, which was a signal for the board to register the plaintiff. His suit collapsed and no court has an opportunity to pass on section 33 of the Alabama Code and the "qualified to register" phrase.[2]

In Macon County, Ala., home of famed Tuskegee Institute, many college trained Negroes have found the barriers impregnable. Negroes outnumber white persons about 5 to 1; of the 14,526 of voting age, 1,100 have reg-

[1] Registration figures used are those of 1956.

[2] Donald S. Strong, Registration of Voters in Alabama (Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama).

istered. By contrast, the Associated Press reported in April 1956, that 2,700 out of a total Macon County white population of 5,000 had registered, or that fewer than 100 white persons over 21 had failed to do so. An Alabama observer said that the board of registrars would sit until all white citizens interested had registered and then resign. In any event, for the major part of 1956, there was no board in the county, for 2 of the 3 members resigned and it takes at least 2 to transact business. This was at least the third time in a decade this had happened.

North Carolina

In North Carolina, as in other States with literacy laws, the registrar has considerable latitude. He can have the applicant copy indicated sections of the State constitution or he can dictate. Some Negroes have protested the use of dictation, since a registrar often reads too fast or uses a particularly difficult section. However, the State board of elections has upheld a registrar's right to use this means of testing.

A Negro attorney in a rural eastern county of North Carolina said that in certain precincts of this and adjoining counties, "It takes a white man only a few minutes to get registered, but it may take an hour for a Negro. Actually, the latter is given an academic rather than a literacy test. In this county, the tests are tough and the literacy rate low, which doubly handicaps the Negro. The tests given here actually require an interpretation of law."

A Negro college graduate in North Carolina who attempted to register for the May 1956, primary said he was turned down because he could not write a section of the State constitution from memory. Some registrars who want to disqualify Negroes have asked for a definition of such words as "ordained," "sovereignty," "posterity," etc. The replies often do not satisfy the registrar.

But there are counties throughout the State, including the rural piedmont and eastern sections, where literacy requirements are ignored for anyone, white or Negro, who wants to register. In others, only Negroes are required to do some reading. In some rural North Carolina counties, Negroes can register with a minimum of trouble only if sponsored by white persons.

Louisiana

Louisiana applicants for registration have been given a rather complicated form and the law has barred any help in filling it out. In most instances, completion is regarded as evidence of literacy although the registrar may, if he wishes, examine an applicant. There has been wide variation in the practice of helping applicants and in the strictness with which forms are scrutinized for mistakes. In some parishes, Negroes have found it almost impossible to satisfy the high standards demanded of them. In others, both Negroes and whites have been permitted to copy from previously completed forms and mistakes have been overlooked.

If a person is unable to complete the form satisfactorily, he still may qualify in some parts of Louisiana. In a number of parishes many white and Negro illiterates have registered under the physical disability provision of the State constitution. This makes it possible in some instances to control their ballot, because such registrants are entitled to ask for assistance in voting. Practice varies widely with respect to registration of illiterates but, as a rule, where literate Negroes have found it easy to qualify, illiterate Negroes also have met few obstacles.

Under one Louisiana statute which adds to the difficulties of Negro voting, two bona fide registered voters can challenge by affidavit the right of a person to be registered. The person challenged has to respond within 10 days by appearing before the registrar to prove his right to remain on the voting list. If a person fails to appear, his name is removed automatically. Citizens council groups have purged several hundred Negroes from voting lists through this device in more than a dozen parishes, including Natchitoches, Webster, and La Salle. They are able to learn which Negroes have registered under another Louisiana law which permits any 25 registered voters, by application, to copy or photostat registration records.

The Colfax Chronicle, county weekly of Grant Parish, reported (October 12, 1956) that members of the citizens council worked in the registrar's office that week in a frank effort to disfranchise the county's 864 Negro voters. The Chronicle also reported:

Their action followed a White Citizens Council meeting in Dry Prong attended by State Senator William Rainach and other Louisiana segregation advocates. W. J. B. Jones of Colfax County, WCC president, said the group voted unanimously to try to purge Negro voters. Louis Earl Stevens, council secretary, subsequently estimated that at least 90 percent of the Negro registrants were challenged in Grant Parish.

Where, instead of writing out colored on registration blanks the applicant simply put "C," the applications were challenged as being incorrect. Each Negro's age in years, days, and months was refigured and often found off by a day or so. The Chronicle checked the first 100 white registrations in one ward and found only one card which would meet the standards set by the WCC for Negroes. Four, including the superintendent of schools, figured their ages incorrectly. In a further check, the Chronicle discovered that not a single member of a citizens council committee had filled in correctly all the blanks. Needless to say, only the Negroes were challenged. Of the more than 700 Negroes purged 2 weeks before the November general election, 399 had cleared the challenges a week before the deadline.

The Chronicle commended Registrar Maxine Mosley for her fairness in dealing with the Negroes challenged.

Not all members of the white community supported the purge effort. District Attorney Sam L. Wells said he would be a witness and sign affidavits for those challenged registrants whose place of residence he knew of his own personal knowledge. J. M. Straughan of route 8, Colfax, wrote the Chronicle:

"I'm a southerner born and raised right here in central Louisiana and I am opposed to integration as strongly as any southerner could be. But what has integration got to do with the removal of Negroes from the registration rolls. I for one, will be glad to sign an affidavit for those colored voters I know to help keep them from being imposed on."

On February 25, 1957, the Justice Department made public some FBI findings on registration of Negroes in Louisiana. Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III, said the FBI material indicated that testimony by Louisiana Attorney General Jack P. Gremillion to a House Judiciary Subcommittee "might have left a misleading impression in a number of respects." Olney's statement was in a letter to Chairman EMANUEL CELLER, Democrat, of New York, who presided at hearings in which Gremillion testified against the Eisenhower administration's civil-rights proposals.[8]

Olney said that Gremillion had mentioned "some difficulty with respect to voting" in Ouachita Parish, but contended this was "more or less an exception."

In fact, Olney asserted, the FBI investigated the handling of registrations in 10 Louisiana parishes and found that 8,552 Negroes were challenged when they tried to register in 1956.

Olney said that in Ouachita Parish there were some 4,000 registered Negro voters in the early fall of 1956 but that after a purge in October "there were in excess of 3,000 Negro voters deprived of the right to vote in the general election of November 6."

The Justice Department official challenged a number of Gremillion's statements, including his claim that registrants had a free choice in selecting the section of the United States Constitution they wished to interpret as part of their test.

"In none of the 10 parishes is there any evidence that the registrar permitted the applicant to choose which clause of the Constitution he wished to interpret," Olney said.

"Specifically, in the case arising from Ouachita Parish, the investigation by the FBI disclosed that the registrar of voters in examining applicants used a card on which was written an excerpt from the Constitution, which card was given to the registrar by the Citizens Council of Ouachita Parish."

Gremillion had told the committee that when a registered voter was challenged, the registrar sent a record of the challenge to the registrant, including a reply form, giving him 10 days to appear and establish his right to remain on the rolls by presenting statements from three voters registered in the same parish.

Olney said this did not appear to be the general practice in the parishes investigated. In six, he added, registrars "did everything to discourage the filing of reply affidavits

[8] Associated Press, Washington, D. C., February 27, 1957.

in the statutory form and generally refused them when offered." He told Chairman CELLER that the FBI found instances of registrars refusing to accept white persons as supporting witnesses for Negroes on grounds they were of a different race.

There appeared to be a concerted effort in October 1956 by white citizens councils in Louisiana and other Southern States to get Negro registrants off the rolls or to prevent their registration, Olney added.

"With respect only to cases which have been investigated by the FBI," he continued, "the following numbers of Negro voters were challenged in each of the following parishes:

"Bienville, 560; Caldwell, 330; De Soto, 383; Grant, 758; Jackson, 953; La Salle, 345; Lincoln, 326; Ouachita, 3,240; Rapides, 1,058; and Union, 600."

However, there still are areas in Louisiana where there are no Negro registrants to challenge. For example, in one parish, which is over 50 percent Negro, none of the 4,500 Negroes of voting age had registered at the time of the 1956 general election. Only one had tried in recent years. A local priest recounted the Negro's experience: when he appeared, the registrar immediately took him to the sheriff, who asked, "Aren't you happy here? Is something wrong with the way things operate around here? If you aren't happy perhaps we could arrange for you to leave." The hapless Negro promptly assured the sheriff of his happiness and allowed that his attempt to register had been a tragic mistake. He remained in the community but his wife lost her job.

There are no Negroes registered in Tensas, East Carroll, Madison, and West Feliciana Parishes, all counties with populations over 50 percent Negro. "In these parishes," the Louisiana consultant said, "subterfuge is unnecessary to discourage Negro registration. Negroes know they should not and cannot register and therefore rarely attempt to do so."

In the general election in November 1956 Louisiana voters defeated a proposed constitutional amendment designed to help the Citizens Council cut Negro voting even more. The measure was drafted by the legislative watchdog committee on segregation which previously had won approval easily for its proposals. The amendment, which was turned down by an unofficial total of 190,410 to 178,833, required certain administrative steps before a voter losing his registration could take the matter into court. Thus, said the Associated Press in a dispatch from Baton Rouge, it would have set up "administrative barriers to a Federal court action."

South Carolina

In South Carolina the prevalence of discriminatory tactics in some counties where Negroes are in the majority is quite evident. Registration books are moved from place to place to keep Negroes from getting a certificate; they are given literacy tests that have little to do with reading and writing the State constitution, as required by South Carolina law; Negroes complain that if a number go together to register in some counties, clerks will pass only one or two and tell the rest the books are closed for the day. In a few counties, Negroes who had been certified have complied with demands of employers and other white persons that they remove their names from registration books. Some have said they were threatened with harm for attempting to vote, and many landlords reportedly have warned their Negro tenants that if they registered they would be fired.

Calhoun County, S. C., with more than twice as many Negroes as whites—10,449 to 4,304—has no Negroes registered, although 4,437 of them are of voting age. "Any Negro who tries to get a registration certificate is called a smart Negro and sooner or later leaves the community," a field consultant said.

McCormick County, S. C., where the population split is 5,998 Negroes, 3,589 whites, also has no Negroes registered out of the 2,625 over 21. All Negroes who had registration certificates in 1948 had their names purged from the voting list. The majority of Negroes in the county are sharecroppers; reportedly, they could not sell their produce until their names were removed.

In another South Carolina county, Abbeville, where only 15 of the 3,687 Negroes of voting age are registered (as compared to 6,000 of the 8,951 whites), an atmosphere of fear was found. Three years ago a Negro cottonwood worker was said to have been beaten at night for voting. Since then, Negroes have not taken part in elections and almost all of those who had registration certificates have lost them.

Texas

Intimidation as a means of limiting Negro voting in Texas was found to be relatively rare. Recent violence in the State usually has been aimed at school integration, notably in Mansfield. There have been occasional reports of local discrimination against potential Negro voters, generally in the form of a segment of the white population playing on the ignorance of the poorly educated among the Negroes—to imply, for example, that property taxes must have been paid to vote. But, by and large, the poll tax remains the only obvious deterrent.

Virginia

While discrimination in applying provisions of the Virginia poll tax and registration law is not found generally in that State, nevertheless it has been reported in certain counties and a few cities. Some Negro leaders feel that poorer white citizens often experience the same difficulties as do Negroes.

The poll tax can be an effective barrier for the politically uninformed, the educationally handicapped, and the socially disadvantaged. Just the use of words confuses many of the poorly educated who often do not know that in paying their Virginia capitation tax they have paid their poll taxes. Some tax collectors reportedly have discouraged voting by telling Negroes they do not have to pay poll taxes. Many Negroes have reported they did not receive poll-tax bills along with their property-tax notices, as did their fellow white citizens. These and similar methods have been employed to discourage Negroes from paying their poll taxes in some counties and it often seems that only those who know the legal requirements and insist on paying can win their right to register.

As for registration itself, Negroes sometimes encounter further barriers in Virginia. The same discriminatory methods of administering literacy tests found in other States turn up here and there in the State, where in some counties Negroes have to meet all the technical requirements of grammar, punctuation, and handwriting in filling out their application forms; they alone are given reading or education tests, or have to complete printed forms containing legal phraseology. Some white registrars will see white applicants at any time but are busy or ill or do not have their books when Negroes appear. When registrars operate in their homes, this presents a particular problem because of the long-standing southern custom of Negroes appearing in white homes only in a servant capacity.

Florida

In 1940, Florida had 51 counties with no Negroes registered, by 1946, only 4, and 10 years later only 2. However, the number of counties in which Negroes are registered gives an exaggerated picture of the extent of Negro registration. In some counties Negro electors constitute a small proportion of those on the voting lists. This is seen, for example, in the following counties:

County	Negro population over 21	Negro percentage of total population	Number of Negroes registered, 1956
Flagler	872	45.6	13
Gadsden	10,930	56.1	3
Liberty	333	18.1	1
Taylor	1,945	30.5	77

In the counties where Negro suffrage is limited most sharply, fear is a major deterring factor. In parts of the State, indirect methods are used to discourage Negro voters and the open threat has been reported, too. In one county, the first Negro registrants in history were subjected to several forms of intimidation—cross burnings, bomb-throwings and shots fired into their homes. All but one of the registrants in this county withdrew their names from the rolls.

In another Florida county, in the plantation section, it was reported that Negroes, most of whom live in rural areas, are not permitted in the business district on election day. In still another county one supervisor of registration has told Negro applicants, "Come on in and register," while sitting with his legs stretched across the door. Other Negroes complained that loungers around a courthouse told them, "Go ahead and register if you can take what comes afterward."

Georgia

Field studies were made in a number of Georgia counties representative of the various subregional areas of the State. One of these is Early, located in the extreme southwest portion of Georgia on the Alabama line. It is in a cluster of counties considered the hard core of the State in terms of resistance to integration. In such counties as Early, Miller, Seminole, and Decatur, the Negro population is from 30 to 50 percent of the total. In other southwest counties such as Clay, Calhoun, Baker, Dougherty, Quitman, Randolph, Terrell, Lee, Sumter, Webster, and Stewart, the Negro percentage of the total population is over 50 percent. The means of excluding Negroes as registrants in these counties is similar to that reported in other areas of the South. In some, there is the ever present threat of racial violence, which erupts on occasions. Often, police brutality against Negroes indicates to them they cannot depend upon law enforcement authorities to offer them protection if they try to vote. In recent years, economic pressures have been directed against Negroes militant enough to demand educational and political equality.

In some instances, Georgia sheriffs, instead of the boards of registrars, question prospective Negro registrants about the Constitution. Sheriffs, being white and also the "law," Negro applicants thus receive two warnings at one time.

In Early County, only 226 Negroes of the 4,790 over 18 (the legal voting age in Georgia) are registered. Many others who went to the courthouse to register said they later were summoned to appear there before the board of registrars to answer questions. The majority of those who showed up were disqualified and those who did not were removed from the list automatically. This is an effective method of disqualifying Negroes there who often think of going to the courthouse for any reason with misgiving. They know they are not expected to drive their cars up to the courthouse square to park.

Separate ballot boxes for white and Negro votes continue in use in many Georgia counties. This practice of separating ballots on a racial basis is an indirect technique of disfranchising some of the Negro voters who are unwilling to take a chance on having white persons discover how they voted.

Often, racial incidents have an effect both in the community involved and in adjacent counties. There is disagreement on the extent to which they deter registration, but fear of violence is bound to condition the thoughts and actions of some. In Walton County, Ga., many Negroes interviewed said there is more fear of lynching outside the county than inside. This county was the scene of an unsolved daylight lynching in 1946 of 4 Negroes—2 men and 2 women, 1 of whom was pregnant. One Negro in Walton said he did not think that Negroes generally are afraid to register there. He added that the so-called leading Negroes are afraid but the Negro working by the day isn't. Negro teachers and ministers seem to be afraid because of what they may lose; but what it is, I don't know."

Arkansas

In Arkansas, on rare occasions, clerks in the sheriff's office may tend to discourage poll-tax payments through various means of discourtesy. For the most part, however, the poll tax is more important in Arkansas as a source of revenue than as a device for the disfranchisement of the Negro. In 1956, voters rejected an amendment to repeal it. Some important Negro leaders opposed its abolition. They believed that if the State dropped the poll tax it might adopt registration procedures requiring the filling out of forms or answering of questions and that Negroes then would experience far more difficulty than at present.

Mississippi

Finally, Mississippi. All forms of violence, intimidation and discrimination reported from other States were found here. Where other sections usually rely on 1 or 2 means of limiting Negro registration, Mississippi, home of the White Citizens Council, apparently uses them all. As a result, the State which has the highest percentage of Negroes in the country has the lowest percentage registered. Only 4 percent were on the list of qualified voters in 1955, although Negroes make up 41 percent of the total population of voting age.

In the 13 Mississippi counties listed as having a population of more than 50-percent Negro, a total of 14 votes was cast in the 3 elections on which information was available for 1954. Five of the counties had no Negroes qualified and 3 had 1 registered who never voted. In the 7 counties having more than 60-percent Negro population, 2 votes were cast by Negroes in 1954.

Violence, threats, and economic reprisals discouraged Negroes interested in voting in Mississippi. Some instances were publicized but it may reasonably be supposed that others went unreported. In 1955 alone, a string of reports of brutality and illegal tactics came out of the State.

In the early spring of that year, Gus Courts, a Negro grocer at Belzoni, Miss., was told to move from his home and withdraw his name as president of the local NAACP chapter. He was forced to move his grocery store and advised to remove his name from the voting rolls. He refused; and, in November 1955, he was shot and seriously wounded by a group of men in a car who fired into his store.

Recovering from his wounds, Courts told a reporter: "I've known for a long time it was coming, and I'd tried to get prepared in my mind for it. But that's a hard thing to do when you know they're going to try to slip up and steal your life in the night and not in the bright. It's bad when you know you might get shot just walking around in your store. That's a hard kind of life to lead."

Courts was puzzled as to why anyone would want to shoot him for, "I've never been a troublemaker and I've never had on handcuffs. I'm 65 years old and I've never had the vote. That's all I wanted."

Courts' predecessor as NAACP president in Belzoni, the Rev. George Washington Lee, was killed May 7, 1954. The United Press, in a story from Belzoni on the Courts shooting, gave this background on the Lee death:

"The Reverend Lee was shot, allegedly on the day he refused a request from a white citizen that he remove his name from the voters' registration list. In that death, first of three race killings in Mississippi this year, Lee reportedly was driving down a Belzoni street when a car in which two white men and a Negro were riding suddenly came from behind and a shotgun blast shattered the Negro's car."

A coroner's inquest returned a verdict of accidental death and made no reference to the wounds in the dead man's face.

Other incidents in Mississippi in 1955, as reported by wire services and newspapers: T. V. Johnson, Belzoni Negro undertaker, was told to remove his name from the voting rolls if he desired continued credit; the Rev. James Hargroves fled the State after he was threatened with the fate of the Reverend Lee if he continued to work for the NAACP. In August, Lamar Smith, a Lincoln County Negro, was shot fatally; no indictment was returned, although reports indicated there were several witnesses to the shooting. Elsewhere, the home of a Negro leader was fired upon, and crosses were burned in front of the homes of two others. There were additional instances of violence against Negroes for activities other than voting.

If, despite the harassment and brutality, Negroes still try to vote in Mississippi, there is the State's registration law to act as a deterrent. The rigid education test, the essay on citizenship, all the requirements of the tighter registration law passed in 1954, present innumerable opportunities for the white registrar opposed to Negro registration.

LEGAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC FACTORS

The legal weapon most widely used in the South to discourage Negro registration is some form of literacy or constitutional interpretation test.

This weapon is the successor to the white primary—long the most effective method of restricting voting. Another weapon effective in the past, the poll tax, also has lost much of its sting with increased economic opportunity. Today only five States retain the poll tax—Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia.

Some of the requirements in Southern States based on literacy or constitutional interpretation tests include:

Alabama

In addition to the usual basic qualification, the Voters Qualification Amendment of

1951 provides: "The following persons * * * shall be qualified to register * * * those who can read and write any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language which may be submitted to them by the board of registrars, provided, however, that no person shall be entitled to register as electors except those who are of good character and who embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship under the Constitution of the United States and under the constitution of the State of Alabama, and provided, further that * * * each applicant shall be furnished * * * a written questionnaire * * *. Such questionnaire shall be answered in writing by the applicant, in the presence of the board without assistance."

Georgia

A registrant must be able to read correctly in English any paragraph of the State or United States Constitution and correctly write the same when read to him. Only those unable to read or write because of physical inability may qualify if they can understand and give a reasonable interpretation of constitutional sections read to them. There is a property alternative: 40 acres of land in the State on which an elector resides or property in the State assessed for taxation at $500 or more.

Mississippi

In 1954, Mississippi voters approved a constitutional amendment tightening the State's registration law. It makes ability to read and write a prerequisite; before that, an applicant could register if able to read or understand the Constitution when read to him. In addition to literacy, the amendment requires a new applicant to satisfy the county registrar as to his knowledge of citizenship under a constitutional form of government and to state why he feels he should be given the right to vote and what it means to him. Applicants are to write their own statements without aid.

Virginia

Unless physically unable, the prospective voter must apply to the registrar in his own handwriting, without aid, in the presence of the registrar, stating therein his name, age, date and place of birth, residence and occupation at the time and for the 1 year next preceding and whether he has voted previously and, if so, the State, county, and precinct in which he voted last. Also, he must answer on oath any questions affecting his qualifications as an elector, submitted to him by the registrar; questions and his answers must be reduced to writing, certified by the said officer and preserved as part of his official records.

South Carolina

A registrant must be able to "read and write" any section of the State constitution. An alternative is ownership and payment of taxes for the previous year on property in the State assessed at $300 or more.

Arkansas

Except for the usual requirements of age and residence, the one dollar, noncumulative poll tax is the only requirement for voting. Members of the Armed Forces are exempt. Certain adults are required by law to possess a poll tax receipt: those receiving wages, salaries, or other compensation paid from public funds (this includes white and Negro teachers) and those who apply for a license or permit from the State.

Louisiana

A prospective voter must be able to read and write and understand the duties and obligations of citizenship "under a republican form of government." Also, he must be able to read any clause in the State or United States Constitution and give interpretation satisfactory to the registrar. If he is unable to read or write, the applicant is entitled to register if he is a person of good character and reputation, attached to the principles of the Louisiana and United States Constitutions and if he is able to interpret any section of either. If an applicant is unable to read or write due to a physical disability, then the foregoing requirements may be waived. However, such an applicant must be accompanied by two witnesses who are registered voters from the applicant's precinct. No person may be a witness for more than two applicants.

North Carolina

Prospective voters must be able to read and write any section of the Constitution to the satisfaction of the registrar, who may have the applicant copy indicated sections of the State constitution or may dictate any section he chooses.

With such broad discretion left to registrars it is easy to see why Negroes may find it almost impossible to qualify in one county and comparatively easy in the next. In the last analysis, a Negro's ability to vote in a State with a literacy law still often depends on an individual registrar's sense of justice—or prejudice.

Socioeconomic factors also operate in determining the number of Negroes who vote. Racial, economic, and social patterns of any southern community exert a powerful influence on Negro registration.

Statistics on education, urbanization, farm tenancy, income, and racial composition help paint a fairly accurate picture of why Negro registration is above or below average.

Relatively few Negroes are likely to be registered in counties where they make up a large proportion of the population, in counties where education and income medians are low, and in counties that are predominantly agricultural and have a high rate of farm tenancy.

At the same time, in counties where Negroes comprise a large part of the population, white registration tends to be above normal.

Negroes are more likely to be registered in counties where they represent a small percentage of the total population, where they are better educated, are less dependent on the whims of white landlords and employers and are in a sounder economic position generally.

There are exceptions to these generalizations, of course; but Georgia presents a fairly typical picture.

In Georgia's 157 counties with Negro population of voting age, the median percentage of eligible Negroes registered is 25. However, the range of the registration figures is wide.

In only five Georgia counties does the number of Negro registrants exceed the number of white registrants, although there are more Negroes than whites of voting age in 27 counties.

The population ratio and its effect on voting is strikingly shown in Georgia figures. In counties where the percentage of Negroes in the population is below the State average, 69 percent show Negro registration above the State median; 68 percent of the counties above the State average in Negro population are below the median in Negro registration. The association is even more marked in counties with a population over half Negro—80 percent of these fall below the median in Negro registration.

The relationship between education and political participation also turned up in the Georgia survey. In counties where Negroes rank above the State median in the number of school years completed, 89 percent also are high in Negro registration. By contrast, only 37 percent of the counties below the median in Negro educational attainment have high registration figures.

As to the significance of economic factors, it is found that of the Georgia counties having median family income above the State figure of $1,130, 61 percent have high Negro registration. In counties below the median income level, only 35 percent are high in the number of Negroes qualified to vote. In short, Negro registration tends to increase along with overall income.

Also, there is a tendency in Georgia for predominantly industrial counties to rank higher in Negro registration than those primarily agricultural. Among counties in which farm income exceeds manufacturing income, 37 percent are high in Negro registration, as contrasted with 58 percent in counties where manufacturing exceeds agricultural income.

The agricultural counties in Georgia deriving more farm income from livestock, dairying, and poultry are somewhat higher in the percentage of Negroes registered than those in which the income stems largely from row crops. Also, there is a definite relationship between tenancy and registration. Among the Georgia agricultural counties which exceed the State average in the number of farms operated by tenants, only 34 percent have high registration figures, but among the counties below the State average in tenancy, 63 percent rank high in Negro registration.

Social and economic factors which influence Negro registration in Georgia apply in large measure over much of the South.

438693—63815

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1957

File - VEP

THE EFFECTS OF FEDERAL EXAMINERS AND ORGANIZED REGISTRATION CAMPAIGNS ON NEGRO VOTER REGISTRATION

- - -

A SPECIAL REPORT

OF

THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

OF THE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

- - -

JULY, 1966

To what extent do federal examiners influence the level of Negro voter registration in the Southern counties to which they are assigned? What is the effect of organized registration campaigns, particularly those assisted by the Voter Education Project?

A study by the Voter Education Project seeks to answer these questions. Registration figures were compared for counties with federal examiners, with VEP programs, with both, and with neither.

The results follow a predictable pattern. Highest Negro registration figures are found in those counties with both federal examiners and VEP-assisted programs. Next comes counties with federal examiners, followed by counties with VEP programs. Lowest registration levels are found in those counties with neither.

As of late June, federal examiners had been assigned in 41 counties in four states. They had registered a total of 122,905 persons. No federal examiners have been assigned in Georgia or Virginia or in 26 North Carolina counties which come under provisions of the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

At the time of the comparisons, there were only two counties in Mississippi with VEP-affiliated programs. Mississippi counties with neither were selected at random from various sections of the state. Alabama and South Carolina counties were chosen from the area immediately surrounding counties with federal examiners and VEP programs.

Urban counties were excluded because these counties generally have long-standing registration programs and other special histories which set them apart from rural counties. Louisiana was not included for lack of recent and adequate parish-by-parish registration figures. Federal examiners have been assigned to five Louisiana parishes.

Georgia furnishes a state example of low Negro registration where no federal examiners are present. Georgia's Negro registration is second lowest at 43.1 per cent of the Negro voting age population. In the adjoining states of Alabama and South Carolina, the figures are 48.9 per cent and 50.3 per cent respectively. Mississippi has the lowest Negro registration: 30.9 per cent of the voting age population.

The Voter Education Project assists, through small grants, programs of registration, citizenship education and leadership training in 11 Southern states. For further information about the attached tables, contact Marvin Wall, research director, Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303,

(Area Code 404, 577-2986).

ALABAMA

BOTH	Negro Registration	Voting Age Population	Per Cent Registered
Hale	3,940	5,999	
Perry	3,719	5,202	
Marengo	5,535	7,791	
	13,194	18,992	69.5

FEDERAL EXAMINERS			
Greene	3,801	5,001	
Wilcox	3,932	6,085	
Lowndes	2,353	5,122	
Dallas	10,260	15,115	
Elmore	2,717	4,808	
Autauga	2,275	3,651	
	25,338	39,782	63.7

VEP			
Sumter	3,369	6,814	
Choctaw	2,971	3,982	
Conecuh	1,822	3,635	
Barbour	3,487	5,787	
	11,649	20,218	57.6

NEITHER			
Clarke	2,495	5,833	
Monroe	2,380	4,894	
Butler	1,731	4,820	
Pike	3,015	5,259	
Bullock	2,980	4,450	
Russell	3,901	10,531	
Washington	1,403	2,297	
Crenshaw	1,210	2,207	
Escambia	1,755	5,685	
	20,870	45,976	45.4

MISSISSIPPI

BOTH	Negro Registration	Voting Age Population	Per Cent Registered
Coahoma	7,553	14,604	51.7
FEDERAL EXAMINERS			
Leflore	6,868	13,567	
Neshoba	904	2,565	
Jones	2,568	7,427	
Jefferson	3,038	3,540	
Claiborne	1,937	3,969	
Holmes	4,891	8,757	
Carroll	1,036	2,704	
DeSoto	1,825	6,246	
Madison	5,871	10,366	
Jeff Davis	1,843	3,222	
Benton	942	1,419	
Clay	1,624	4,444	
Humphreys	787	5,561	
Walthall	1,328	4,540	
Newton	1,075	3,018	
Simpson	882	3,186	
Warren	5,116	10,726	

	Negro Registration	Voting Age Population	Per Cent Registered
Jasper	721	3,675	
Noxubee	1,461	5,172	
Rankin	1,503	6,944	
Winston	1,003	3,611	.?
	47,223	114,659	41.2
VEP PROGRAM			
Issaquena	377	1,081	34.9
NEITHER			
Lincoln	392	3,913	
Panola	2,186	7,250	
Sunflower	2,059	13,524	
Attala	866	4,262	
Amite	847	3,560	
Alcorn	139	1,756	
Franklin	338	1,842	
Sharkey	398	3,152	
Washington	4,811	20,619	
Pontotoc	243	1,519	
Choctaw	159	1,105	
Harrison	3,482	9,670	
Lauderdale	5,306	11,924	

Continued -3- (Mississippi)

Lowndes	1,260	8,362	
Pike	2,090	6,936	
Tunica	468	5,822	
Wilkinson	597	4,120	
Adams	5,829	9,340	
Montgomery	67	2,627	
George	115	580	
Yazoo	1,051	8,719	
Lee	709	5,130	
Stone	101	868	
Scott	664	3,752	
Lafayette	775	3,239	
Quitman	1,238	5,673	
	36,190	149,264	24.2

SOUTH CAROLINA

	Negro Registration	Voting Age Population	Per Cent Registered
BOTH			
Clarendon	5,182	7,735	67.0
FEDERAL EXAMINER			
Dorchester	3,836	5,370	71.4
VEP			
Williamsburg	5,356	10,535	
Sumter	7,791	15,380	
Beaufort	3,963	7,247	
	17,110	33,162	51.6
NEITHER			
Georgetown	4,119	7,173	
Orangeburg	8,289	17,355	
Bamberg	1,332	3,807	
Barnwell	1,759	3,242	
Lee	2,554	5,446	
	18,053	37,023	48.8

FOR RELEASE

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WEDNESDAY

DECEMBER 14, 1966

WHAT HAPPENED IN THE SOUTH, 1966

Despite the much-publicized evidence of "white backlash" in the 1966 November elections, the growing Negro vote proved itself a major factor in elections across the South.

This was the finding in a post-election survey conducted during November by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council.

Election results gathered by VEP in 11 Southern states show that Negroes supplied the winning margin for a U. S. senator, one and probably two governors, and at least two U. S. House members.

In addition, Negro voters helped throw the two party nominees in the Georgia governor's race into a deadlock. And they helped a Senate newcomer to outpoll an established political name in separate Senate races in Virginia.

Twenty Negroes were elected to state legislatures in the South---an increase of nine. And Negroes were elected to county-level posts --- in one case, to the office of sheriff--- in such Deep South states as Georgia, Louisiana, Alabama and Mississippi.

The Negro vote clearly provided the margin for Winthrop Rockefeller's election as governor of Arkansas. The Republican candidate received approximately 300,000 votes. The Democratic candidate, ardent segregationist Jim Johnson, got about 255,000 votes.

WHAT HAPPENED IN THE SOUTH, 1966 -- 2.

An estimated 80,000 to 90,000 Negroes voted, more than 90 per cent of them for Rockefeller. Thus Negroes supplied Rockefeller's margin of 45,000, with plenty to spare.

Negro registration in Arkansas is estimated at between 115,000 and 120,000. If the turnout is put at 80,000, which VEP sources say would be a conservative figure, this would be two thirds of the registration.

Negro voters in South Carolina plainly provided the margin for a U. S. senator and probably for a governor.

Ernest F. (Fritz) Hollings was elected to the Senate over Republican candidate Marshall J. Parker by a mere 12,000 votes. Gov. Robert E. McNair defeated Republican challenger Joseph O. Rogers Jr. by a more comfortable 72,000 votes.

The Negro turnout was estimated at 100,000---just over half the Negro registration of 191,000. The Negro vote went almost totally Democratic.

Bucking the tide was Sen. Strom Thurmond, a Republican who won reelection by over 100,000 votes despite the solidly Democratic Negro vote.

All the same, wrote one Carolina newsman: "One, and only one, general conclusion appears possible: Neither party can win statewide or congressional races in South Carolina without Negro voting support."

Commenting on his race, Hollings said Parker "generated the Negro bloc vote, insulted them on the basis that they could be bought" and thus "corralled them into my corner."

In North Carolina's Fifth Congressional District, Negroes provided the victory margin for Democrat Nick Galifianakis over Republican G. Fred Steele Jr. Returns from eight predominantly Negro precincts in Forsyth County gave Galifianakis 5,156 votes to Steele's 284. Four predominantly Negro precincts in Durham County gave Galifianakis 2,400 and Steele 163. Galifianakis won by 5,300 votes.

In the Sixth Congressional District, Rep. Horace R. Kornegay found himself in a tight race as Greensboro Negroes switched their support on election eve to Republican Richard B. Barnwell. Kornegay, considered a solid favorite, had his victory margin trimmed to fewer than 2,700 votes. Kornegay has voted consistently against civil rights and Great Society programs.

Negroes provided the margin for Democrat Ray Blanton over Republican Julius Hurst in West Tennessee's Seventh Congressional District. Blanton won by about 2,700 votes, despite the fact that the district went for Republican Howard Baker in the U. S. Senate race by 3,000 votes. Nine predominantly Negro precincts in Memphis gave Blanton 7,824 votes to Hurst's 353.

Baker sought Negro support in his race against Democrat Frank Clement and thus cut into the latter's vote total across the state. Baker won decisively by 100,000 votes. Clement had edged Sen. Ross Bass in the Democratic primary by drawing away some Negro support from Bass in a close contest.

In Memphis, in the Ninth Congressional District, redistricting and a non-presidential year drop-off in the Negro turnout caused Rep. George W. Grider to lose to conservative Republican Dan Kuykendall. Grider lost by 4,000 votes.

Six Negroes were elected to the Tennessee Legislature ---an increase of five. Three are from Memphis, two from Nashville, and one from Knoxville. The latter was the only Democrat elected to Knox County's eight-man legislative delegation.

Returns from selected precincts indicated that about half of Georgia's 300,000 registered Negroes voted. Their votes were split about evenly between Republican Howard (Bo) Callaway and write-in candidate Ellis Arnall. Reports indicate that thousands of write-in votes were not counted because of misspellings and other technicalities.

Arch-segregationist Democrat Lester Maddox received a scattering of Negro votes. In some areas he was the beneficiary of straight-party voting, as was Mrs. Wallace in Alabama.

Neither Callaway nor Maddox received the required majority, and the whole issue immediately landed in the courts. Callaway got 451,032 votes and Maddox 448,598, with the Arnall write-in campaign receiving 57,832. However, Arnall leaders contended that only about half the write-in votes actually got counted and reported.

Negroes won 11 seats in the Georgia Legislature---an increase of one. The new legislator is from Augusta. The total includes Julian Bond of Atlanta, who again was elected to the seat that had been denied him by the Georgia House.

Negro county commission candidates were elected in Liberty, McIntosh and Hancock counties. In addition, a Negro was elected to the school board in Hancock County, which in the general election became the first Georgia county to have federal poll watchers.

Three Negroes were elected to the Legislature in Texas ---two in Houston and one in Dallas. One, Miss Barbara Jordan, a Houston attorney, was elected to the Senate. They are the first Negroes to be elected to the Texas Legislature in this century.

Alabama Negroes, faced with choosing between two segregationists who were the major candidates in the governor's race, did not turn out as heavily as they did in the May primaries. Returns from selected precincts and counties indicate that, in most cases, the Negro turnout was less than half the registration. The May 3 turnout was estimated at 74 per cent. Negro registration in Alabama stands at just under 250,000.

With no clear choice to make between the two major candidates, Negroes divided their votes between Democrat Lurleen Wallace, Republican Jim Martin, and independent Carl Robinson. Mrs. Wallace, wife of Alabama's stormy outgoing

governor, was an easy winner with more than 500,000 votes. Martin polled 252,000 votes and Robinson 46,000. In some areas Martin ran ahead in predominantly Negro boxes and in others Mrs. Wallace did. But in many cases, the front-runner among Negroes was the third candidate, Robinson.

In the Senate race, Negroes voted heavily for Sen. John Sparkman over Republican John Grenier. Sparkman won handily, 482,000 to 313,000.

Five Negroes were elected to office in Black Belt counties. Among them was Lucius Amerson, who turned back a write-in effort to be elected sheriff of Macon County.

In Dallas County, meanwhile, Sheriff Jim Clark's write-in campaign also failed. Clark, one of the nation's better-known segregationists, had been defeated in the May primaries by Wilson Baker, who had the help of Negro votes. Baker narrowly defeated Clark's general election write-in try.

In Lowndes County, an outnumbered but unified white vote prevailed over the independent Lowndes County Freedom Party ("Black Panther") slate. A light Negro turn-out and the fact that some Negroes voted for white candidates contributed to the defeat of the "Black Panther" slate. A 53-year old Negro was assaulted in Lowndes, it was reported, as he waited to pick up an election clerk. There were charges that intimidation kept some Negroes from voting.

State Senator William B. Spong coasted to an easy victory in one of two Virginia contests for the U. S. Senate. Spong amassed about 425,000 votes, against some 243,000 for his Republican challenger and 58,000 for the Conservative candidate.

In Virginia's other U. S. Senate race Harry F. Byrd Jr. won. However, Byrd ran considerably behind Spong with 383,000 votes. Spong had more than 58 per cent of the vote in his race, whereas Byrd had 54 per cent in his.

At least part of the difference is explained by the Negro support Spong received. Many Negroes who supported Spong voted for Byrd's Republican opponent, Lawrence M. Traylor.

With Negro support, Spong narrowly defeated Sen. Willis Robertson during the summer for the Democratic nomination.

However, George C. Rawlings Jr., who last summer unseated congressional powerhouse Howard W. Smith with the help of Negro votes, was defeated in the general election by Republican William L. Scott in Virginia's Eighth District. Smith supporters teamed with Republicans to down Rawlings. Scott called it a "bipartisan victory," but he added that "many factors" were involved.

Similarly, Republican Claude Kirk was elected governor of Florida with the help of Gov. Haydon Burns, the incumbent Democrat who was defeated in the primary. Kirk rolled up 821,000 votes against Robert King High's 668,000.

"White backlash" undoubtedly helped Kirk. Florida voters last May rejected Burns' suggestion that they "follow the lead of the people of Alabama" after the big Wallace landslide. However, they proved more receptive to Kirk's somewhat more subtle position that "a man's home is his castle."

An estimated 50,000 to 55,000 Mississippi Negroes voted, out of approximately 170,000 registered. Their votes in the U. S. Senate race were split among Freedom Democratic Party-backed Clifton Whitley, Republican Prentiss Walker, and Democratic incumbent James O. Eastland. Sen. Eastland was reelected with about 230,000 votes, against Walker's 94,000 and Whitley's 28,000.

A Negro was elected to the school board in Jefferson County, becoming the first of his race to be elected to a county office in Mississippi since Reconstruction. A member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, he downed a white candidate by a vote of 225 to 133. Negro candidates running in another half-dozen counties were

defeated. A Negro led a field of six in a race for supervisor in Leflore County, but he lost a runoff election in late November.

Louisiana Negroes gave heavy support---as did the state generally---to a proposal to permit Gov. John J. McKeithen to run for reelection in the 1967 elections. The amendment won by a vote of 436,761 to 192,819. Despite the lack of major statewide contests, a sampling of several Negro precincts indicated turnouts in the 50-60 per cent range.

A Negro was elected to the school board in West Feliciana Parish. However, a white write-in campaign defeated a Negro nominee for the school board in Madison Parish. Negroes had been elected during the summer to school boards in East Carroll and Iberville parishes. A Negro candidate also had been elected during the summer in West Feliciana.

Here and there across the South, racially conservative Republicans continued to nudge out moderate and liberal Democrats in congressional races. However, of seven Deep South Republicans who rode the Goldwater tide to victory in 1964, only three were reelected, all in Alabama. Three of the GOP congressmen---Callaway in Georgia, Martin in Alabama, and Walker in Mississippi---sought higher office, and one Republican incumbent in Alabama was defeated. The Callaway race is still undecided, and the Martin and Walker bids were unsuccessful.

Negro registration in 11 Southern states now stands at 2.7 million. In 1962 it was 1.5 million; in 1964, 2.2 million. Current white registration in the South is approximately 14.4 million.

In the 1964 presidential election, four of the six Southern states carried by Mr. Johnson would have gone to Sen. Goldwater if it had not been for the Negro vote. The five Southern states carried by Sen. Goldwater were those in which Negro registration was at or below the regional level.

Said Vernon E. Jordan Jr., director of the Voter Education Project:

"The results of the 1966 elections plainly indicate the strength and influence of the Negro vote in the South. Yet this strength is far from what it ought to be. Only about half of the Negroes of voting age are registered in the South, whereas 70 per cent of the white adults are registered to vote. This is a gap that must be closed if Negroes are to have a fair share of the voice in Southern politics.

"The results also reflect, in several states, the impact of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. As we stated on the first anniversary of the Act last August, the registration increases of the past year demonstrate the need for more federal examiners. This applies to the three affected states to which examiners have not been sent and to many counties in the four states to which examiners have been sent.

"The results also indicate the value of countless private efforts to stimulate registration and voting in the South. In that connection, the Voter Education Project is pleased to report that programs with which it has been associated have registered 100,000 voters during the year now ending."

The Voter Education Project, a program of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., supports projects of voter registration, citizenship education and leadership training in the 11 Southern states.

The Voter Education Project is nonpartisan and endorses no parties or candidates. Mr. Jordan pointed out that voting in the South often crosses racial lines, with Negroes supporting white candidates in some races and whites supporting Negroes in others. He also pointed out that the 1966 elections again demonstrated that Negroes will vote freely across party lines, basing their choices on the stands of candidates rather than on party affiliation.

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

Comm

January 3, 1967

Dr. Emory Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emory:

Thank you again for your valuable contribution to our legislative seminar. You may be interested to know that at the conclusion of the meeting the legislators rose unanimously to vote that a similar program be held prior to the legislative season next year. This was, in large measure, a tribute to the part you and the several other speakers played in making the seminar a success.

Again, we are grateful, and we wish you a pleasant and prosperous 1967.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project

VEJ/pf

File - VEP

Bessemer Voters League

Mrs. L. J. Bowman White, Secretary
No. 4, Green Spring S. W. Phone AL 4-2796
Birmingham, Alabama

MR. ASBURY HOWARD, President
REV. LEON GLOVER, 1st Vice President
MR. CHARLIE McALPIN, 2nd Vice President
MRS. HELEN COOLEY, Assistant Secretary
MRS. PEARL SMITH, Treasurer
REV. G. W. SLONE, Chaplain

June 20, 1967

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director of Labor
5 Forsyth St. N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Enclosed is a letter to Director Jordan and some material from the Bessemer Voters' League which was paid by the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union. As Vice-President of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, I have been successful in getting Mine, Mill's Executive Board to pay the greater part of the operating expense of the Bessemer Voters' League. As of now, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers is affiliated with the United Steel Workers of America, and we will merge beginning July 1st. My home station is now in Denver, Colorado,. As of July 1st I will be with the United Steel Workers of America and my home station will be in Bessemer. I have been President of the Bessemer Voters' League for seventeen (17) consecutive years.

I am seeking the Labors support in the expansion of our activities. The expansion of our Registration Drive for the Bessemer Voters' League will be in the following counties where there are no organizations and co-ordinate our work in the Fifth Congressional District with the existing organizations. The counties are as follows: Bibb, Perry, Hale, Sumpter, Chilton, Green, Marengo, Shelby, Pickens, Tuscaloosa, and the Bessemer Cut-off.

It would be greatly appreciated if Labor can assist in both financial help and guidance. It would also be greatly appreciated if you would send a field representative from your office to secure first hand information on what we have done and are planning to do.

Very truly yours,

Asbury Howard

(Mr.) Asbury Howard

AH/cc

cc: Mr. Vernon E. Jordan

June 20, 1967

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director of Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Enclosed is some information of the progress and state information we have furnished a portion of Jefferson County and especially the Bessemer Cut-off. You will note a "Dear Leader Letter" which is self-explanatory. We are beginning our special registration drive of which we are expecting to reach our stated goal of 500 new voters in the nine (9) days that the Jefferson County Board of Registrars will be in Bessemer We are beginning this drive with a Six Hundred ($600.00) Dollar office deficit, but we feel that someway some friends or organizations will help us. We are very grateful for the assistance of Mr. W. T. Patton gave to the Bessemer Cut-off the month of March and April. I feel and know that if we in the Bessemer Cut-off sponsor our own Registration Drive, we would achieve greater success.

As you know, the Bessemer Cut-off is in the Western part of Jefferson County. In Jefferson County we have two (2) court houses; one located in Birmingham and one in Bessemer. In the Bessemer court house we elect our own officials. It is the intention of the Bessemer Voters' League to expand our Registration Drive in the counties where there are no organizations and co-ordinate our work in the Fifth Congressional District with the existing organizations. The counties are as follows: Bibb, Chilton, Pickens, Green, Hale, Perry, Shelby, Marengo, Sumpter, Tuscaloosa and the Bessemer Cut-off.

If it is at all possible, we would like to solicit your financial help and guidance in this undertaking. We would like for you to send a field representative from your office to get further information and to evaluate the work that we have done and are planning to do. The Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers has been paying a large part of the operation for the Bessemer Voters' League including the enclosed material. As of June 30th, Mine, Mill as such will no longer be in existence and as of July 1st Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union will merge with the United Steel Workers of America.

Very Truly yours,

Asbury Howard

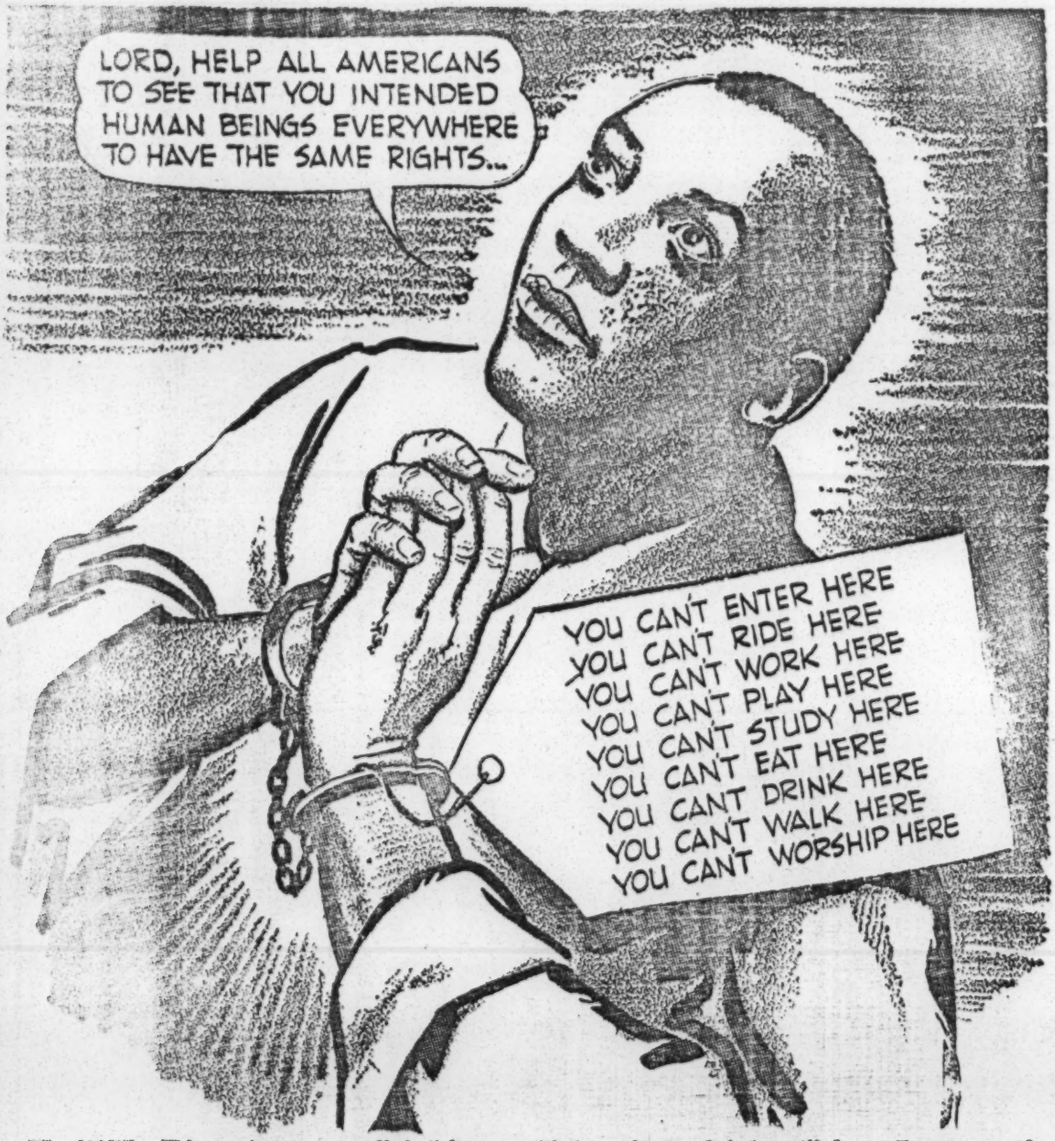
(Mr.) Asbury Howard

AH/cc
cc: Mr. Emery F. Via
Mr. Thaddeus Olive, Jr.

From Cold Prison Walls

Asbury Howard Haunts America

Hands That Can Still Pray



ED. NOTE: **This cartoon was called "obscene, libelous, low and indecent" by a Bessemer, Ala. court and caused the author, Asbury Howard, civic and Labor leader, to be beaten by a mob and thrown into an Alabama chain gang.**

"I have been aware that sooner or later I'd be 'in trouble' with the white powers-that-be. . . Almost any Negro in the South has been forced to decide that if he fights for his rights he may risk even death. . . I am convinced that the mob which beat and kicked me and screamed insults had become aware that their system is a lost cause."

—from Asbury Howard in a Bessemer jail

Doing President Eisenhower's Bidding

This is the story of a man who was thrown into jail for doing something President Eisenhower has urged every American citizen to do.

Doesn't make sense, does it?

Not only was this man thrown into jail, he was made an example, to warn others like him not to take the President's words seriously. To make sure the example was known, widely and thoroughly, the

man first was beaten by a mob right in the city hall while the police looked on and did nothing. **Later, after the stitches had been removed from his scalp, he was thrown into jail and assigned to a work gang on the city streets. He is seen every day of his six-month sentence; the example is not lost on anyone in town.**

As a Negro who believes in a fair deal for all people, he became a leader in the Bessemer chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, holding the office of vice president, when that organization was "legally" banned in his state.

As an American who takes his citizenship seriously, he became president of the Bessemer Voters League, an organization of Negroes dedicated to winning the right to vote. As President of the League, he did what is done by every office holder from President Eisenhower down to the village Justice of the Peace, by every editor — he talked about the right and duty of everyone to register and vote. **But, true to form, he did something more than talk; he took action to overcome fear, to encourage Negroes to pay their poll tax and to vote. He hired a sign painter** (who happened to be white) **to make a poster of the cartoon reproduced on the front of this folder.**

WHAT HAPPENED

Here is what happened after that:

JANUARY 22, 1959: Before the sign was even delivered, police, acting without warrants, arrested Mr. Howard and the sign painter, Mr. McAllister. They were charged with printing "obscene matter" and "breach of the peace".

January 25

FEBRUARY 23: Howard and McAllister appeared on these ridiculous charges, were convicted, and each sentenced to six months in jail and $105 fine. They appealed the convictions.

As Mr. Howard was descending the city hall steps after the trial, with his wife and son, he was attacked by a mob of some 40 white men, who beat and kicked him while police and city officials looked on and did nothing. His body was a mass of bruises; 11 stitches were taken in his scalp.

Asbury Howard, Jr., a Korean war veteran, tried to defend his father. For this, he was arrested, charged with "disturbing the peace" and "resisting arrest". None of the mob was arrested.

FEBRUARY 23 Howard and McAllister appeared in court on their appeals. These were denied; bail was revoked; they were thrown into jail. Half an hour later, Asbury Howard, Sr., was in a work gang on the city streets.

Several weeks later Asbury Howard Jr. appeared in the same court to face charges placed against him as a result of his having come to the defense of his father against the mob attack. He was found guilty of the two charges and given a sentence of six months and $300.00 fine on each charge. Sentences to run concurrently. He is now out on bail, his case having been appealled to a higher court.

WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

If you have not lived in the South, this may be a little hard to believe. What meaning does it have for the rest of the country, aside from our feeling of outrage that this could happen in The Land of The Free?

Actually, this is a pitched battle in a struggle of which the outcome will affect all of us — our wages, the bargaining power of our unions, our civil rights, the level of prosperity or depression.

When Asbury Howard and those who are with him can break through and win the ballot, they will cut the ground from under the center of backwardness and reaction in our country. **That backwardness means low wages and anti-union laws, among other things. It is based on denying the vote to Negroes while keeping the white people's attention focused on the phony "race" issue.**

So the politicians of the South are re-elected year after year. They form a center of political power in the Democratic party and in Congress. By combining with right-wing of the Northern Republicans, they beat down legislation desired by the majority — legislation that is promised in the campaign speeches and platforms of the Northern Democrats: repeal of the Taft-Hartley, higher minimum wages, lower taxes, more jobs through adequate appropriations for housing, schools, hospitals and roads.

This is the reason for the desperate viciousness of the attack on Asbury Howard. If it succeeds — if Mr. Howard and the others serve out their terms in jail and on the work gang, it will be a serious setback for democracy and unionism. **But if, in the stronghold of reaction, the voice of democratic America can be heard and the convictions of these three men can be reversed, it will be a tremendous victory.**

Reestablish Democr

Federal Action To W

The man's name is Asbury Howard. He is one of the best known residents of Bessemer, Alabama, an industrial suburb of Birmingham.

BELIEFS INTO ACTION

Mr. Howard is a man who puts his beliefs into action. A religious man, he is not only a church member, not only a church goer; he is a deacon and Sunday School superintendent.

As a iron ore miner who saw the need for a union, he not only joined, he became active; he advanced rapidly from shop steward, to local president, to International Union representative, to International Union vice president — of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

LEST WE FORGET

"A Civil War was fought. The Southern slaveholders were defeated. For some 20 years after defeat of the Southern Rebels, Negroes and white labor voted in mass.

"Over 29 Negroes went to the U.S. Congress from the South. Negroes and poor whites held public office in the South in the 20 Reconstruction years after the War. In the U.S. Congress today there are only four Negroes, or less than 1% of that body, while Negroes are 10% of the nation."

Educators, Clergy, Support Howard's Freedom!

New York. — Over sixty leading educators, clergy and other citizens from all parts of America have joined in an appeal to the Attorney General of the United States to investigate the case of Asbury Howard, NAACP and Voters League leader in Bessemer, Alabama. . .

STARTS APPEAL

The appeal to the Attorney General was initiated by Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, theologian and vice president of Union Theological Seminary, New York; Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, minister emeritus of Riverside Church, New York; Dean Liston Pope of Yale university Divinity School; Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, and Rev. A. J. Muste, secretary emeritus of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Other signers include:

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Cleveland; Frank P. Graham, former U.S. Senator and president, University of North Carolina; Emily Greene Balch, Nobel Peace Prize Winner; Norman Cousins, editor, Saturday Review; J. Robert Nelson, Dean of the Divinity School of Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.; Bishop Richard S. Emerich, Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Michigan;

Henry S. Commager, historian; Edmond Cahn, professor of law, New York University; president Herbert Gezork of Andover-Newton Theological Seminary, Newton, Mass.; Huston Smith, professor of philosophy, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; and President John A. Mackay of Princeton Theological Seminary.

CITY ORDINANCE

Howard's conviction for having the poster made was under a city ordinance prohibiting "The publication of intemperate matter tending to a breach of the peace, or any matter prejudicial to good order."

The signers declare their support of the American Civil Liberties Union in charging that a "flagrant violation of the First Amendment" is involved in Howard's conviction for seeking to reproduce a newspaper cartoon.

They furthermore agree with the A.C.L.U. that "a de factor conspiracy occurred when, in violation of the federal civil rights law, police officers stand by as a citizen is assaulted in the City Hall of his community while he was there under compulsory process."

Reprint from the Chicago Defender

acy In The South!

in The Vote In Dixie!

See Back Page

Action Needed Now-

Here is what you can do for Asbury Howard and for yourself —

1. **Write a letter or telegram to President Dwight D. Eisenhower, your two Senators, your Representative and U.S. Attorney General William P. Rogers. Address all letters and telegrams to Washington, D.C.**

   Urge them to act at once for the immediate release and full freedom of Asbury Howard, Sr., McAllisted and Asbury Howard, Jr. Ask them to give their support to legislation to wipe out the poll tax and other tricks aimed at denying the vote to Negro citizens.

   Urge them specifically to use their influence to secure passage of the Douglas-Powell-Cellar Civil Rights Bill.

2. **Take this folder to your union, church and/or club. Urge all members to take the action outlined above.**

3. **Participate in the Chicago Committee to Win the Vote in the South.**

   Send contributions to aid the defense and to build public understanding of the meaning of the Asbury Howard Case.

4. **Telephone your friends and let them know about this case and about what the Chicago Committee to Win the Vote in the South is doing.**

Support Grows For Howard's Defense

The U.S. Civil Rights Commission is observing the facts in this case.

The American Civil Liberties Union has entered the defense.

The National Association for Advancement of Colored People, outlawed in the South, supports the defense.

The AFL-CIO Civil Rights Commission has called upon all International Unions, City and State Councils, to come to the defense of Asbury Howard.

Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, in an interview with President Eisenhower, brought the facts in this case to his attention.

Senator William Langer (Rep., N.D.) is calling for a public hearing in Congress.

Senator Thomas Hennings (Dem., Mo.), Chairman of the Human Rights Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, is considering holding hearings on the case.

Responses of support have come from the independent states of Africa and from trade unions in nearly every country in the world. Appeals have been made to the United Nations. A group of Chicago unionists have formed the Chicago Committee to Win the Vote in the South.

CHICAGO COMMITTEE TO WIN THE VOTE IN THE SOUTH

1110 South Oakley Boulevard - Tel. MO 6-7010 - Chicago 12, Illinois

Milton P. Norman, Chairman

James Pinta, Sec'y - Raymond Dennis, Vice Chair. - John Thomas, Vice Chair.

Ashury Howard 1930 Exeter ave. Bessemer, Alabama

B E S S E M E R V O T E R S L E A G U E

4½ North 20th Street June 17, 1967

Dear Leader:

It is with great pleasure that we can come into your home in this manner with a message and an appeal for special help and full cooperation in our three-month registration drive.

MESSAGE FROM THE COORDINATOR OF VOTER REGISTRATION

MRS. HELEN COOLEY

My Fellow-Workers: This is to inform you that we are planning a Special Registration Drive for July, August, and September.

Registration has been very slow all this year. In May, less than 12 persons registered at the Bessemer Court House. The enemies of Freedom are pleased with this kind of registration, but you and I are not. So with your help we must add 500 new voters to our rolls by the end of September. With your help, and only with your help, this goal can be achieved. You have never let me down and I know you will not now, at a time when I need you so badly to achieve my stated goal.

This is what President Johnson had to say just before signing the Voting Rights Act into law on August 6, 1965: "Let me now say to every Negro in this country, 'You must register, you must vote, and you must learn so your choice advances your interest and the interest of the nation.'"

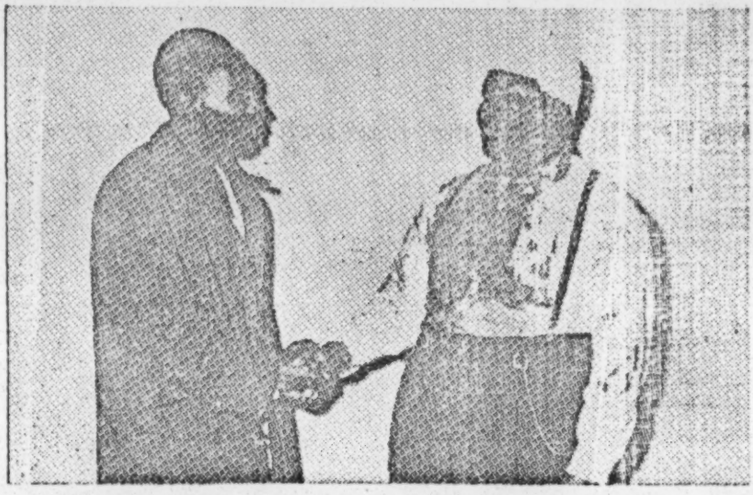
My fellow-leaders, the Congress and the President have done their part. President Johnson has called on <u>you</u> to search your household and your relatives, neighbors and friends, and if there be any among you who have not registered to vote, it is your <u>duty</u> to see that they are registered. Will you heed the President's message?

I will be calling you for a meeting so we can work out our registration program together.

A MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT ASBURY HOWARD

I should like to concur with the efficient Coordinator of Voter Registration in her message and appeal to you to come over to Macedonia and help us. I plan to be on the scene during those months. If we are to be successful in this drive we must make personal contacts. If we fail in our first try, we will try and try again. Don't take "No" for an answer. In 1966, our young people, who were too young to vote at the time, demonstrated in Bessemer and were beaten and jailed trying to get Federal registrars sent into Jefferson County in order to make it easier for the adults to qualify to vote. Their cases are now on appeal in the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans. Please don't let the youths' struggle, suffering and going to jail be in vain. Your Coordinator will never forget those young people coming into the office screaming and seeking first-aid treatment.

"THE HARVEST TRULY IS GREAT BUT THE LABORERS ARE FEW."



Asbury Howard

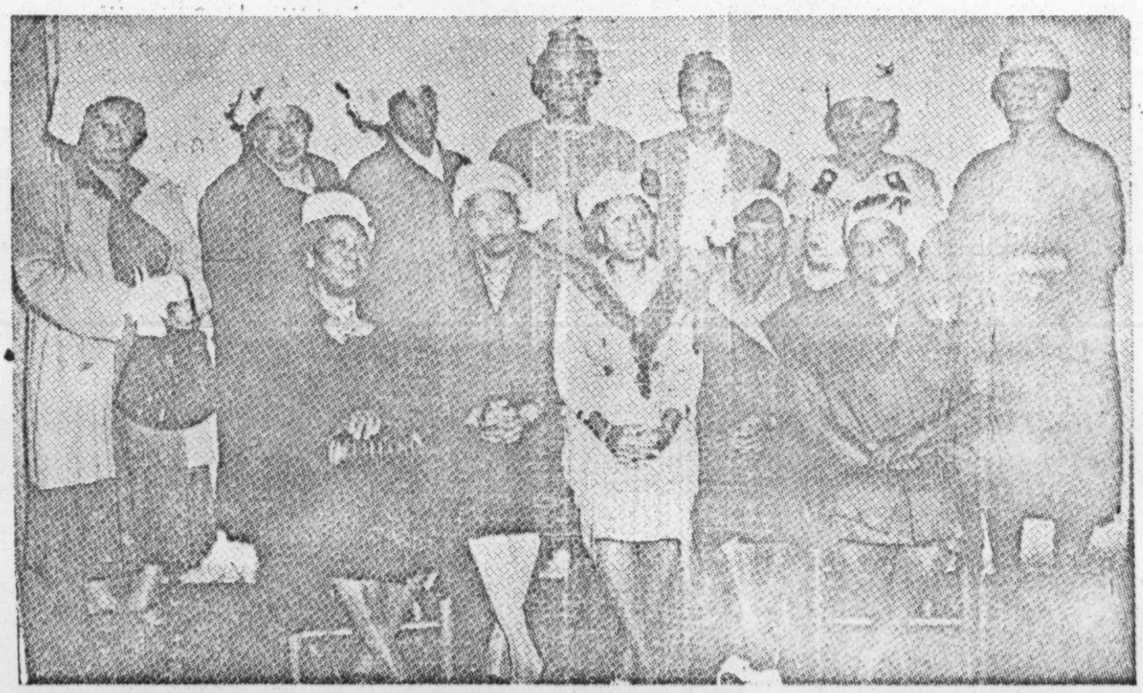
—After being mobbed and beaten by an irate group of white men for the "heinous" crime of having sign painters reproduce a cartoon showing a Negro in chains praying for his rights.

—Fifteen or more policemen stood idly by and offered no assistance.

IN HIS OWN WORDS, MR. HOWARD GIVES THIS ACCOUNT OF WHAT HAPPENED:

As he left the courtroom after posting bond, Howard found some forty white men lined up along the walls of the lobby and stairway leading down to the main floor of the city hall. Here is how he has described what happened next: "As I was about to take the last step down, I was struck a terrific blow from the rear which landed on the right side of my head. . . . It knocked me off my feet. The crowd of men around the wall rushed towards me. . . . They lashed out with their feet in a vicious effort to stomp and mutilate my face, head and body. I struggled the best I knew how upon my back upon the floor. I finally managed to reach a corner. In the meantime my son, Asbury, Jr., was struggling down the stairway to my rescue. The mob turned on him. My son put up a furious battle against unequal odds. After he refused to give up but kept on fighting back, they gave ground and began to scatter. There were about fifteen or more policemen in and about the courtroom. The only arrest they were able to make was that of my son. All members of the mob were allowed to escape unmolested. My son was charged with disorderly conduct and resisting arrest. He was placed under $600 bond. . . . After escaping the mob, I needed medical care. I was badly shaken up, bruised, and bleeding badly. The blow I received on my head opened up a very bad wound that took ten stitches to close. I was very weak because of the amount of blood I had lost. As I waited outside the city hall for an ambulance, I was ordered to move along by a police officer. He told me **'Get away from here or else I will carry you up stairs and lock you up.'** Two of my friends helped me to walk a block or more to a car and I was taken to the Bessemer General Hospital and was given the medical care I needed." Asbury Howard, Jr., was later sentenced to one year's hard labor for his efforts to defend his father in the Bessemer City Hall. He is now out on bail pending appeal, but his father served his sentence on what the Negro press usually refers to as a CHAIN GANG.

EASTER HATS MADE OF TOWELS



These judicious women and others not shown, sacrificed their Easter hats for Freedom while their leader was in jail for urging his people to Register and Vote. Seated are Mesdames Catherine Jimerison, Adly Alford, Helen Cooley, center, Miss Julia Carter and Carrie P. Jackson. Standing: Lula Rice, Laura Smith, Lizzie Ford, Carrie Sager, Erlean Benton, Annie Mae Carter, and Margaret Knox.

V O T I N G I N S T R U C T I O N S

1. ANY PERSON WHO CANNOT READ MUST NOTIFY THE POLLING OFFICIALS AT THE TIME YOU GIVE YOUR NAME. THEN HE OR SHE MAY TAKE A PERSON OF THEIR OWN CHOOSING INTO THE BOOTH WITH THEM TO VOTE.

2. WHEN YOU ENTER THE VOTING BOOTH THERE IS A SWITCH TO YOUR UPPER LEFT. REACH UP AND TURN THE SWITCH TO YOUR RIGHT. THE CURTAIN WILL CLOSE. YOU ARE NOW READY TO CAST YOUR SECRET BALLOT.

3. TURN EACH SMALL LEVER DOWN OVER THE BOX BY THE PERSON'S NAME YOU ARE VOTING FOR. THEN YOU WILL SEE AN (X) IN THE BOX. CHECK YOUR LIST AND IF YOU HAVE VOTED FOR THE WRONG PERSON, PUSH THE LEVER UP OVER THE WRONG NAME AND TURN THE LEVER DOWN BY THE RIGHT NAME OR NAMES YOU WANT TO VOTE FOR.

4. WHEN YOU HAVE FINISHED VOTING, TURN THE TOP VOTING SWITCH TO YOUR LEFT. THIS SWITCH AUTOMATICALLY RECORDS YOUR VOTE.

COURTESY: BESSEMER VOTERS LEAGUE

The Bessemer Voters League

REPORT

No. 1, May, 1967

ASBURY HOWARD
President

REV. LEON GLOVER
First Vice-President

WILLIE DAVIS
Second Vice-President

MRS. L. J. WHITE
Secretary

MRS. PEARL SMITH
Treasurer

MRS. HELEN COOLEY
Assistant Secretary

Despite Past Gains, Much Work Remains

As our statement of principle and aims makes clear (see box below), the Bessemer Voters League actively seeks both to register increasing numbers of people in the community and to educate them politically. For the last 20 years, these have been its major tasks.

'Now That You're Old Enough To Vote, Suh, Ah Hope You'll Vote For Me'

The Congressional passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 helps us immeasurably in this endeavor. Last year, for the first time, federal registrars were sent to our county, in accordance with one of the major provisions of the new law.

Many of the barriers on the Negro's path to the ballot box have been removed. Yet, fear and intimidation still must be overcome if we are to achieve our maximum voting strength.

Significant gains were made here in Bessemer in last year's election . . . make no mistake about that. Yet, realize, too, that much work remains to be done prior to our next general election in November, 1968. For powerful forces will again be arrayed against us—determined to strip us of recent gains, as well as to hold the line against further advances.

First Level – The Precinct

Effective political work begins at the precinct level, where success can be experienced. The truth of that statement was clearly shown in last year's May primary election, in which four Negroes from Precinct No. 33 (now changed to No. 1) were elected to the Jefferson County Democratic Executive Committee—Atty. David H. Hood, Israel Williams, Sam Allen, and Charles Moorer.

Since being sworn in, Atty. Hood has been appointed a member of the vacancy committee and has been successful in having three more Negroes appointed to the executive committee—Willie Davis, Abraham Dale, and Herman Woods.

Throughout the county, 37 Negroes now serve on the 120-member group.

A major step toward political equality for the Negro in Jefferson County, the achievement has been paralleled in only two other of Alabama's 67 counties—Mobile and Macon—although in those counties the numbers gaining seats were far smaller.

Obviously, the struggle for political equality will be long and arduous. We must move forward step by step, while never losing sight of that ultimate objective.

Other Gains

For the first time in history in Jefferson County, four Negroes last year were in the run-off election as candidates for the State House of Representatives — Atty. Hood, Dr. James T. Montgomery, L. S. Gaillard, and Atty. Arthur Shorer. Of 54 Negro candidates for state and county office throughout Alabama in 1966, 23 received sufficient votes to be in the May 31 run-offs.

In Macon County, that run-off produced the first Negro sheriff in the state's history—Lucius Amerson. Two other Negroes there—L. A. Locklair and Harold Webb—won positions as tax collector and member of the Board of Education respectively.

(Continued on Page 4)

Statement of Principle and Aims of the Bessemer Voters League

We acknowledge with humility the divine power of the Almighty God and implore His guidance during these critical days that He may point out to us and the people of the world the pathway to everlasting world peace and domestic tranquility, and preservation of our cherished American way of life and the fundamental principle of the government of the people, for the people, and by the people.

The Bessemer Voters League stands today where it has always stood, with feet firmly planted on the solid foundation of the Constitution of the United States. The Bessemer Voters League is non-partisan, but we reaffirm our devotion and pledge anew our allegiance to the true principles of the historic Democratic party—the party to which we have given our full support since the election of the late Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Harry Truman, the late John F. Kennedy, and President Lyndon Johnson.

Article II, Purpose and Aim, of the Bessemer Voters League Constitution: Section I. The purpose of this organization shall be to develop fellowship among qualified voters and increase the number of voters. Section II. This organization aims to stimulate and politically educate people in this area.

WE MUST NEVER FORGET . . .

Major civil rights gains have been made in the last few years, but they have been achieved not without great cost. Since the lunch-counter sit-ins began in 1960, over 30 persons are known to have been slain in the South for reasons directly related to their civil rights activities. Scores of churches have been destroyed or damaged by fire or bombs.

As we continue today the fight for equality, let us remember always the names of those brave martyrs who gave "the last full measure of devotion" to the noble cause.

ONE DEATH IN 1967 — MISSISSIPPI

WHARLEST JACKSON, 37, was a former treasurer of the Natchez branch of the NAACP. A Negro who had been promoted at the Armstrong Rubber plant to a job traditionally held by a white, he was killed by a bomb on February 27. Less than two years ago, George Metcalf, a fellow worker of Jackson's and president of the local NAACP, narrowly escaped death when a bomb was planted in his car.

THREE DEATHS IN 1966—ALABAMA 2, MISSISSIPPI 1

SAMUEL YOUNGE, JR., Negro, Tuskegee, Ala.; Marvin Segrest, white, charged with murder, on bail.

DAVID COLSON, Negro, Camden, Ala., shot Jan. 23 by J. T. Reaves, white.

VERNON DAHMER, NAACP leader, Hattiesburg, Mississippi, died of burns received in fire set by nightriders.

SIX DEATHS IN 1965 — ALABAMA 5, LOUISIANA 1

O'NEAL MOORE, Negro deputy sheriff, shot and killed by nightriders in Bogalusa, Louisiana.

Rev. Reeb

REV. JAMES REEB, a Boston minister, was beaten on a Selma street and died two days later in a Birmingham hospital. Three men indicted on murder charges and acquitted.

VIOLA GREGG LIUZZO, a Detroit mother of five and wife of a Teamsters union official, murdered on Highway 80 between Selma and Montgomery, Alabama on the night the Freedom March ended. Three Klansmen convicted of criminal conspiracy; sentenced to ten years. Now on appeal.

JIMMIE LEE JACKSON, a Negro youth, killed in a voter registration demonstration in Marion, Alabama. No arrest.

WILLIAM BREWSTER, Negro, Anniston, Alabama, shot by nightriders. Three arrests; one man convicted of second degree manslaughter.

JONATHAN DANIELS, white, Hayneville, Alabama, killed in daylight shooting; white man who shot him acquitted.

SEVEN DEATHS IN 1964 — MISSISSIPPI 5, GEORGIA 1, FLORIDA 1

James Chaney

JAMES E. CHANEY, Negro, **ANDREW GOODMAN** and **MICHAEL SCHWERNER,** white, were slain shortly after having been released from a Philadelphia, Mississippi jail. Twenty-one men were arrested by the FBI. Indictments against them were dismissed, but they have been reindicted.

LEMUEL PENN, Negro educator from Washington, D.C., shot to death while driving home from Army reserve duty at Fort Benning, Georgia. Four Klansmen arrested; two were tried and acquitted.

HUBERT ORMSBY, Negro, Mississippi, found floating in a river wearing a CORE T-shirt. Verdict was accidental drowning.

LOUIS ALLEN, Mississippi, who had witnessed an earlier killing of a Negro civil rights worker, was himself slain. No arrest.

MRS. JOHNNIE MAE CHAPPELL, Negro, Jacksonville, Florida, shot by a white youth cruising a Negro neighborhood after demonstrations. Killer sentenced to ten years on manslaughter charge.

NINE DEATHS IN 1963 — ALABAMA 8, MISSISSIPPI 1

ADDIE MAE COLLINS, CYNTHIA WESLEY, CAROL ROBERTSON, and **DENISE McNAIR** were the four small Negro girls killed while in Sunday school when their church in Birmingham was bombed. No arrests.

JOHNNY ROBINSON, Negro, killed in rioting which followed the church bombing. No arrest.

VIRGIL WARE, a Negro boy, was killed by a white youngster who was riding with a friend on a motorscooter. They were convicted of manslaughter but paroled after a lecture by the judge.

JOHN L. COLEY, Negro, Birmingham, shot and killed in rioting that followed the bombing of home of Attorney Arthur Shores.

WILLIAM MOORE, white postman from Baltimore, killed by bullet from a passing car during his protest march across Alabama.

MEDGAR EVERS, a Mississippi field secretary for the NAACP, killed by an ambush sniper outside his home in Jackson. Two trials of the accused slayer ended in hung juries.

THREE DEATHS IN 1962 — MISSISSIPPI

PAUL GUIHARD, a French reporter, and **RAY GUNTER,** a local TV repairman, were killed by a rooftop sniper while they were at the University of Mississippi during the rioting over the admission of James Meredith, a Negro. No arrests.

CPL. ROMAN DUCKWORTH, Negro, Taylorsville, Mississippi, shot by policeman for refusing to move to rear of a bus. No conviction.

ONE DEATH IN 1961 — MISSISSIPPI

HERBERT LEE, Negro, active in civil-rights activities, was shot by a white Mississippi state legislator. No conviction.

ONE DEATH IN 1960 — GEORGIA

MATTIE GREEN, Negro, Ringgold, Georgia, was killed when a bomb exploded in her home. No arrest.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 . . . A Tribute to the Battle of Selma

The Voting Rights Act of 1965—certainly one of the most far-reaching of the many legislative accomplishments of the 89th Congress — is a living tribute to that year's struggle of Selma, Alabama. Led by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and involving more than 30,000 persons from across the country, the five-day freedom march from Selma to Montgomery, 50 miles away, is without doubt the single dramatic episode responsible for guaranteeing Congressional passage of the voting rights proposals laid before it by President Lyndon Johnson.

"The cries of pain, the hymns and protests of oppressed people, have summoned into convocation all the majesty of the government of the greatest nation on earth," said the President on March 15, 1965, in a speech to Congress and the American people which promised the introduction of voting rights legislation.

Only a week before, on Sunday, March 7, the first attempt at the freedom march had been made, with some 600 demonstrators being turned back by club-wielding state troopers and members of Selma Sheriff James Clark's posse. The Rev. James J. Reeb and Mrs. Viola Gregg Liuzzo were to lose their lives in the struggle of Selma.

ALTHOUGH APPARENTLY UNCONSCIOUS this woman is ordered to her feet on March 7, 1965 by an Alabama state trooper. Sheriff Jim Clark's Dallas County possee, too, helped turn back with tear gas and whips this day's civil rights march, but later in the month the Selma-to-Montgomery march was succesful.

Provisions of New Law

What are the major provisions of the law which that struggle produced—a law that in less than two years on the books has come close to doubling Negro registration throughout the South? These important features are listed below:

- It allows the use of federal registrars in states or counties where less than 50 percent of those persons of voting age were registered or voted in 1964. (Covered under this formula are Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina, Virginia, 27 counties in North Carolina, and small areas in Arizona.)
- It suspends the use of "literacy" tests or similar "qualification" devices in those areas.
- It prohibits the denial of voting rights because of an inability to read or write English, providing a person has completed the sixth grade of an American flag school.
- It calls for the Justice Department to challenge in court the constitutionality of poll taxes used in state and local elections in Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia. (Federal court panels have found such poll taxes unconstitutional.)
- It authorizes federal examiners, upon determining that properly registered voters were turned away from the polls, to obtain federal court orders impounding the ballots until persons entitled to vote have been allowed to do so.

MRS. PAUL DOUGLAS, WIFE OF THE THEN-U.S. SENATOR FROM ILLINOIS, confers with Asbury Howard, president of the Bessemer Voters League, during the 1965 civil rights struggle in Selma, Alabama. On March 9, Mrs. Douglas led more than 2,000 demonstrators across the Alabama River bridge before they were halted by state troopers. The march to Montgomery ended on March 25, when 30,000 persons, Negro and white, arrived in the heartland of the old Confederacy.

Signed on August 6, 1965

Signed into law by President Johnson on August 6, 1965 in the President's Room off the Senate chamber, where Abraham Lincoln on August 6, 1861 had signed a bill freeing slaves who had been pressed into service of the Confederacy, the voting rights measure, said President Johnson, would "strike away the last major shackle" of the Negro's "ancient bonds."

"In our system," the President had said in his March 15 message to Congress, "the first right and most vital of all our rights is the right to vote. Jefferson described the elective franchise as 'the ark of our safety.' It is from the exercise of this right that the guarantee of all our other rights flows."

(Continued on Page 4)

Much Work Remains to be Done

(Continued from Page 1)

Elsewhere in the South, too, major gains were won in 1966. In Georgia, nine Negro incumbents, including Julian Bond, who previously had been denied his seat, were re-elected to the House of Representatives. John Hood of Atlanta and Richard Dent of Augusta won new seats, while William Merriet became the first Negro Republican to be eletced to the legislature since Reconstruction.

In Texas, the color bar was broken for the first time by the election of Barbara Jordan to the state Senate and Curtis Graves and Joseph E. Lockridge to the state Assembly. In Tennessee, the number of Negro representatives increased from one to six.

Mississippi saw its first Negro of modern times elected. He is Robert Lee Williams, now a member of the Jefferson County Board of Education.

Six Congressmen Re-Elected

Despite the dire warnings raised nationally concerning the so-called "white backlash," all six Negro Congressmen won re-election. Edward Brooke, running on the Republican ticket in Massachusetts, became the first Negro U.S. Senator since Reconstruction.

According to a study by the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, the Negro vote clearly was the margin of victory of one U.S. Senator (Ernest F. Hollings of South Carolina), two Congressmen (Nick Galupanikus of North Carolina and Ray Blanton of Tennessee), and at least one governor (Winthrop Rockefeller of Arkansas) in the South last November.

Registration Figures

At the end of last year, Negro registration in 11 Southern states stood at 2.7 million, as compared to 1.5 million only four years previously. Yet, still only about half of the Negroes of voting age are registered in the South.

Combine that fact with figures showing that only from one-half to three-quarters of those registered actually voted, and you see the magnitude of the potential still to be reached. In Alabama, while the Negro turnout in the May 3 election was estimated at 74 percent of those registered, this figure dropped to less than half the registration for the May 31 run-off.

The recent presence of federal registrars in Bessemer undoubtedly will ease the problems associated with encouraging registration. In the first few months after the Voting Rights Act went into effect on August 9, 1965, close to 35 percent of many thousands of newly registered Negroes across the South were certified by such federal examiners.

Yet, while you can't vote if you're not registered, registration by itself equally does no good. We must organize and educate now so that in future elections those who are registered do cast ballots.

A Tribute to the Battle of Selma

(Continued from Page 3)

"Unless the right to vote be secured and undenied, all other rights are insecure and subject to denial for all our citizens. The challenge of this right is a challenge to America itself," President Johnson had stated.

"Let me now say to every Negro in this country," declared the President in signing the new law, "You must register. You must vote. And you must learn, so your choice advances your interest and the interest of the nation. For your future, and your children's future depend upon it."

Towards the close of 1964, Alabama had some 111,000 Negroes who were registered to vote—only 23 percent of the total who were eligible. That figure today is up to 275,000 more than double what it had been prior to the passage of the new law.

Throughout the deep South prior to 1965, the Negro vote had amounted to only about 12 percent of the total there because of the systematic disenfranchisement over scores of years. Potentially, however, the Negro vote is approximately 30 percent of the total.

A block that powerful surely could play a decisive role in making great progress on the other fronts now poisoned by racial discrimination—in the area of job opportunities, in the area of equality of education, in the area of the fair administration of justice.

THERE ARE MANY WAYS OF GIVING IN THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM. The women above and other members of the Bessemer Voters League sacrificed their Easter bonnets a few years ago, substituting hats made of towels. Seated: Catherine Jimerison, Adly Alford, Helen Cooley, Julia Carter, and Carrie P. Jackson. Standing: Lula Rice, Laura Smith, Lizzie Ford, Carrie Sager, Erlean Benton, Annie Mae Carter, and Margaret Knox.

"If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom, and yet deprecate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground. They want the rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters. This struggle may be a moral one; or it may be a physical one; or it may be both moral and physical; but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and never will. Men may not get all they pay for in this world; but they must certainly pay for all they get."—**FREDERICK DOUGLAS,**

Father of the Protest Movement.

Officers & Stewards

BULLETIN

No. 1, January, 1966 14

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF MINE, MILL AND SMELTER WORKERS

A. C. SKINNER
President

ASBURY HOWARD
Vice-President

IRVING DICHTER
Secretary-Treasurer

Dramatic Gains in Negro Registration In South Despite Increasing Violence

Negro voting strength, which proved to be a powerful influence in scattered municipal elections in the U.S. this past November, is increasing rapidly in the deep South as a result of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 — quite possibly the most far-reaching of the many accomplishments of the 89th Congress last year. Passed overwhelmingly by both houses, the new law stands as a tribute to the thousands of persons, Negro and white, who took to the streets in the struggle to awaken the conscience of America.

Pratt in The Sacramento Bee

The Challenge

While the registration picture is still far from rosy, substantial progress has been made in the five months since President Johnson signed the Act on Aug. 6. Major problems, however, are the increasing threats to and intimidation of Negroes in many areas—and violence—plus the reluctance of Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach to up sharply the number of federal registrars being used.

Major Provisions of the New Law Are:

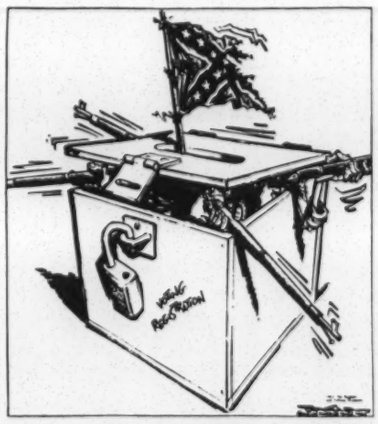
- It allows the use of federal registrars in states or counties where less than 50 percent of those persons of voting age were registered or voted in 1964. (Covered under this formula are Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina, Virginia, Alaska, 27 counties in North Carolina, and small areas in Arizona.)
- It suspends the use of "literacy" tests or similar "qualification" devices in those areas.
- It prohibits the denial of voting rights because of an inability to read or write English, providing a person has completed the sixth grade of an American flag school.
- It calls for the Justice Department to challenge in court the constitutionality of poll taxes used in state and local elections in Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia. (Now in progress.)
- It authorizes federal examiners, upon determining that properly registered voters were turned away from the polls, to obtain federal court orders impounding the ballots until persons entitled to vote have been allowed to do so.

Progress to Date

In the five deep South states that are the major targets of the Voting Rights Act—Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, and South Carolina—there were, in the middle of November, an estimated 4,400,000 white and 815,000 Negro voters, comprising about 72 per cent and 34 percent respectively of the total voting age population there. Of these, some 225,000, or slightly over one-quarter of the total Negro registration, have been registered since the Voting Rights Act went into effect on Aug. 9. Of the 225,000 newly registered Negroes, 77,525 or very close to 35 per cent have been certified by federal examiners.

If all those of voting age in the five

(Continued on Back Page)



The Last Stronghold

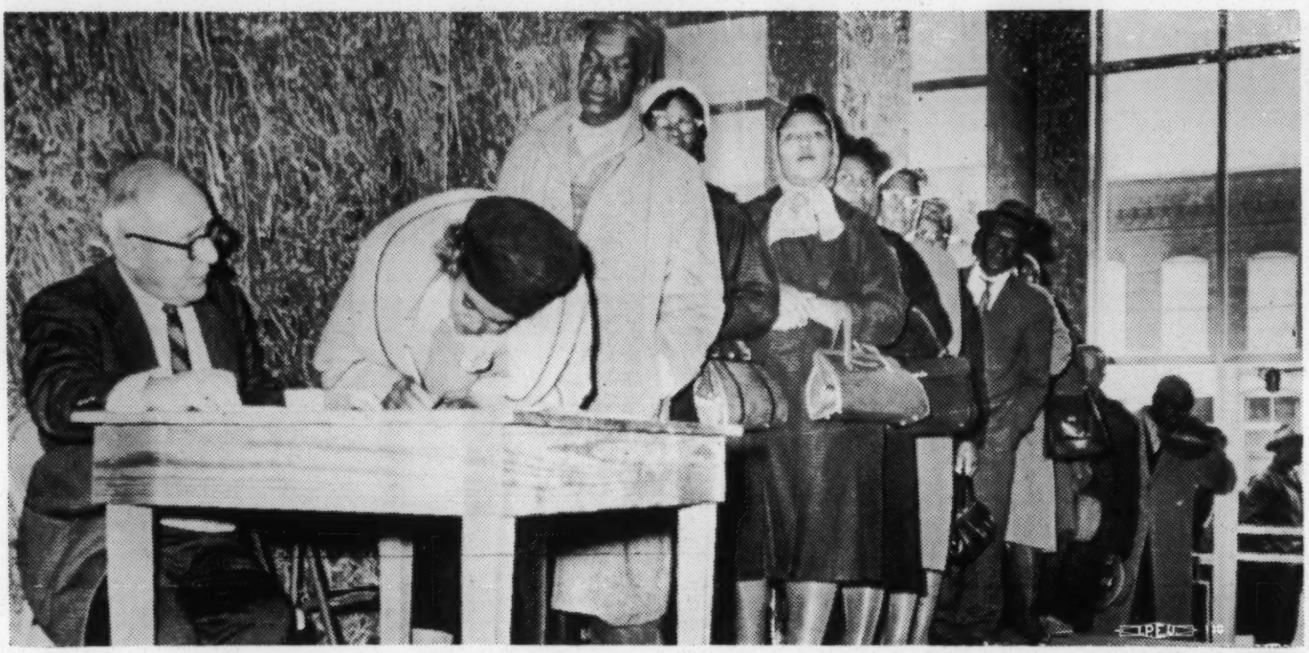
Conrad in the Los Angeles Times

Professors Fail!

A key provision of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 prohibits, in states where less than 50 percent of the persons of voting age were registered to vote for the 1964 presidential election, the use of so-called "literacy" tests in qualifying persons who wish to register.

Negroes in Alabama previously were subjected to "literacy" tests, which, among other things, required voter applicants to answer correctly certain questions based on the obscure Twelfth Amendment to the U. S. Constitution.

A poll of professors teaching constitutional law at American law schools asked them to answer four of these "routine" questions without looking up the Twelfth Amendment. Of the 384 responses that were returned, 70 percent of the answers were wrong!



Wide World Photo

SELMA, Ala., Feb. 16, 1965—Prospective Negro voters line up at the courthouse to sign book to establish a number for **future** registration days. Today, since the Voting Rights Act of 1965 went into effect in August, lines much longer than this are forming in many areas throughout the deep South and thousands of Negroes are **NOW** being allowed to register for the first time.

Mine-Mill Active in Registration, Voter Education Programs in S.C. and Ga.

New registration of Negro voters in two Southern cities where Mine-Mill has local unions has been proceeding at a greatly increased rate since passage of the federal Voting Rights Act of 1965 in August. The two locals, Local 870 in Savannah, Ga. and Local 863 in Charleston, S.C., are now active also in campaigns to instruct these new voters in the use of voting machines and on other election material, according to a recent report from International Representative Jesse Doster, in order to ensure that these votes won't be lost, as a substantial number of Negro votes have been in the past.

The Charleston local is now busily registering its members and their families, while the county's Civic Organization, in which many Mine-Mill members are extremely active, is setting up classes throughout the area to provide instruction in the use of the voting machines.

"You mean, suh, let them mingle ballots in the same box as ours?"

Herblock in the Washington Post

Crusade for Voters

In Chatham County, in which Savannah is located, over 1,000 votes were voided in the 1964 election. Here, too, the Mine-Mill local is involved in voter education, helping to support a fulltime secretary, whose duties include teaching the newly registered Negroes in the use of the voting machine. The Crusade for Voters, which maintains an office on West Broad Street that is open six days a week, has been able to obtain a voting machine, so that the secretary can teach anyone who stops by in its use. Doster is a member of the executive board of the Crusade for Voters.

Some five years ago, when Local 870 helped to organize the Crusade for Voters, there were only about 8,000 Negro voters in Chatham County and only about 10,000 in the First Congressional District, which is comprised of 20 counties, in several of which Negroes outnumber the whites by as much as 3 to 1. Today, there are 26,000 registered Negroes in Chatham County (56,317 voted there in the presidential race in 1964, carrying for Sen. Goldwater by almost 10,000), while there are about 45,000 registered Negroes now in the First Congressional District (close to 36 percent of the 125,793 that went to the polls there in 1964 to give Goldwater a 3 to 2 margin).

Of the 46 counties in South Carolina, federal registrars are currently working only in two—Colleton and Dorchester, in both of which Negroes outnumber the whites approximately 2 to 1. While the number of Negroes that have been registered in these counties are not now available, the president of the NAACP there estimates the figure to be between 1200 and 1500. The two counties in 1964 went heavily for Goldwater, with the total vote of 13,401 being almost evenly split between the two counties.

Both Colleton and Dorchester counties, along with Charleston County, are in the First Congressional District, presently represented in the U.S. House of Representatives by L. Mendel Rivers (Dem.), which carried by a better than 2 to 1 majority for Goldwater over President Johnson, with a total vote of 88,887 being cast. Some 16,000 Negroes are now registered in Charleston County alone.

The Civic Organization hopes to increase this latter number by an additional 10,000 before the end of this spring.

THE BESSEMER, ALABAMA STORY

by Asbury Howard
International Vice-President

During a Christmas visit to Bessemer, Alabama, I participated in the continuing voter registration campaign there. I want to report here to the officers and stewards of our union on that drive, for what is happening in Bessemer is an example of what is also taking place in many other southern communities.

The County Board of Registrars holds sessions in Bessemer on three days each month—the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday of the last week. To register, you must be at the Bessemer courthouse on one of those three days unless you are prepared to travel to Birmingham, some 15 miles away, where you can get in the line there, hoping that the registrars will get to you before they close for the day. The board sits in Birmingham three days each week except for the last week of the month.

No More "Literacy" Tests

Although the Voting Rights Act of 1965 allows federal registrars to go into certain communities in the South where local authorities refuse to comply with the law, none have yet come to this county. At the same time, the new law has greatly increased the number of Negro applicants here by removing the fantastic obstacles placed in the path of the prospective Negro voter. On many occasions, I have called your attention to the so-called "literacy" tests that were used in southern states to disqualify Negro voters. The Voting Rights Act has done away with such phony tests.

The Bessemer Voters League, in conjunction with the NAACP and the Civic League, concentrated on the registration period during the week of December 27. Earlier in the month, John Doar, assistant U.S. attorney general in charge of the Civil Rights Division, had said that "Negro voting registration still is not going as well as I would like in the Birmingham area, particularly in Bessemer," indicating that federal examiners might be sent in unless the situation improved. In spite of the fact that many more Negroes than whites were registering in Bessemer (864 to 22, for example, on Oct. 25, 26, and 27), Doar estimated that some 80,000 Negroes of voting age were still unregistered in Jefferson County.

While the December campaign was not successful in getting federal registrars assigned to the area, so many unregistered persons lined up at the courthouse that the local board was compelled to extend registration for two additional days that week. In the five-day period at the end of the month, 2,399 new voters were registered, of whom 2,187 were Negroes. Many others were turned away because of the still too limited time for registration.

Very active in the drive were Will Thomas, president of Mine-Mill Local 531, who is also president of the Bessemer chapter of the NAACP, and Jesse Gaines, a Mine-Mill convention delegate from Local 109 for many years until his retirement, who heads the Civic League.

It is interesting to note that even prior to the December campaign the head of the Bessemer Chamber of Commerce sent out a plea (see box this page) to unregistered whites to join the registration line. In days gone by, when a white came to register he was taken care of ahead of any Negroes, who were always subjected to long waits. The rule is now "first come, first serve," and many segregationists are not anxious to get into that kind of a line. **It is amazing what a lesson in democracy even this simple process of lining up for registration can hold!**

City Election Coming Up

The Board of Registrars will not sit again in Bessemer until the last week in February, after the city election on Feb. 1. In the last such election, one reactionary, racist city councilman was defeated. It will be interesting to see what results next month's balloting produces, in view of the greatly increased Negro registration.

The new law has made registration enormously easier, but the battle isn't over yet. There are many areas in the South where intimidation and violence still prevent the Negro from exercising his rights of citizenship and where federal registrars and protection are sorely needed. In Lowndes County, many Negroes have been evicted from the homes in which they have lived since birth because they went down to the courthouse to register.

While the act of registering still remains one of the bravest acts of patriotism in far too many places in the South, we shall overcome!

Action Now or Regret Later

"We must consider a condition that has been rapidly developing in our community for the past few months. Next year is an election year and the federal laws have taken from us the right to set qualifications for our voters as have been our practice for nearly a hundred years.

"Urge your employees, friends and acquaintances who have never registered to vote that it is imperative that they get in 'that line' and register, even if the line is not to their liking. In checking with the Board of Registrars, it has been suggested that if the white people get to the Court House early, 7 or 7:30 a.m., they can form their line and be first.

"Please give this problem your prompt consideration. We must act now, or we shall surely regret it!"

—Bessemer, Ala. Chamber of Commerce President Locke H. Jones, in a Nov. 5 letter to all Chamber members.

CROWING ROOSTER (right), Democratic party's emblem in Alabama, used on election ballots and campaign material, for years has forced Negroes wishing to support the party's ticket to vote for the white supremacy slogan. Alabama's attorney general, a Democrat, has asked that the emblem be dropped. Meanwhile, a recently formed all-Negro Freedom Organization in Lowndes County, backed by SNCC, has adopted the black panther symbol, which, it says, "will eat up that old rooster."

Dramatic Registration Gains

(Continued from Page 1)

states were registered, 1,800,000 Negroes and 1,700,000 whites would be added to the registration rolls, making totals of 6,100,000 white and 2,600,000 Negro voters.

While it is clear that Negroes, even if all were to get registered, cannot dominate numerically statewide elections in the deep South, they can and soon will in many localities and counties in the South. In Wilcox County, Ala., for example, Negroes who were disenfranchised until the new law, now comprise some 55 percent of the total registration. Federal registrations have also given Negroes a slight majority on the East Carroll Parish voting list in Louisiana.

This fact is extremely important, since it is often the public officials on the local level that have been responsible for the harassment and brutality to Negroes in the South.

Beyond this, however, it is clear that the Negro voice is going to become much more influential even in the statewide elections, in spite of the fact that the present numbers of unregistered Negroes and whites are roughly equal.

Why? Because undoubtedly more of the new registrations will be Negro than white. In Alabama, for example, up to Dec. 4, federal examiners had added 35,501 Negroes to the poll books to only 183 whites—a ratio of almost 200 to 1. As mentioned above, about 72 percent of the eligible whites are already registered, and despite appeals from public officials, Chambers of Commerce, or what groups have you, it is always extremely difficult to get registration much above that figure.

Negroes, only 34 percent of whom are registered, can be expected to sign up in much larger numbers, now that they are at last being given that chance.

Percentage Gain Can Be Tremendous

What this means in terms of percentages is tremendous. Systematically disenfranchised for scores of years, the Negro vote had until passage of the Voting Rights Act amounted to only about 12 percent of the vote in the deep South. Potentially, however, the Negro vote is roughly 30 percent of the total there.

That's a big difference. A voting bloc that strong simply cannot be disregarded in any kind of an election, particularly since the South is beginning to emerge from the long period of single party domination.

The big problem at the moment is the increasing intimidation of the Negro that attempts to register in many Southern communities. This intimidation ranges from killings to beatings and bombings to evictions and firings.

It is extremely significant that the federal registrars, currently active in only 32 of the hundreds of counties in the deep South, have signed up about 35 percent of the newly registered voters. While local boards of registrars have been doing a much improved job on their own in many counties, it is obvious that in many other areas resistance to registering the Negro persists. In many cases, that resistance includes violence.

The federal Civil Rights Commission, in a report early in December, sharply criticized the Justice Department on the implementation of the Voting Rights Act, recommending that many more federal examiners be sent to the South. Stating that the Attorney General had not acted under his authority to designate counties for federal registrars on the meritorious complaint of 20 or more citizens, the commission also called for the initiation of programs designed to notify potential voters about registration requirements and to encourage them to register.

Engelhardt in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"There's a Lion in the Streets"

Appeal to President

"We call upon the President of the United States to make the presence and the forces of the federal government visible in the state of Alabama by ordering federal marshals to the . . . counties . . . where violence and terror are the order of the day. These federal marshals should have the power to make on-the-spot arrests . . .

"If the federal government cannot provide protection for people seeking civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution, then people will have no protection but themselves. We find it increasingly difficult to ask the people of the Black Belt to remain nonviolent.

—John Lewis, national chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, following the murder on Jan. 4 of Samuel Younge, a civil rights worker in Tuskegee, Ala.

OFFICERS and STEWARDS BULLETIN

International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers
941 East 17th Ave., Denver, Colorado 80218

RETURN REQUESTED

PROGRAM TO GET OUT THE VOTE ON ELECTION DAY

In order to arouse the apathy that exist among the voters, we must organize and work toward the end of getting every known and unknown voter to the polls on election day.

To accomplish this task, I would suggest:

(1) Call the interested leaders together in each district, and organize a " Get out vote campaign".

(2) Organize a car pool for the people who need transportation.

(3) Organize baby sitters if needed on election day.

(4) Organize a telephone committee to call all voters five days before the election, and urge them to go both to the call meeting the night before the election and to the polls on election day.

(5) Send announcements to the Ministers' Conference and churches about the meeting, and urge the people to go to the polls to vote.

(6) Set up area captains and have them set up block workers.

(7) The block workers should be responsible for knocking on doors of every voter a week or ten days before the election and tell them of the importance of the coming election.

(8) The time for beginning the organizational structure is now, (normally thirty days before any election).

(9) Make use of everybody, the retired, the unemployed, the shut-ins, the professional workers, the plant workers, and the housewives, etc.

BESSEMER, ALABAMA

Founded September 9, 1887, by Henry F. DeBardeleben. Bessemer was named for Sir Henry Bessemer, the English scientist who invented a process for making steel. Bessemer was incorporated as a town in 1888, as a city in 1889. The 1960 census population of Bessemer was 33,500 (14,509 white, 18,982 colored, and 9 others). Present estimated population of Bessemer is 39,500.

Bessemer has a Commission form of government. The Commission is composed of Jess Lanier, President; Ed Porter, Police Department; Tom Ashley, Street Department. The Commissioners serve for four years.

The City Recorder (judge) is James Hamrick, who serves a four-year term.
The City Attorney is J. Howard McEniry, Jr.

The Sheriff of Jefferson County is Mel Bailey.
The Chief Deputy in charge of Bessemer Cut-Off is James Thompson.
The Deputy Probate Judge is Harris Moore.
The Bessemer Circuit Judges are Edward Bell and Gardner F. Goodwyn, Jr.
The Civil and Criminal Judge is Walter Briggis.
The Solicitor in Bessemer Cut-Off is James Hammond.

NEGRO MEMBERS OF DEMOCRATIC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, Precinct 1:

Community Center, Braswell Housing Project ---------	David H. Hood
Community Center, South Bessemer Housing Project ---	Sam Allen
National Guard Armory ----------	Willie Davis
Brighton Junior High School ----------	Herman Woodward
City Hall, Brownville ----------	Abram Dale
McNeil Community Center ----------	Israel Williams
Bryant Chapel A.M.E. Church ----------	Charles Moorer

KNOW YOUR ELECTED STATE AND COUNTY OFFICIALS WHO TOOK OFFICE JANUARY 1, 1967

UNITED STATES SENATOR	John J. Sparkman (D)
GOVERNOR	Mrs. Lurleen Wallace (D)
LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR	Albert Brewer (D)
ATTORNEY GENERAL	Mac Donald Gallion (D)
SECRETARY OF STATE	Mabel Amos (D)
STATE TREASURER	Agnes Baggett (D)
STATE AUDITOR	Melba Till Allen (D)
STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF EDUCATION	Ernest Stone (D)
COMMISSIONER OF AGRICULTURE	Richard Beard (D)(ck f/corr.)
ASSOCIATE MEMBER PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION	Jodie Connell (R)
U.S. REPRESENTATIVE 5TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT ..	Armistead Selden (D)

SENATORS FROM JEFFERSON COUNTY:

Place 1 - Hugh Morrow (D)	Place 5 - George L. Bailes (D)
" 2 - Leland Childs (R)	" 6 - Eddie H. Gilmore (D)
" 3 - John Hawkins (D)	" 7 - Paschal P. Vacca (D)
" 4 - Richard Dominick (D)	

MEMBERS OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES FROM JEFFERSON COUNTY:

Place 1 - Paul Meeks, Jr. (D)	Place 11 - Tram Sessions (D)
" 2 - J.T. Waggoner, Jr.(D)	" 12 - Newman Yeilding (D)
" 3 - Robert L. Ellis (D)	" 13 - R.F. Holman (D)
" 4 - Hubert Kilgore (D)	" 14 - Verbon E. Crane (D)
" 5 - Richard Dill (D)	" 15 - Quinton Bowers (D)
" 6 - Joe Money (D)	" 16 - John W. Cook (D)
" 7 - Bob Adwell (D)	" 17 - Frank House (D)
" 8 - Raymond Weeks (D)	" 18 - Marvin Cherner (D)
" 9 - Tommy Watkins (D)	" 19 - Tom Gloor (D)
" 10 - Robert C. Gafford (D)	" 20 - Thomas H. Jackson (D)

COUNTY COMMISSIONERS - W. Cooper Green, President

No. 1 - E. H. Gilmore (D)	No. 2 - Thomas B. Pinson (D)

TAX ASSESSOR	Earl T. Rogers (D)
TAX COLLECTOR	J.D. Smith (D)

Courtesy of BESSEMER VOTERS LEAGUE

HANDS THAT CAN STILL PRAY

THE COST OF THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM IN BESSEMER, ALABAMA, AS TOLD BY ASBURY HOWARD, JR.

SPONSORED BY THE INTER-CITIZENS COMMITTEE, BOX 1443, BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA.

As a result of the painting of the above cartoon in Bessemer, Alabama, [redacted] my father and I were jailed, sentenced, and mobbed in the very Court of Justice, and none of our attackers were arrested.

The picture was taken by my father from a Kansas City newspaper, and was to be used in our local Voter's League meeting place to urge Negroes to vote. Dad hired a white painter to make a copy, but before it was completed, it was seen by a white person who immediately notified the police. The police Chief came and arrested Dad on the afternoon of Wednesday, Jan. 22, 1959. He was charged with breach of the peace and inciting to riot. The trial was held on Saturday, Jan. 25, 1959. At the trial, Dad was found guilty and sentenced to six months in jail and fined $100.00 plus costs. My father appealed the decision.

As we were leaving the court room on the way to the bonding company to make appeal bond, two white men stepped in front of me, separating me from Dad. This happened while we were going down a narrow stairway to the lobby of the court building. As Dad got to the bottom step in the lobby of the court building, one of the men in front of me nodded to a strongly built white man who was standing at the bottom of the stairway with blackjack in hand. I realized that the men were blocking me so they could get to Dad. When the man nodded, I shouted to Dad to look out. At that moment, the man with the blackjack swung and struck Dad on the head with the blackjack. Immediately about forty white men who were gathered in the lobby sprang to the attack. Many of them had blackjacks and knives in the halls of Justice. My mother rushed out and cried, "They're killing my husband and my son". One of the men placed a knife on her stomach and told her if she hollered again he would cut her entrails out.

When the men jumped on Dad, I shoved the two men blocking me down the stairway and dived headlong into the bunch. Both my father and I were fighting for our very lives in the halls of Justice. The odds were almost forty to one against us, and we were severely mobbed. There was an officer at the door, and there were many officers in the court building, but none of them came to our rescue. Finally, after what seemed about eight or ten minutes, a group of officers came from upstairs calling on everyone to break it up. My father's face and mine were bloody, and our bodies were much bruised, yet no arrests were made, and all the men immediately left the lobby and went outside. A witness said that my father was so dazed as he came from the court building that his eyes were fixed and he seemed to be in another world.

A large crowd gathered outside, which the officers began to disperse. I noticed that I was being pushed in the opposite direction from my father. When I tried to get to him, I was arrested and jailed on the charge of disorderly conduct and disobeying an officer. At my trial, I was found guilty and sentenced to 360 days and fined $200.00 plus costs. I appealed the decision.

My father did make bond, but the officials said it was improperly made out. So he was jailed and had to serve the sentence. He served his time working on the streets of Bessemer. And though we are continually harrassed and intimidated, we will not give up in our struggle for justice and equality before the law.

The artist who made the painting was likewise sentenced to six months and fined $100.00. Unable to secure a lawyer, he served the sentence, and Dad paid the fine.

Both my father and I are registered voters, but the Registrars are seeking to remove our names from the list of voters because of the charges laid against us. For two years I served in the Armed Forces, one of them being spent in the Korean Conflict. But when we seek to exercise the Democracy at home for which we fight abroad, we are met with mob violence and jail sentences, while the mobs go free.

On the same day of the attack, we filed a complaint with the F.B.I. So far, no action has been taken against the perpetrators of this foul deed. Naturally we ask, "What is the duty of loyal citizens? - What is the reward for loyalty and good citizenship? - What rights are guaranteed to the Negro citizens of Alabama?"

Will you help us in our fight to make America more truly the Land of the Free?

Asbury Howard, Jr.
ASBURY HOWARD, JR.

THE INTER-CITIZENS COMMITTEE
BOX 1443
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

J.L. WARE, President

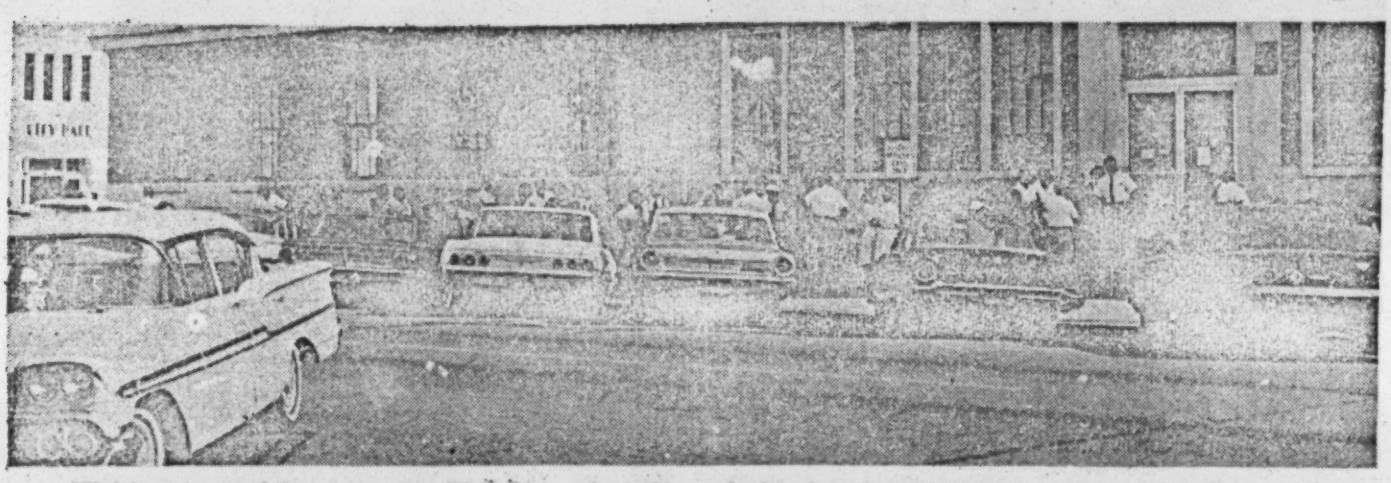
C.H. OLIVER, Secretary

1967

You CAN do everything but worship. 11:00 o'clock on Sunday is the most segregated hour in America.

"Segregation is our God, and we shall have no other before Thee."

Birmingham News — BESSEMER, ALA., WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 25, 1965



Waiting to register to vote—This line of applicants to register to vote formed early Monday morning, first day of registration in Bessemer under the recently-passed voting rights bill. Applicants were admitted in batches of 50 to the Court House, where they went to the registration offices on the third floor. Officials registered 305 Negroes and 10 white persons Monday, turning away 150 they were not able to accommodate.

Birmingham News — Tuesday, August 17, 1965

We Brought It On Ourselves

CONFESSION, THEY SAY, is good for the soul; and when it comes to this business of voting rights, the soul of the South could use a little shriving.

For days now, the federal registrars have been at work. For over a week, key provisions of the franchise laws of six states have been suspended. Five years of humiliation, in some cases, lie ahead. And Southerners, whose long memories of "The War" are cultivated in cradle and classroom, are complaining bitterly of a second Reconstruction.

Some of this resentful protest is directed at the purposeful registration of illiterate Negroes, and on the face of it, the protest is valid. Surely the Constitution has been perverted when a sovereign state is prevented from requiring, as a minimum, that a voter be able to write out his name, address and occupation.

Discriminatory application

ANOTHER PART OF THE PROTEST goes to the Voting Rights Act itself. It is full of tricks, triggers, and traps; it is patently unfair and discriminatory in its application; it tramples ruthlessly across provisions of the Constitution that historically have reserved certain powers to the states. And all this is true.

But Southerners have an obligation, painful though it may be, to put those long memories to work in an examination of their conscience. The discomfiting truth is that what the South has done in the past speaks so loudly that few persons pay much attention to what the South says today. Those of us who have been born, bred, and brought up in Dixie should gaze upon the indignities of this new occupation with a certain clear understanding: We brought it on ourselves.

What about these Negro illiterates? Why, sire, the truth is that white illiterates have been registered all along. Everybody knows it. The evidence of a hundred court cases proves it. And when Mr. Katzenbach, on television, rubs it in, there is not a word to be said in reply.

South is culpable

WHAT ABOUT THESE TRICKS and devices? God rest us, we of the South invented tricks and devices! There was that beautiful little grandfather clause, early in the century, which gave permanent registration to all men—and their lineal descendants—who were registered in 1860, but required all others (meaning Negroes) to register anew. The Supreme Court threw that out. Then there was the device of the white primary, conducted for the benefit of a Democratic Party that denied membership to Negroes. And the Supreme Court threw that out.

There was the poll tax, which had to be paid for three full years, six months prior to an election. When the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1902 adopted this device, someone asked Carter Glass if it wouldn't discriminate against the Negro. "Discriminate?" he cried. "That is exactly what we mean to do."

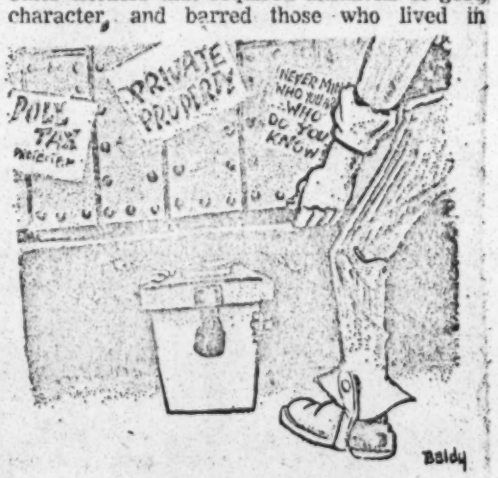
Louisiana and Mississippi came up with the "reasonable interpretation" rule. It was a real tricker. The law provided that a prospective voter could be required to give a "reasonable interpretation" of any clause in the state or federal Constitution, and left it to the local registrars to define their own rules of reason. In courthouse squares, the knee-slappers were told:

"Well, Rastus," says the registrar, "tell me what is meant when it says that no state shall grant letters of marque and reprisal?"

"Why suh, that means this ol' nigguh ain' goin' vote in Sunflower County!"

Was funny then

IT SEEMED FUNNY, then. There were other trickers that required affidavits of good character, and barred those who lived in



CURTAIN GOING UP
—Baldy, Atlanta Constitution

common law cohabitation. There were registrars who couldn't be found, or stayed out to lunch for 30 days. And the funny thing, really, was that all the time, some of these Southerners were braying to the heavens about how much they loved the Constitution. They cried the Tenth Amendment from the housetops; and they buried the Fifteenth where no one could find it.

To be sure, not all of these sins occurred in all of the South. Over most of the area, especially in recent years, Negroes have in fact registered without let or hindrance. Today the segregationist Democrats who once disdained the Negro vote are bidding furiously for it. Most of the South has got religion, but there is more expedience than penance in the sudden conversion.

True enough, two wrongs don't make right; and you ought not to attack violations of the Constitution by violating the Constitution. In this case, two wrongs have made a voting [illegible] Now we live with it. (c)

1,030 sign up at Bessemer

BESSEMER, Aug. 26 — A record number of persons registered to vote in a three-day session of the Board of Registrars in the court house here this week.

Board officials said a total of 984 Negroes and 46 white persons were registered, in the first registration here since passage of the voting rights bill.

Officials said these totals are much greater than the total in a comparable period for the entire county in previous years.

ABOUT 400 complaint forms were signed, a board spokesman said, by Negroes who were not able to register. It was estimated a total of 650 persons were turned away during the three-day period.

Officials said the great majority of those registering lived in Bessemer, with scattering of registrants living in other communities of the Cutoff Division.

Extra help was employed for the Bessemer registrations and the office was open from 8 a.m. until 4 p.m., with no registrants admitted after 3.

File - VEP

T E N T A T I V E A G E N D A

LOCAL GOVERNMENT SEMINAR
CLARK COLLEGE, KRESGE HALL

JULY 27-29, 1967

* * * * * * *

THURSDAY, JULY 27

3:00 - 5:00 p.m.	-	Registration, Brawley Hall
6:00 - 7:00	-	DINNER - College Dining Hall
		FIRST SESSION
	-	Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., Presiding
	-	Greetings, Q. V. Williamson
	-	Remarks, Paul Anthony - Director, SRC.
		"Why We Are Here" -- Vivian Henderson President Clark College
	-	Keynote Address -- Bayard Rustin Director A Philip Randolph Inst.
	-	Question and Answer Period
9:30 - Until	-	'Get Acquainted Reception' Paschal's Executive Suite

FRIDAY, JULY 28

8:00 a. m.	-	Breakfast -- College Dining Hall
9:00 - 10:00	-	SECOND SESSION
	-	"Kinds of Local Government" -- Samuel DuBois Cook Professor Duke University
10:00 - 10:30	-	COFFEE BREAK
10:30 - 12:30	-	"Problems of Urban Government" -- John Field U. S. Conference of Mayors
12:30 - 1:30	-	LUNCH, College Dining Hall

FRIDAY, JULY 28 (Cont'd)

1:30 - 3:00 - THIRD SESSION, Kresge Hall

- "Practical Problems of Negro Councilmen"

Panel: Q. V. Williamson, Aldermatic Board, Atlanta
Henry Marsh, City Council, Richmond, Va.
John Stewart, City Council, Durham, N. C.
C. S. Hamilton, City Council, Augusta, Ga.

3:30 - 4:00 - COFFEE BREAK

4:00 - 5:30 - "Problem Areas of Urban Government"

Housing -- Robert Thompson
Assistant to the Regional Administrator
Dept. Housing & Urban Dev.

Crime -- John O. Boone
Director
Crime and Corrections, SRC

Education -- Jean Fairfax
NAACP Legal Defense & Educational Fund,

Welfare -- Marian Wright
Attorney at Law
Jackson, Miss.

6:30 - 8:00 - RECEPTION -- Paschal's Executive Suite

8:00 -10:00 - FOURTH SESSION

DINNER -- Paschal's Matador Room

Guest Speaker, Alfred M. Pelham
Assistant Vice-President for Finance
Wayne State University

SATURDAY, JULY 29

8:00 - - BREAKFAST, College Dining Hall

9:00 - 10:30 - FIFTH SESSION, Kresge Hall

"The City, The Law, The Poor"
Jack Greenberg
Director-Counsel
NAACP, Legal Defense & Educational Fun

10:30 - 11:30 - Open Discussion

11:30 ADJOURNMENT

File VEP - Labor Program

V.E.P. NEWS

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

SEPTEMBER 1968 VOL. 2, NO. 9 Southern Regional Council, Inc. 5 Forsyth St., N.W. Atlanta, Ga. 30303

OVER 3 MILLION NEGROES ON VOTING LISTS IN SOUTH

More than three million Negroes are on the registration rolls in the South for the 1968 presidential election, according to newly prepared figures of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council.

Figures compiled during the spring and summer of 1968 show a total Negro registration of 3,112,000 in 11 Southern states. This is an increase of 947,800 over Negro registration in the South for the 1964 presidential election.

Negro registration in the region now is 16.5 per cent of the total, as against 13.2 per cent in 1964.

White registration stands at 15,702,000 in the region, up from 14,264,000 in 1964. However, much of the increase in white registration has occurred in Texas, and is attributed in large part to registration of Mexican-Americans.

Sixty-two per cent of all voting-age black persons in the region and 78.1 per cent of all eligible whites are registered to vote. Only 43.3 per cent of the Negro voting age population was registered in 1964.

In Mississippi, where Negroes comprised the smallest percentage of voters in any Southern state four years ago, blacks now have greater voting strength than in any of the other 10 states. The ratio of Negro-to-white voters has climbed from 5.2 per cent to 26.6 per cent. Only 6.7 per cent of voting age Negroes was registered in 1964, compared with 59.4 per cent today.

In South Carolina, the Negro registration figure has been brought back to 189,000—the same number who were registered when statewide re-registration began a little over a year ago. White registration, on the other hand, has dropped by 143,000 to 587,000.

The Voter Education Project is publishing county-by-county registration figures, by race, for seven states. The four states not included are Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee and Virginia. Copies of the booklet may be obtained by writing VEP.

BLACK OFFICIALS TO MEET DEC. 11-14

The Rev. John Morris, former executive director of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity (ESCRU), has joined the Voter Education Project staff to coordinate a "Southwide Conference of Black Elected Officials" planned in Atlanta Dec. 11-14.

Morris is in charge of planning the program and making arrangements for some 225 Southern Negro officeholders expected at the conference at the Dinkler Hotel. The Southwide conference will be similar to VEP's Louisiana and Mississippi institutes for black elected officials. Negro elected officials across the South will be invited.

In a preliminary invitation to Negro officeholders Oct. 3, VEP director Vernon Jordan said: "As an outgrowth of the Voter Education Project's various programs in recent years, this unprecedented meeting will focus on both general problems common to Negro elected officials, as well as on the specific duties of each category of public office."

(Continued on page 4)

VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH

SPRING-SUMMER, 1968

	White VAP*	Negro VAP	White Registered	% White VAP Registered	Negro Registered	% Negro VAP Registered	% Negro
ALABAMA	1,353,058	481,320	1,117,000	82.5	273,000	56.7	19.6
ARKANSAS	850,643	192,626	640,000	75.2	130,000	67.5	16.9
FLORIDA	2,617,438	470,261	2,195,000	83.8	292,000	62.1	11.7
GEORGIA	1,797,062	612,910	1,524,000	84.7	344,000	56.1	18.4
LOUISIANA	1,289,216	514,589	1,133,000	87.9	305,000	59.3	21.2
MISSISSIPPI	748,266	422,256	691,000	92.4	251,000**	59.4	26.6
N. CAROLINA	2,005,955	550,929	1,579,000	78.7	305,000	55.3	16.2
S. CAROLINA	895,147	371,873	587,000	65.6	189,000	50.8	24.5
TENNESSEE	1,779,018	313,873	1,448,000	81.3	228,000	72.6	13.6
TEXAS	4,884,765	649,512	3,532,000	72.3	540,000	83.1	13.2
VIRGINIA	1,876,167	436,720	1,256,000	67.0	255,000	58.4	16.9
TOTALS	20,096,735	5,016,100	15,702,000	78.1	3,112,000	62.0	16.5

*VAP = Voting Age Population

**Corrects mathematical error in previous table.

1964: 13.2%

Voter Education Project

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW, Atlanta, Ga. 30303

DR. SAMUEL D. COOK
Chairman

PAUL ANTHONY
H. A. (HANK) BROWN
DR. C. G. GOMILLION
DR. VIVIAN W. HENDERSON
JESSE HILL
NORMAN HILL
FRANK SMITH
RUSSELL SUGARMON
DR. C. H. THOMAS, JR.
JOHN WHEELER

VERNON E. JORDAN, JR.
Director

2 STATES HOLD FINAL PRIMARIES

The last 1968 party primaries and primary runoffs in the South were held in Georgia and Louisiana in September.

The Georgia joint Democratic and Republican primary was Sept. 11, and a Democratic primary runoff was held Sept. 25. Louisiana's Democratic primary runoff was Sept. 28.

While 32 Negro candidates will be in the running in Georgia Nov. 5, only nine will have arrived there by overcoming opposition in the Sept. 11 primary. Four others who made it into the runoff Sept. 25 were defeated in the second election.

An Atlanta Negro attorney, Maynard H. Jackson Jr., polled 206,000 votes in a statewide race Sept. 11 against Sen. Herman E. Talmadge. Talmadge, who faces Republican opposition for the first time this fall, won by 488,000 votes.

Four candidates in Democratic primary races for the state House of Representatives—including incumbent John Hood of Atlanta—defeated their opponents. The Atlanta metropolitan area county of DeKalb will be represented by a Negro for the first time next winter with the election of the primary winner, who defeated a Negro opponent. The other winners were in Fulton County and in Chatham County. Chatham also has never had a Negro representative in the Legislature.

As a rule, Georgia's successful Negro candidates were in the largest metropolitan areas. The exception was Hancock County, where Negroes outnumber whites about 3-to-2. All three Negro candidates won, including an incumbent county commissioner, a new candidate for county commission and a young woman running for ordinary.

Other primary winners were candidates for county commission in Bibb and Chatham counties.

Thirty-one black candidates lost to whites and three others lost their races to Negroes. In Taliaferro and Sumter counties, Negroes failed to get enough petition signatures to get their names on the ballot. A black candidate for sheriff in Sumter County was forced to move to another city because of harassing phone calls to his pregnant wife.

The only Negro running in Louisiana's Democratic primary runoff Sept. 28 received 12,000 white votes—enough combined with black votes to make him the first Negro nominee to the East Baton Rouge Parish council.

A recount showed that a black candidate for the Jackson Parish school board did not receive enough votes to get into a runoff.

DIRECTOR'S DIRECT LINE

'68 Results Could Depend On Black Vote

As reported elsewhere in this issue of V. E. P. News, more than three million Negroes in the South are registered to vote in next month's presidential election. This is 16½ per cent of the total registration in the region, or about one out of every six voters in the South.

At a glance 16½ per cent might not sound like a politically influential force. But given the vast uncertainties of the 1968 election formula, this one-sixth might very well decide how the South's 128 electoral votes are cast.

There are ample recent historical grounds for saying this. In 1964, the Negro share of the South's vote was even smaller than it is this year. Four years ago, black registration was only 13.2 per cent of the regional total. Yet a 1964 study by the Southern Regional Council found that the Negro vote in the presidential election tipped four states into the Johnson column. These states were Arkansas, Florida, Tennessee, and Virginia. One other state, North Carolina, might have gone to Goldwater by a narrow margin if it had not been for the Democratic ballots cast by Negro voters.

It is even more probable that the Negro vote, now nearly one million stronger in the South, can be the balance of power in 1968. This year instead of two major candidates for President there are three. There will be an even closer division of the white vote. Each of the major candidates—Mr. Nixon, Mr. Wallace, and Mr. Humphrey—can claim (on grounds that we will not take the time to discuss here) a sizeable white following in most of the 11 Southern states. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that Negro voters could very well decide the issue in a half-dozen or so Southern states.

Much of this hinges, of course, on how well Negroes turn out Nov. 5. To be sure, black turn-outs in some of the primaries this summer were disappointing. This was true in Georgia, South Carolina, and several other states.

As we have said several times before in this space, registration is but one step in becoming involved in the political process. Important as it is, registration alone stands for very little. Registration must be followed by a pattern of voting in each and every election. Indeed, many states require (in theory, at least) regular voting by removing the names of non-voters from registration lists.

To be sure, Negroes are at a marked disadvantage in getting voters to the polls. Many community organizations across the South have told us that they do not have the money and the means to get people to the voting places. This is, of course, but one more example of the discriminatory political and social tax that Negroes in the South are forced to pay because they are severely disadvantaged economically.

Unfortunately the Voter Education Project cannot supply funds for get-out-the-vote programs. We have had many requests for such assistance. We are bound to say, always, that we are not permitted to use our funds to support get-out-the-vote efforts.

Organizationally, however, Negroes can take more effective steps now to increase voter turn-outs. This is a subject about which more will be said in the future. For the moment, however, community leaders would do well to get the VEP booklet, "How To Conduct a Registration Campaign," and use the same outline for setting up a get-out-the-vote program. If you'll write us, we'll be happy to send you a copy of the booklet.—VERNON E. JORDAN JR.

MORE THAN 100 BLACK CANDIDATES NOV. 5

BY JANET WELLS

The names of at least 113 black candidates will be on the ballots in 11 Southern states Nov. 5. And if a suit filed by the National Democratic Party of Alabama in federal court is successful, the number of black candidates will increase substantially with the addition of 91 names to that state's ballots.

Not counting the NDPA candidates, the Negroes running for office include 41 candidates for state house of representatives, nine for state senates, and three independents running for the U. S. House of Representatives.

Ten Negroes who survived the May 7 Alabama primary will be running Nov. 5. They include three candidates for precinct constable in Jefferson County; one for board of revenue, two for justice of the peace and one for school board in Macon County; one for school board in Bullock County; one for constable in Lauderdale County, and one for justice of the peace in Pike County.

Ninety-one persons, including candidates for presidential elector and for U.S. House of Representatives from each of Alabama's eight congressional districts, are seeking to get their names on the general election ballot under the label of the NDPA. Secretary of State Mabel Amos has refused to certify all but two of the state level candidates and a number of others on the local level.

A decision on whether NDPA candidates' names would be on the ballot was expected by Oct 11. The case was heard Sept. 30 by a three-judge panel in the U.S. District Court in Montgomery.

NDPA candidates are seeking local offices in 17 counties, and one is running for state house of representatives from Madison County. No one is sure how many of the 91 candidates are white, but probably about 15 are.

In Georgia, 32 Negro candidates—most of them for the state Legislature and several of them opposing other Negroes —will be on the ballot Nov. 5.

There are 18 black candidates for the State House of Representatives. Two are from Augusta, one from Columbus, one from Savannah and the rest from Atlanta.

Three of the five black candidates for the state Senate are seeking the same Fulton County seat. Incumbent Sen. Horace Ward of Atlanta is running unopposed, and a Negro attorney from Macon is running against a white Republican.

There are two Negroes running for county commission in Chatham County and in Hancock County and one each in Bibb and Muscogee counties. Hancock also has a candidate for ordinary. Other candidates throughout the state are independents running for coroner in Baker and Clay counties in southwest Georgia.

In Virginia, three Negroes are running as independents for the U.S. Congress.

The Rev. J. Cornelius Fauntleroy of Newport News is running against incumbent Rep. Thomas N. Downing in the First District. S. W. Tucker of Emporia is running his third consecutive race against Fourth District Rep. Watkins M. Abbitt.

Mrs. Ruth Harvey Charity is opposing two white males for the Fifth District seat held by retiring Congressman William M. Tuck.

Fourteen black candidates in Tennessee's four major cities are running for office in the general election. All except two candidates for constable in Knoxville are seeking seats in the state Legislature.

In Nashville, where there are also two Negro candidates for the state House, a black independent has filed to run against the Negro Democratic nominee for the Senate. Another Negro independent is running against a Negro Democrat for a Memphis House seat.

There are two other candidates for the House and one for the Senate from Memphis, two for the House from Knoxville and one for the House from Chattanooga.

Fourteen Negroes are running in the Arkansas general and city elections.

The five black candidates for the state House of Representatives include two from Little Rock and one each from Forrest City, Marvell and Dermott. There are four candidates for justice of the peace in Pulaski County and one in Crittenden County. In Pine Bluff two Negroes are running as independents for the board of aldermen, and in Helena's Nov. 5 non-partisan city election, there also are two black candidates for aldermen.

In Texas, five Negroes, including three incumbents, are running for the state Legislature.

Two of the incumbents, State Sen. Barbara Jordan and Rep. Curtis Graves, both of Houston, are unopposed. State Rep. Zan W. Holmes, elected June 18 to fill the unexpired term of the late Joe Lockridge, faces Republican opposition.

A Negro Republican from Houston and one from Dallas are seeking state House seats.

Three Negro Democrats are running against white Republicans for the Florida House of Representatives from Dade, Broward and Palm Beach counties. Other Negro candidates are running for county commission in Dade County, county prosecutor in Broward County and constable in Duval County.

At least nine black candidates are running in North Carolina.

A Greensboro attorney and a minister from Winston-Salem are seeking state House seats. Winston-Salem (Forsyth County) also has a black candidate for state district judge and for the school board.

There are two Negro candidates for county commission and one for school board in Durham County. There also are black candidates for school board in Guilford and Vance counties.

Ten Negroes will be seeking office in Louisiana Nov. 5. They include a candidate for parish council in East Baton Rouge Parish, two candidates for school board in Madison Parish and one for school board in West Feliciana Parish. The Negro incumbent town marshal of Patterson is running for re-election.

Due to a court order for reapportionment of East Carroll Parish, the primary election there was postponed until Nov. 5. Running in that election will be two primary candidates for school board, in addition to two incumbent Negro police jurors and one black member of the school board who must be re-elected from the parish at large.

Negroes in four South Carolina counties are candidates for local offices.

In Beaufort County there are three black candidates for county council, two for school board and two for magistrate, A Negro is running for county council in Fairifeld County, for school board in Newberry County and for coroner in Florence County.

Although no black candidates won primaries in Mississippi June 4, Negroes in a number of counties were expected to file nominating petitions by the Oct. 6 deadline for county school board posts. September 26 was the deadline for filing to run for county election commission, made an elective office for the first time by a new Mississippi law. Elections for both offices will be Nov. 5.

The Reverend John Morris

SOUTHWIDE MEET

(Continued from page 1)

A planning session for the conference was held in Atlanta Sept. 28. Participating were Nils R. Douglas of New Orleans, chairman of the Louisiana Voter Education Project; Dr. Vivian Henderson, president of Clark College and a member of the VEP's advisory committee; Mrs. Taunya L. Banks of Jackson, Miss., director of the Mississippi Center for Black Elected Officials, a VEP project; Mississippi state Rep. Robert Clark; Richmond, Va., City Councilman Henry Marsh; Dr. Samuel Cook of Duke University, chairman of the VEP's advisory committee; James Felder, director of the South Carolina VEP; Georgia state Sen. Horace Ward; Michael Chanin, director of Clark College's Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy, and Georgia state Rep. Julian Bond, former research associate with the VEP.

All attended except Rep. Bond, who was out of town and submitted his suggestions in a letter.

Born in Brunswick, Ga., Morris was graduated from Columbia University and received his bachelor of divinity degree from Virginia Theological Seminary in 1954. From his ordination as an Episcopal priest in 1954 until 1958, he was vicar of a church in Dillon, S.C.

In 1957 he was an editor of "South Carolinians Speak," a book appealing for an end to resistance to racial change in that state.

A founder of ESCRU, Morris served as its executive director in Atlanta from 1958 until 1967.

Last January Morris received ESCRU's Bishop Lichtenberger Human Rights Award. He is married and has four children.

OVER 500 ATTEND SCVEP MEETING

More than 500 representatives of South Carolina county voter registration projects met in Orangeburg Sept. 21 to discuss getting out the Negro vote in November. They heard Georgia state Rep. Julian Bond call for racial solidarity in voting.

Bond delivered the main address at the one-day meeting sponsored by the South Carolina Voter Education Project. Titled "The Negro in the Mainstream of Politics," the conference was held at South Carolina State College.

Bond was head of the loyalist delegation which replaced half of the regular Georgia delegation at the Democratic convention in August. During the summer he worked for VEP as a research associate.

"Racial self-interest, racial consciousness and racial solidarity must always be paramount in the deeds and words of the black political animal," Bond told the group, which also included more than 200 students.

"If self-interest is forgotten, then organized racism will continue to dominate and frustrate the best of organized political actions of any group of black people and will leave them powerless and defenseless," he said.

Forty counties were represented at the conference. Registration was 285 for the morning session and reached 553 by afternoon.

The purpose and main emphasis of the program was to encourage local projects to work for a large turnout of Negro voters Nov. 5.

Participants in panel discussions included three black delegates to the Democratic convention from South Carolina and representatives of the Democratic and Republican parties speaking on behalf of their national candidates. A representative of the American Independent Party and candidate George Wallace was invited but did not attend.

The convention adopted four resolutions. The first declared that the federal investigation of the violence at South Carolina State last spring, when three students were killed by police, was not satisfactory.

Other resolutions expressed dissatisfaction with South Carolina's abuse of the freedom-of-choice plan of desegregation; called for all major state and national candidates to give their definitions of "law and order," and called for the state's voting age to be lowered from 21 to 18.

V.E.P. News Vol. 2 No. 9
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
(Address Correction Requested)

October 15, 1968

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I have frequently heard that a new broom sweeps clean. But a new carpet? What's to be expected? Just a little more cover-up of the region's problems, perhaps.

As for me, I'll be sweeping something under an ordinary rug in Owensboro, Kentucky on Thursday. My loss and my regrets;

Best wishes to all and sundry.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

Kathy

The V.E.P. Intern News

A PUBLICATION OF THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT SUMMER INTERN PROGRAM

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH ST., N.W.
ATLANTA, GA. 30303

VOL. II -- No. 2 July 1969

THE STOUFFER RETREAT

Sandra Philpot

* * * * *

At the Second Annual Stouffer Scholars' Retreat at Quail Roost, Durham, North Carolina, four college students participated in a panel discussion on "The College Scene Today." The four students were Calvin Rogers, North Carolina Central University, Durham, North Carolina; Edith Ervin, Talladega College, Talladega, Alabama; Sandra Green, 69 Graduate of Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.; and Sandra Philpot, Bennett College, Greensboro, North Carolina. The three sister members of the panel are VEP summer interns.

The panelists gave a brief run-down of our institution in terms of the setup of the curriculum, problems we had been confronted with, ways and means of how we had attempted to solve them, and our views of the colleges today.

Cont'd p. 2.

Reprint

The Summer Intern Director wrote a letter recently to Marvin Wall, Director of Research, informing him of the program's progress.

Eugene McLemore

Dear Marvin:

We can take great pride in the dedication and skills of the students selected for the Summer Intern Program. This program has definitely established itself as a vital part of the Voter Education Project. After observing the interns for the past six weeks, I have no doubt as to their concern and worth to the communities in which they have been assigned.

For the most part, each intern is living up to the basic philosophy which the program espouses. That is, they are actually becoming a part of the communities in the true sense of the word. In more specific terms, this means that they are attending church, organizing youth leagues, and in some areas teaching black history classes.

Of course, some are experiencing the many frustrations and anxities which characterize voter

Cont'd p. 2.

Stouffer Scholars' Retreat

All panelists except Sandra Green attend predominantly black, but white oriented liberal arts colleges. The education students have been receiving at these institutions, according to the panelists, has not been geared toward adequately preparing black students to help solve the problems of the black community. We agreed that just setting up a Black Studies Program on campus was not enough. The entire curriculum needs to be revamped in order for black students to get the most of their college education.

Due to the fact that Sandra Green graduated from a predominantly white liberal arts college, she has had to deal with situations that many of the Stouffer Scholars had faced or would face in their predominantly southern white prep schools.

Campus violence, a part of the college scene today, was dealt with by the panelist from Bennett. The one campus used as an example was Duke University in Durham, from which the idea of Malcolm X Liberation University stemmed. The black students at Duke realized, after running against the brick wall of racism, that a counter institution, whose purpose would be to provide a framework within which black stu dents could receive an education relevant to the needs of the black community and the struggle for liberation, was necessary. Thus Malcolm X Liberation University will open in October, 1969 in Durham, North Carolina.

As stated in the purpose of Malcolm X Liberation University it will "develop a Black Ideology, crystalize and project positive self-awareness for black people, and create an educational process that builds and diseminates concepts, techniques and concrete skills to the black community."

Cont'd p. 3.

Eugene McLemore

registration drives. Doors have been slammed in their faces, some community meetings have produced only three or four people, some key project personnel have shown lack of genuine community concern, and, in many cases they have discovered that the "so-called" leaders are not leaders at all. Yet, their desire to see black people become politically effective in their communities have not been tarnished or impeded by these negative experiences.

An intern in North Carolina said that "for the first time in my life I am beginning to fully understand the problems confronting black people in this country. Prior to my intern assignment, it was easy for me to use high lofty phrases and generalize rhetoric and my expression of problems faced by the black community. Today, however, it is a different story and I hope to return home and be just as effective there as I have attempted to be here."

One intern was assigned to her home community; she thought that she had returned to a model community for voter registration. However, this assignment gave her the opportunity to know her community for the first time. She didn't have any idea that the black people in her community had so much fear and apathy toward voter registration and political participation. This caused considerable frustration, so much in fact, that she pondered with the idea of dropping out of the program. Of course, she did not and has become one of the most effective interns we have.

From North Carolina to Louisiana, VEP Summer Interns are "doing their thing": and in this instance, "doing their thing" means helping black people become politically potent. Having to canvass at 105° plus, attending nightly community meetings in various sections of a county is not an easy task.

Cont'd p. 3

Stouffer Scholars' Retreat

This, and other institutions with the same ideology is what black brothers and sisters need in order for us to receive a relevant education.

When asked by Brother Vernon Jordan, Jr., Director of the VEP, who was moderator of the panel, we gave our expressions about SDS, representation on boards of trustees and permissions. The general consensus of the panel was that there is no need for SDS trying to speak to the needs of black people and make decisions for black people, or with them. No coalitions should be formed with white liberals and groups such as SDS in our revolutionary struggle. Black people are quite capable of doing "our own thing."

In terms of representation on boards or communities that make decisions that affect student life, be it in the classroom, or on or off the campus.

# # #

A SOLUTION

Utilize and synthesize
to realize
THE PROBLEM: years of
deception
frustration
castration
vacillation
mis-education
forced integration
social degradation
brutal segregation
racial exploitation
intellectual masturbation
MUST LEAD TO postulation
on a new situation:
Liberation through Africanization
---Kerry Holman

Eugene McLemore

But these dedicated students have taken on the responsibility of working with and for communities across the South and they are doing it admiringly.

Sincerely,

Eugene McLemore
Director
Summer Intern Program

# # #

HOW PROUD I AM-------
TO STUDENT INTERNS

How proud I am
How great I feel,
To know Student Interns
Are for real.

We are growing quick
We are growing fast,
And we are understanding
Blackness as a fundamental task.

Some of our naturals are thick
And some are thin,
But our love for Black people
Is as strong as a hurricane
wind.

How proud I am
How great I feel
To know Brothers and Sisters,
Who are for real.

---Charles Whitaker, Jr.
Newberry County, S. C.

# # #

A MESSAGE ON ALLEGIANCE

By

Tap Taplin

# # # # #

Voter registration, citizenship education, and leadership training, the three objectives of the Voter Education Project are unquestionably means to better the welfare of black people within the existing power structures. As interns we have committed ourselves to these aims, but I think that it is important that we begin to make some distinctions. An important aspect of our job is to remind black elected officials that they represent black folk. They have nothing to gain by protecting the existing power structures when it does nothing to aid black folk. If a man has to take a stand in defense of his people, a stand that opposes the system then the job can be sacrificed. Black elected officials must recognize that it is only with black votes and limited liberal white strength that they have those offices.

This is not an unjust accusation, but a reaffirmation of our first commitment to the black people of the South. I think some black elected officials have shirked that commitment in defense of a "breakthrough." Recently a black judge was appointed by one of our Southern Governors. At the National Democratic Party Hearings on Reforms in that state, this judge refused to publicly testify to the discriminatory practices of that party in the state. This refusal was not because the judge did not recognize how unjust the Democratic Party was in Louisiana, but because he did not want to antagonize the Governor, who had just appointed him. It made no difference to him that all the black leaders who had pressured the Governor's office for this appointment were there testifying. This particular official should be reminded that he faces no dilemma.

His office exist for a black man because of pressure from other black men.

Last summer three black police jurors once had occasion to be called into consultation with a white judge, long known to be the political boss in that area directly before an important police jury vote. They should have nothing to be consulted about. Their only consultation should have been with the black constituency that they represented. At election time black elected officials have to answer to a black electorate, and no matter how many "consultations" those police jurors had with the white judge it will not keep them their jobs. Of course if it did then they should not want a seat on the police jury.

The only vested interest that black officials have is the welfare of black people. One black elected official told me that he could not be seen with a group of welfare demonstrators, all black, on the steps of the state capitol because it would damage his image. What image is he worried about? We have not reached the point of political sophistication where we can start to defend our image for white folks. It does not make a bit of difference how we appear before them. When election time comes around the only image they see is that of a black man.

As interns our own objectives should always classify as paramount the welfare of black folk. This would mean that we will not work to increase registration only to strengthen the lid of repression and oppression over black people. Mr. Jordan pointed out at the beginning of our program that we claimed to crave a "black experience," but I wish to remind him that the experience is not to sell our own commitments short. Black political participation is only valuable to us in the context of a political system that can benefit black folk. We are not out in the field working to create a class of officeholders who are nothing but white folk's political janitors.

Fellow interns we must serve as the conscience of these men who our people elect to represent us. When we see that an elected official, a leader, begins to adapt the values of the system, over the values of black folk, he must be brought back home. In a time when many of our people have decided to abandon efforts for even the tangible results of registration because they are affiliated with a repressive system, we cannot let the few scraps of evidence of success we do have appear tainted in any way. No, Mr. Jordan, we are not "just rhetoric" for nine months of the year either, but we will refuse to commit ourselves to black political participation in the South if that is to mean that black elected officials forget who they represent.

# # #

WE TELL IT LIKE IT IS

Murdock Smith

. . .In Lee County, Arkansas.

It appears that the best thing that could happen here wo would be the creation of some issues over which the black people could get together and work together. At times I have been sorely tempted to call Atlanta and ask to be withdrawn for I felt that the money could be better spent elsewhere, but now I do believe that it is here in a place like Arkansas that the real battle will come. The white people here have been very 'smart', though I do not know whether it is intentional or not, they have given just enough to keep the black people from effectively organizing. In a situation such as it is in Mississippi, Alabama, or Louisiana, in my opinion, more readily handled

Cont'd p. 7

Pat Ware

. . . In Laurens, South Carolina

Our greatest difficulty seems to be convincing our people that it isn't senseless or useless to go to the polls and voice your choice. They cannot seem to understand that they can and must affect changes in their own community. Instead of getting together and forgetting personality differences, they seem to be compelled to continue to bicker among themselves. This difficulty to make the people see the need of organization and the need to accept the responsibility for their own destinies has caused me much anxiety. The need for citizenship classes for the people are apparent. Unfortunately, the people in this town have tended the civic meetings (at least the ones I attended) very sparingly. These meetings just don't seem to be their

Cont'd p. 7

Murdock Smith

for in such states the racial co-option has been and still is very strong and powerful and very apparent. In those states the black people know who their 'enemy' is and has a definite objective, while in a state such as Arkansas the lines are not as clear, it may be that the black people realize who their 'enemy' is, but it is more that they feel that time will bring change---but time is very rapidly running out, if not already totally gone. The people here cannot or will not get together and work together to gain their full rights, in all fields, this may be the result of many years of conditioning or resignation to the fact that the white people here do not want them to participate in political affairs. The greatest difficulty in beginning to solve the problem here is to assist in the realization that the black people must express a unified voice in all issues, a solid voting block which could effectively bring about their desires and demands. As to what could possibly change this situation I do not know, except a continuing effort through stressing the importance of working together.

Pat Ware

groove. Of course there are probably reasons for this I don't know about. Maybe and probably our communication techniques aren't very effective. There seems to be a trend in the black communities of many of the little towns of Laurens County towards prosperity. Too many of the people seem to have become complacent and to have accepted what they have as the zenith of achievement. Too often after knocking on the door of a relatively new, nicely furnished home we have been told "No, I'm not registered. It doesn't do a thing but stir up trouble, besides I'm doing just as well or better than a lot of people who are registered." What do you tell such a man? You stand dumbfounded for a couple of seconds because you know he has children who will or are already attending public schools and he pays property tax and all the other taxes for which he is content not to try to influence how they are spent.

# # #

In political work, "quite often "caution becomes cowardice," indifference becomes complicity, pity becomes castration, and right without might becomes wrong.

# # #

Edith Erwin - - - - Franklinton, North Carolina

Desegregation in the public schools has brought with it the usual problems. Parents complain that their children are all placed together, usually with a black teacher. On the buses, the black students oftentimes have to sit together, usually with a black teacher. One parent cited an example where her six year old daughter was made to sit in the back of the bus, but a teacher who was also on the bus. The child had been sitting where she pleased before that. In addition to the previously mentioned problems, there is also the problem of black principals being replaced by white ones.

Black students in one area, the Youngsville township, cited problems they have encountered. They have no representation in student

Edith Erwin

government affairs, no participation in extra-curricular activities, and other minor problems. To try and counteract these problems, the students have formed a Black Student Organization in hopes of alleviating some of the same problems in September.

Measures are now being taken to negotiate matters with the school board. This meeting will probably take place around the latter part of August.

# # # # #

KATHLEEN KNOX

Rock Hill, South Carolina

I have also become emotional a time or two when I see the small children and how they are oftentimes suffering. One home that I went to in the rural, about 10 miles on the outskirts of Rock Hill revealing the horrors of poverty, neglect and malnutrition working in full force, brought tears to my eyes. When we called at the house to pick up the mother , who is the head of the household of 4 children, she was ready and waiting. She asked us to excuse the appearance of her kitchen because she had not been at home all day. There were two girls, one seven weeks old and the other girl 18 months of age and two boys (ages: 8 and 10).

Upon entering the house there was a distinct odor which I realized in a few minutes was coming from the baby. The little baby was so small until I was afraid at first to handle her for fear of hurting her. Flies were all around the baby as she lay on the couch and when she attempted to cry, there was only

Cont'd p. 9.

LORRAINE TAYLOR

Grambling, Louisiana

I have been through a lot experiences this summer. I experienced seeing and hearing some things I've never seen nor heard before and I don't think I will ever see or hear again.

While canvassing one day I started a conversation with a middle aged lady. She told me that one day a White man wanted to get her attention, so he addressed her as "Nancy." She immediately replied by saying "My mother didn't name me Nancy and I do not wish to be referred to as Nancy. He changed that quick, then decided to answer his question.

One man wasn't going down to register until he found out a Negro was running for office. He said it would do no good to be a registered voter if some of our people couldn't run for office. He also said he knew full well there were many educated Blacks who could hold some of these offices and he feel they should be given a chance. This was an elderly man speaking.

Cont'd p. 9.

Kathleen Knox

a muffled sound---not the cry of a healthy baby. Her skin was and had a spotted appearance. The 18 month sister presented a picture of the other physical extreme. Her body was fat and puffy---I gathered from eating such things as cheese puffs which provided the 3 older children with a meal while I was there.

The baby began to cry and holding her was not the solution. I asked the oldest child if she might be hungry. He told me that she had not eaten since early that morning. That really got to me because I had learned from my mother---a pediatrics nurse---sometime ago that a baby that young should be fed every 4 hours. Why had this little girl who needed nourishment so badly suffered until 6:00 in the evening was the question which went continuously through my mind. I got up and went to the kitchen and prepared her a formula which she was gulping so fast until I was praying that she would not choke. The baby fell asleep and I spent the rest of my time playing with the other 3 children. The situation puzzled me! I realized that the situation was due to our social structure. Why does a black woman and mother have to spend all of her day working in a field with hardly any pay and have to neglect her children? In this situation, I then asked myself, "Does she have a choice?" I concluded that this young black lady due to the injustices found within our structure must try to provide for her family the best way that she can. However, these are the injustices that we as young people and leaders of tomorrow must not let stand.

Lorraine Taylor

I've witnessed grown men running and hiding so we wouldn't see them. When I look at all this and really think about it, I'm glad I was a part of all this or I should say I'm glad that I had a little to do with trying to improve the Black communities.

I went to a home where the people were putting up peas so they would have some type of food in the winter.

We went to pick up a lady on Sunday to take her down to the courthouse to register. She got in the car with a big bottle of pills in a bag. She said that the bottle of pills and two small bottles cost her forty-dollars.

It was for her grandson who had polio. She said if she have to pay forty-dollars for medicine what will they be able to eat. Her grandson only gets forty-dollars from the welfare.

While we were taking her down to register, we stopped at a drugstore in downtown Ruston. We checked the price of the medicine there and it was approximately twelve or thirteen dollars less than what she had paid for it.

Then we visited a home where a very elderly coupled lived. They grew many types of vegetables which a White man would buy.

We asked them would they go down and register. They said the white man told them they were too old to register.

We immediately changed that and took them down to register.

"ALL BECAUSE OF THE DOLLAR"

All because of the dollar, men lie, steal and kill and even you will do the same for a dollar.

All because of the dollar, there is hunger in the land and theres' hell in the eyes of the have nots who cannot get the dollar that is so much needed.

All because of the dollar, War is carried on; guns are made; blood runs like water; men cry like babies and bombs are dropped on high class animals.

All because of the dollar, teachers lie like hell; some make off the wall statements; students cheat and some buy the teacher. Plus some just don't give a damn;education is in a fix.

All because of the dollar, people commit suicide; folks take some kind of pill or drug; some drink alcohol while others sex themselves out of this world.

All because of the dollar, I hate you; you hate me; Blacks hate Whites; Whites hate Blacks and everybody hates somebody or dislikes them.

All because of the dollar, the White House is in a fix; The President is all mixed up and Congress sets back on their hindparts not giving a damn;oh yes! "they give a damn about taking all the poor folks money and leaving the rich alone."

All because of the dollar, Justice sold out to Injustice; Right fainted when Wrong stepped in; Hate ran Love out of business; Peace gave birth to world wars and man himself has become a thing that money controls.

All in all, we will see the dollar bring us to our destruction, and nobody cares about the disease that is eating the inside of America up. Oh! what a cancerous dollar. The dollar, the No. 1 killer in America.

--- Jesse Franklin
Wilson, North Carolina

MILLENNIUM ?

I've grown weary
Of hearing empty words
Of seeing wingless birds
Of feeling cold callous hands
Of being nothing to the world.

Sunrise!
Just a streak, signals another
False hope.

Sunset mingles with Darkness
The cold sets in
The path home becomes blurred
I can see very little besides nothing
Oh but how I feel
The piercing pain
Of putrid progress.

----Weldon Rougeau

Voter Education Project, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., Director

Weldon J. Rougeau, Field Director

Eugene McLemore, Director, Summer Intern Program

EV

T E S T I M O N Y

of

VERNON E. JORDAN, JR.

Director,

Voter Education Project,

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

- - -

B E F O R E T H E

Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights,

Committee on the Judiciary,

United States Senate

- - -

February 25, 1970

Mr. Chairman, I thank you for the opportunity to appear here today. My name is Vernon E. Jordan Jr. For the past four years I have been Director of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., whose offices are located in Atlanta, Georgia.

This will be among my last few public appearances in my present capacity, for at the end of this month I will depart my present job to become Executive Director of the United Negro College Fund, whose offices are in New York.

Since 1962, Mr. Chairman, the Voter Education Project has been giving small grants to various organizations, most of them Negro organizations, in eleven Southern states for the purpose of conducting voter registration drives in their localities. For the most part, these drives have been conducted among black people for the very good reason that most whites in the South are registered to vote, whereas Negro registration in the South has been abysmally low. Since 1962, Mr. Chairman, Negro registration in the South has more than doubled. This has been accomplished partly through the efforts of my organization, and partly because of the legislation we are here to discuss today: the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Before the Voting Rights Act was adopted less than one-third of the Negro voting-age population of the South was registered to vote. The exact figure was 33.1 per cent against

a white registration of 73.2 per cent of the white voting-age population. In Alabama less than one-fourth of the voting-age Negroes were registered to vote when the Voting Rights Act was signed by President Johnson, and in Mississippi the figure was an incredibly low 8.3 per cent. In fact in November of 1963, Mr. Chairman, the Voter Education Project reluctantly discontinued the funding of local registration drives in Mississippi because all the money and effort expended by these drives could get only a handful of Negroes registered to vote, and the results thus were running dishearteningly behind the efforts.

Today 59.5 per cent of the black population is registered to vote in the seven states covered by the 1965 Act. There has been an increase of 897,000 Negroes registered to vote in these seven states. Nevertheless, black registration continues to run significantly behind white registration. White registration is 83.8 per cent in the seven states covered. The increase in white registration has been 1,058,000---or 161,000 more than the black increase. Let me quickly explain that when I speak of the eleven states covered, I am referring to the six states fully covered, and the state of North Carolina, which is covered to the extent of 39 counties. Let me also explain, just to clear up any misunderstandings, that I have used 1960 census figures on voting-age population, simply because these are the only official population figures available by race for the various political subdivisions of the South.

These 1960 figures grow more outdated every minute, of course, but they remain useful as guideposts to the various levels of white and black registration.

The remarkable growth of black political strength in the South since 1965 has been amply described in the course of the debate on extension of the '65 Act. I am reviewing that growth briefly today, because my organization has been so much a part of it, and because I feel that it is such an important development in the recent history of the South. Let me mention just one more statistic that is, like the others cited in this debate, the product of our organization: that is, the 540 black men and women who hold elected offices in the eleven Southern states. Many of these officials---indeed the largest number of them---hold offices in the states covered by the Act. I can assure you, in the strongest way I know how, that only a fraction of these officials could have been elected to office without the dramatic increases in black registration which have occurred over the last several years.

It is because of my first-hand knowledge of what has been accomplished under the 1965 Voting Rights Act, and it is because of my first-hand knowledge of how much more needs to be accomplished, that I have felt deeply and most earnestly that the 1965 Act should be extended. Indeed, I feel that the Act not only should be extended, but also should be strengthened and

put to more effective use than it has been.

Now I am aware that the Administration proposal would continue some provisions of the 1965 Act and extend these provisions to the entire nation. For example, the Attorney General still would have the power to send federal examiners into the South to register voters, and would have the additional power to also send these federal examiners to other parts of the country. But one wonders how meaningful such a provision is when one looks at the number of counties designated for federal examiners even under the present Act. Under the present Act, only 64 of the 556 Southern counties covered have been designated for examiners. One wonders if the time has come to extend the coverage of the Act, when so little use has been made of the Act even in the area presently covered. Few Southern black people, only recently enfranchised by the 1965 Voting Rights Act, will take comfort in knowing that a county in Illinois or Indiana can be designated for federal examiners, when only two have been designated in South Carolina---and none in Virginia and North Carolina---under the current Act. As a footnote I might add that no county has been designated for federal examiners during the current Administration, which took office more than a year ago. I might also point out that the percentage of Negro registration remains abysmally low in many counties to which no examiners have been sent.

In short, one wonders how examiners and observers are going to be sent all over the country when not even enough can be assigned in the Deep South, where the need for such examiners has been well-established by overwhelming statistical and historical evidence.

But putting all that aside, there remains an important and crucial difference between the present Act and the Administration bill. The difference, of course, is the deletion of Section 5 of the present Act, and the substitution of a new section that would be far less effective.

Section 5 of the present law requires any state or political subdivision covered by the Act to submit any changes in election laws or procedures to the Attorney General for approval. This is an essential provision of the present Act. Without that provision, the states covered could nullify the gains in black registration simply by adopting election laws and procedures that would render black votes ineffective which is what some of the states and communities are trying to do anyway, as ably reported by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights in their study, "Political Participation," published in May of 1968. If it had not been for Section 5 of the present Act, there is no telling to what extent the states and communities covered might have legislated and manipulated to continue their historical practice of excluding Negroes from the Southern

political process.

The Administration proposal would remove the fragile 1965 wall of protection from around the thousands of newly registered Negro voters in the South. If the Attorney General had "reason to believe" that a state, county, city, or town were using discriminatory laws or procedures, he could go to court and try to get a restraining order. Notice that the state, county, city, or town involved would not have to submit its changes in election laws and procedures to the Justice Department. Rather, the Justice Department would have to seek out these changes. If the Attorney General---through intuition or hard information---felt that the changes were discriminatory, then he could, if he wished, file suit to prevent the use of these laws or procedures. A three-judge court would rule. At some date in the distant future, long after the new laws or procedures had been applied, and quite likely after several elections had been held, the three-judge court could find that the new procedures were indeed discriminatory and order them stopped.

How would the Attorney General find out if the state, county, city, or town had adopted a discriminatory new procedure? Merely reading the changes in the state election code would not be enough. Southern lawmakers, administrative officials, and party officials are adept at their efforts to deny the Negro the ballot. They have demonstrated their skill at evading and

thwarting every effort to bring black people into the mainstream of Southern life.

Our last information at the Voter Education Project was that the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department has fewer than 100 lawyers to enforce all of the civil rights legislation on the books in all of the fifty states of the United States. This is, of course, an impossible task.

But if the task is impossible now, consider how much more impossible it would be if the Administration bill is passed. Changes in election laws and procedures would not be mailed in by the Attorney General of Mississippi. Neither would they be mailed in by the City Clerk of Selma, Alabama. They would not be submitted by the County Commission of Baker County, Georgia. Rather, the Justice Department, with its already small and overburdened staff, would have to seek out these discriminatory new procedures, investigate them, prepare a suit, and take them to court.

This is not merely additional work for an already understaffed division of the Justice Department; it is an open invitation to the states, cities, counties, and towns covered by the Voting Rights Act to change their laws and procedures at will. The more the changes, the more the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department will have to pursue the changes.

Already civil rights laws are being ignored and flaunted all over the South, particularly in remote rural areas. The theory was explicitedly stated by a white man to one of our field workers in Southwest Georgia last summer: "It will take the Justice Department a hundred years to get down to a little county like ours."

The Administration proposal is a clear signal to officials of the white South: "Go back to your old ways. Even the meager enforcement machinery that already was there is being taken away. You need no longer fear interference from Washington in your treatment of black people in your communities. You need no longer worry about blacks being elected to your city and county offices."

Mr. Chairman, for the last four years the Voter Education Project has helped finance 100 or so voter registration and citizenship education programs in eleven Southern states. Usually these are short programs lasting six or eight weeks. In exchange for our funding, we ask these programs to send us weekly reports. These reports, Mr. Chairman, provide some of the most fascinating and revealing reading as any to be found anywhere about what is going on in the South today. Many of these reports tell of harassment and intimidation of Negroes who fear that if they register to vote that they will be evicted from their farms or discharged from their jobs, or

have their welfare checks cut off. Not even the present law and the present enforcement machinery can motivate thousands of Southern Negroes to overcome the fear and the apprehension ingrained by generations of white oppression, to go to the courthouse to register, and later to vote.

Consider the report we received last November from Humphreys County, which is located in the Mississippi Delta, and in which a civil rights worker, George Lee, was shot to death in the courthouse square attempting to register in 1955. In October of last year the project we supported in Humphreys County reported as follows: "People in this area still fear the courthouse and don't want to register because they feel they will lose their jobs, or will have to move off the plantation with no place to go, or their welfare, social security, etc., checks will be cut off because this has happened in the past." Later in October a field representative of the Voter Education Project visited Humphreys County. He found that only a few days prior to his visit the plantation owner "happened" to show up at the courthouse precisely at the same time some of his tenants were arriving to register to vote. The plantation owner, who holds an office in the county, told the tenants that they had a choice between registering to vote and returning to the plantation.

This was reported to the Justice Department. In November came another report from the Humphreys County project saying: "Justice Department sent FBI's into county last week to investigate. We have not gotten any results." We talked to the Humphreys County registration leaders a few days ago, and they had heard nothing further from the Justice Department.

I quote these reports to indicate the slowness and general ineffectiveness of the present enforcement machinery. How much slower and how much more ineffective will the machinery be when the provisions of the Act and the task facing the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department is spread, paper-thin across the nation? How much more reluctant will black people be to overcome their ingrained fears when the word gets back to the crossroads, bayous and ghettoes---as it gradually will---that Uncle Sam no longer will be looking over the shoulders of the Southern whites who control the election machinery of the region.

Already there are efforts to manipulate, gerrymander and baffle the black voters of the South. Predominantly black voting places suddenly are moved without notice on the eve of elections. Voters are shifted from one precinct to another without notification. District elections are changed to at-large elections so as to dilute the black vote. Political boundaries are redrawn, and elected offices are changed to

appointive offices. Qualifying fees and other qualifications for seeking offices suddenly are changed in subtle ways designed to make it difficult for Negroes to run.

The same states that were the most efficient, determined and malicious in their efforts to keep black people off the registration rolls can be expected to be the most efficient, determined and malicious in their efforts to cancel out the growing black vote. Congress was mindful of this possibility when it put Section 5 into the Voting Rights Act. If there were those who felt that the states covered by the Act would repent and turn from their evil discriminatory traditions in five short years, then those people were overly optimistic and sadly mistaken.

Mr. Chairman, I am a life-long resident of one of the seven states covered by the Voting Rights Act. I am quite familiar with the atmosphere in my state and with the white supremacist attitudes of the politicians who tightly control local politics in my state, particularly in rural areas. Moreover, Mr. Chairman, my position as director of the Voter Education Project for the past four years has carried me into virtually every corner of the other six states. I have been in close contact with blacks at the grassroots level who are seeking to enter and use the political process in order to push for remedies to the injustices imposed on them at birth

by a white-controlled society. I know---as well as any man in this room that Canton and Grenada and Selma and Sandersville and hundreds of other Southern communities stand poised and ready to eliminate the burgeoning black vote in their jurisdictions. The slightest flicker of a green light from Washington is all these white-dominated communities need. When they receive the signal, they will act!

More than mere politics is involved here. More than a few legislative seats and school board positions are at stake. In fact, the entire future of black people in the Deep South is at stake. I am sure I do not have to explain to this distinguished subcommittee that politics affect every aspect of our society. Politics determine whose roads get paved; whose garbage gets collected; who gets job opportunities and what kind; and who gets good schools and who doesn't. Indeed, more than one of the registration projects we have supported have told us in recent months that the level of black voter registration would influence whether or not schools in the community would be peacefully desegregated.

It is ironic, Mr. Chairman, to see states that have established international reputations for practicing discrimination complain that the 1965 Voting Rights Act discriminates against them. These states are under suspicion, and rightfully

so. These states have been assigned special obligations toward their black citizens of voting age, and rightfully so. It is no great burden to require these states to inform the Attorney General of changes in their election laws and procedures. These states know why this requirement has been placed on them. These states know very well---as well as I do---why it needs to be continued. As Mrs. Taunya Banks, director of our Mississippi Center for Elected Officials, puts it: "It is inconceivable that Congress can actually believe that just five years under the Voting Rights Act can eliminate over 100 years of racial discrimination in the South."

Once before, Congress has said to Southern Negroes: "If you are wronged, and if your voting rights are abridged, take it to court." The Voting Rights Act was a recognition of the hollowness of that advice. Mrs. Banks, who is a lawyer, points out that the preparation of such cases can involve hundreds of hours. A small corps of lawyers, underpaid and overworked, already carries a heavy responsibility for pressing litigation on behalf of oppressed Southern Negroes. It is absurd to expect that they can take on the additional load of combating the hundreds of discriminatory changes that will be made in election laws and procedures if Section 5 is not extended in its present form.

When the attorney general of Mississippi appeared before the House Judiciary Committee last summer to ask that the Voting Rights Act not be extended, he made many interesting statements, according to the transcript. One was that Negroes "could go to the registrars of Mississippi and register themselves without fear." Mrs. Banks is among the thousands of Mississippi Negroes who would dispute that testimony, for she told us in a recent communication that she expects many Mississippi counties to require complete re-registration and she anticipates that "many blacks will become disfranchised, since many county and city registrars still insist on intimidating prospective black registrants." Let me just say, Mr. Chairman, that we could, if we wished, fill this room many times over with black people who could refute the testimony of the attorney general of Mississippi.

We live in a time, Mr. Chairman, when many young black people are advising other blacks to give up working for change through the American political system. I must confess that there are many times when I can see the point of their advice. We live in a time when high governmental officials are insisting that everyone must work through the existing system. One wonders if these officials realize how insensitive that advice must sound at times to people who must risk their jobs, their livelihood and their well-being even to get their names

on the list of registered voters.

When former President Johnson presented the Voting Rights Act to Congress in March of 1965, he said with determination: "We shall overcome." But five years later the black voter in the South faces hostile Southern white faces just as resourceful and recalcitrant now as they were then. The new black voter, still substantially outnumbered by whites, must rely on help from Washington to preserve the tenuous gains that have been made. I personally believe, based on my experience and the facts presented here, that the proposal that passed the House will seriously, perhaps tragically, undermine the federal support. I hope the Senate will restore Section 5 to its present form and do nothing that would weaken the present Voting Rights Act. Unless the Senate does so, I am convinced that the political process in the South will suffer a grievous setback.

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THE ATLANTA ELECTIONS OF 1969

by Charles S. Rooks

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An organization assisting minority groups participating in the southern political process

Atlanta, Georgia

June, 1970

Published by

The Voter Education Project, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

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Price: $1.00

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The author wishes to acknowledge the invaluable contribution to this study which was made by Misses Pat Madsen and Emma Jane Neelley. Their patient computation of voting returns provided the basis for the entire report. Not only did they make it possible for this study to be done without the aid of a computer, but the charm and good humor which they displayed in their work made the author thankful at times that a computer was not available.

Special appreciation is also due to Mrs. Janet Shortt, who typed this study, and to Miss Marge Manderson, who drew the graphs for it.

C.S.R.

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I. THE ATLANTA ELECTIONS OF 1969:

INTRODUCTION

Significant changes occurred in Atlanta politics in 1969. The elections of that year may prove to be a turning point in the city's political history. What happened in 1969 was a major alteration in voting patterns and the emergence of a new "coalition" of voters. The mayor, the vice-mayor, and several members of the aldermanic and school boards were elected by a different group of voters from that which previously controlled city politics. The composition of this new group was predominantly black. Whether this new "coalition" stays together and extends its influence or whether different alliances are forged in the future, the events of 1969 signal the end of an era in Atlanta politics.

Since 1953, at least, Atlanta's mayors had been chosen by a coalition composed of virtually all black voters, most of the middle and upper-middle class whites who live on the northside of the city, and a minority of whites elsewhere. Aligned against this group of voters were most of the city's working-class whites, located mainly in the center and southside of the city, and a minority of other whites.*

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*See the article by Jack Walker entitled, "Negro Voting in Atlanta: 1953-61" in the Winter, 1963, issue of Phylon.

Although black support was necessary for victory, the black voter was the junior partner when it came to selecting candidates. The dominant influence in the alliance was northside whites. These whites have been described as a group interested in "good government" and "civic progress" who generally follow the political cues of the city's business leaders.

The previously successful coalition of blacks and northside whites was shattered in 1969. Most whites, from all parts of the city, supported the losing mayoralty candidate. Almost all blacks, plus a minority of whites from all areas, supported the winner. Thus, upper-middle class whites and the city's traditional "power structure" lost their former position of influence in deciding city elections, while blacks greatly enhanced their influence. Working-class whites continued in their position on the losing side.

These changes in the relative importance of different groups of voters in the 1969 election resulted from a combination of factors. One was the break-up of the black-white coalition over the question of which candidate to support. This year black voters were not willing to support the choice of the white business elite. Rather than having only the usual choice between the favorite of northside whites and another candidate whose racial views made him anathema, black voters in 1969 had additional alternatives. For the first time there was a black candidate, and also there was a white candidate whose reputation was more liberal than

other white candidates, past or present. Both of these candidates were more attractive to blacks than the candidate supported by their former northside allies.

A second factor, which made it possible for this break-up to produce the consequences which occurred, was the continuous growth of black voting strength in Atlanta. The proportion of blacks among the city's registered voters increased from about 29 per cent in 1961 to almost 41 per cent in 1969. This growth of black voting strength was due both to the increase in the proportion of Negroes in the total population, which rose from 38 per cent in 1960 to 49 per cent in 1969, and to an increase in the proportion of eligible blacks who are registered to vote.* Another factor, which will be examined later, is that black registrants in Atlanta tend to have a higher voter turnout than whites in mayoralty elections.

The variety of candidates available in 1969 gave Atlanta the opportunity to follow one of several trends exhibited in recent elections in other American cities. The seven names on the ballot included Sam Massell, a liberal Democrat; Horace Tate, a black educator; Rodney Cook, a moderate Republican; and Everett Millican, a conser-

---

*In 1962, approximately 44 per cent of eligible whites and 31 per cent of eligible blacks were registered in Fulton County. In 1968, the proportion of eligible voters registered was 71 per cent among whites and 63 per cent among blacks. Atlanta constitutes about four-fifths of the population of Fulton County.

vative Democrat whose campaign created for him the image of a "law and order" candidate. The eventual choice of a majority of the voters was Massell, who associated himself with the interests of blacks and attacked the city's "power structure." Moreover, the city elected Maynard Jackson, a young black, as vice-mayor over a well regarded white alderman, Milton Farris. The number of blacks on the Board of Aldermen was increased from one to five, and the number on the Board of Education rose from two to three.

This study is an effort to analyze this important election. It is designed to show how various groups of citizens voted and how the support of each candidate was composed. In order for the results of this examination to be properly understood, it is necessary at the outset to explain briefly how the study was done. Unless otherwise specified, all of the data was derived from Fulton County precincts in which 90 per cent or more of the registered voters were either black or white. The seven precincts in DeKalb County are not included, except in city-wide totals, because the racial composition of these precincts individually was not available. Thus, for example, the "white vote" was determined by examining all the precincts in Fulton County which are 90 per cent or more white in composition. There is, of course, a slight error built into this calculation, since an entire precinct is labelled black or white even though it may include a few voters of the opposite race, but

this does not have a serious effect on the findings. In fact, the composition of over two-thirds of the precincts being used is between 98.5 and 100 per cent black or white.

Subcategories of black or white voters will be explained as they are introduced, but they will always be derived from the type of precincts just described. Because of the residential patterns in Atlanta and the demarcation of precinct boundaries, most of the city's voters are included by this mode of analysis -- 116 of 149 precincts are covered, and these precincts included 174,612 of the 215,026 registered voters.

II. THE MAYORALTY ELECTION

OCTOBER 7

The introductory statements about the 1969 vote in Atlanta refer to the results of the run-off election held October 21. A more complex pattern of voting was exhibited in the initial election October 7. With four major candidates competing, all voting groups were more divided in their candidate support in the first election.

The Black Vote

Although they demonstrated near unanimity in their vote in the run-off, black voters were far from united in their choice of candidates October 7. The black vote was closely split between Tate, the only black candidate, and Massell, a liberal white. Tate was supported by 49 per cent of the blacks, and Massell by 44.2 per cent. Most of the remaining votes went to Cook. It is estimated that between 44,000 and 45,000 blacks voted in this election.

There was some variation in the voting among black precincts, as Table 1 indicates. Although Tate was the front-runner in most individual precincts, just as in the overall black vote, there were a number of precincts in which Massell was the leading candidate. In precincts that were 90 per cent or more black, Tate led in 31, with a majority in 22 of these, and Massell in 14, with a majority

in 7 of them.*

TABLE 1

COMPARISON OF VOTE RECEIVED IN BLACK PRECINCTS
BY MASSELL AND TATE, OCTOBER 7, 1969

	Percentage From All Blacks Combined	Number of Precincts at Different Levels of Support						
		Under 35 %	35-39.9 %	40-44.9 %	45-49.9 %	50-54.9 %	55-59.9 %	60% and Over
Massell	44.2	4	10	11	13	3	4	-
Tate	49.0	1	7	6	9	12	8	2

There may be some underlying factors which explain this variation, but there is no apparent pattern to it. For example, when precincts of high and low socio-economic status within the black community are compared, as in Table 2, there is little

*Atlanta's precincts vary considerably in size. Nevertheless, references will be made to the results in individual precincts for two major reasons. First, this will provide some indication of the range of behavior that is lumped together into an overall average for a large number of precincts. Second, this procedure may suggest the presence of voting patterns that require further explanation. For example, some of the variation among voters might be accounted for by differences in socio-economic status. The precinct analysis will be presented, however, even when the variation cannot be explained by the present study. It is hoped that this might be helpful to those who are making further investigations.

difference in their voting behavior.*

TABLE 2

PROPORTION OF THE VOTE RECEIVED BY LEADING MAYORALTY CANDIDATES IN BLACK PRECINCTS OF HIGHEST AND LOWEST SOCIO-ECONOMIC RANK, OCTOBER 7, 1969 (IN PERCENTAGES)

High Status Precincts	Massell	Tate	Cook	Millican	Turnout
7N	47.4	48.1	3.5	0.3	58.5
3J	44.6	49.9	4.9	0.1	64.5
3R	33.1	61.1	5.0	0.2	54.7
7D	56.4	37.9	4.9	0.3	59.8
3B	55.6	39.4	4.2	0.4	60.7
TOTAL	47.1	47.5	4.5	0.2	60.2
Low Status Precincts					
1K	38.6	53.6	7.2	0.3	33.1
3M	34.8	55.6	7.6	0.4	47.4
6L	49.5	39.9	8.7	0.6	42.6
6J	55.0	36.9	5.9	0.7	50.0
9K	42.9	52.0	3.7	0.6	42.1
TOTAL	45.7	45.9	6.6	0.6	43.6

The percentages for each precinct do not total 100 because there were 3 other candidates who received a small proportion of the vote.

*To make this comparison, census tracts which were 90 per cent or more black both in 1960 and 1969 were rank ordered on each of the following measurements: family income, years of schooling completed, and nature of male employment. Five precincts which were located in tracts nearest the top and five precincts in tracts nearest the bottom on all three measurements were selected. Because some tracts ranked differently on each measurement and because census tract boundaries and precinct boundaries did not always adequately coincide, this selection of precincts cannot be taken absolutely as the five highest-ranking and the five lowest-ranking black precincts. Such a designation would be very near correct, however. It should also be noted that this is a ranking of black census tracts, and a precinct given high status rank in this comparison would not occupy a high ranking if white tracts were included in the scale.

The combined vote in five of the highest-ranking black precincts was: Tate, 47.5 per cent; Massell, 47.1 per cent; and Cook, 4.5 per cent. The distribution in five of the lowest-ranking precincts averaged together was: Tate, 45.9 per cent; Massell, 45.7 per cent; and Cook, 6.6 per cent. Moreover, the precincts within each category exhibited a wide variation in the amount of support given to the leading candidates.

The White Vote

It is estimated that between 55,000 and 56,000 whites voted October 7. Among these voters, the leading candidate was Cook, who received 44.8 per cent of their votes at that time. Millican ran second with 31.1 per cent, and Massell polled 21.6 per cent. Tate received almost no white support, picking up less than 2.0 per cent of their votes.

When white voters are separated into different groups and examined, significant variations in the white support of candidates are visible. For this study, white voters were divided into three categories: "Northside" whites, "Southside" whites, and "Other" whites. This classification is based primarily on income, education, and occupational characteristics although, as some of the names suggest, there is much coincidence between socio-economic status and geographical locations in the city.* Figure 1 shows the location of these precincts in the city.

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*Census tracts that were 90 per cent or more white, both in 1960 and 1969, were rank-ordered in the same way as described earlier for the black census tracts. The rank of the precincts within each category is described in the text.

Northside whites are those in precincts in the northern parts of the city. All of these precincts rank in the top quarter of the city's white precincts in each of the following measurements: family income, years of education and "high level" employment, e.g., professional, managerial, technical, and proprietary occupations.

Southside whites are those in precincts located mainly in the southeastern and central sections of the city. These precincts rank in the lower half of the city's white precincts in white collar employment and education, and most of them are in the lower half in terms of family income.

Other whites are those in the remaining white precincts, which are largely located in the southwestern and near northeastern parts of the city. They rank between the other two categories in socio-economic terms; most of them are in the upper half of the city's white precincts in terms of education and white collar employment, but not so high as the Northside group in years of education and proportion of high-level employment.

In very rough terms, these three categories might be labelled upper-middle-class, middle-class, and working-class groups.* Ob-

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*A more precise and extensive classification of voters was not attempted since the author doubted the validity of an exact ranking of all precincts on the basis of data that was fully available only in a nine-year-old census report. Although precincts near the top and bottom of the socio-economic scale can be identified with some confidence, the great bulk of precincts which fall between these two groups can only be roughly categorized. The construction of a classification on the basis of a few sample precincts which are alleged to be of a particular status was rejected, because such precincts could not be tested to see if in fact they truly represented what they were supposed to.

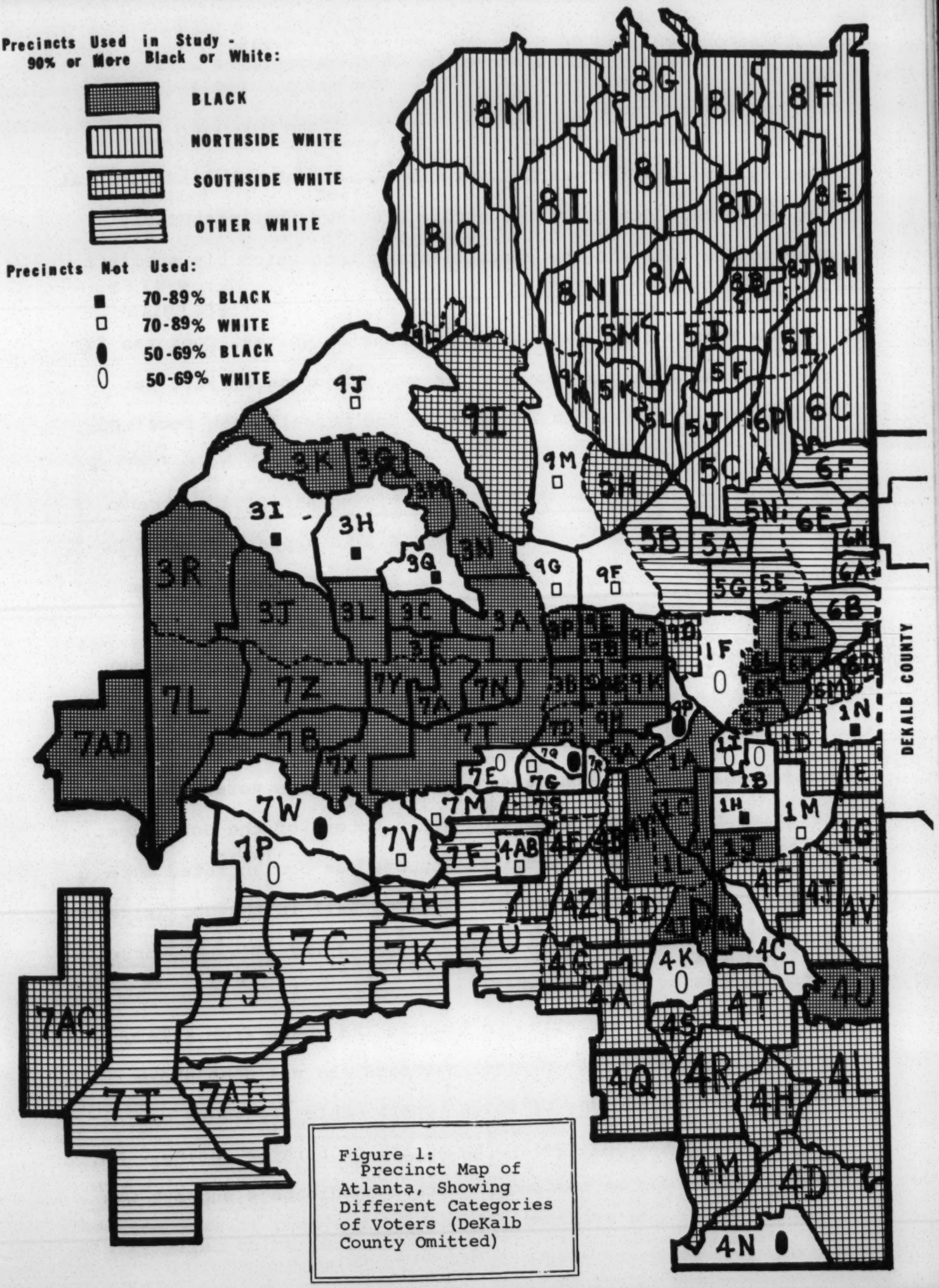


Figure 1:
Precinct Map of Atlanta, Showing Different Categories of Voters (DeKalb County Omitted)

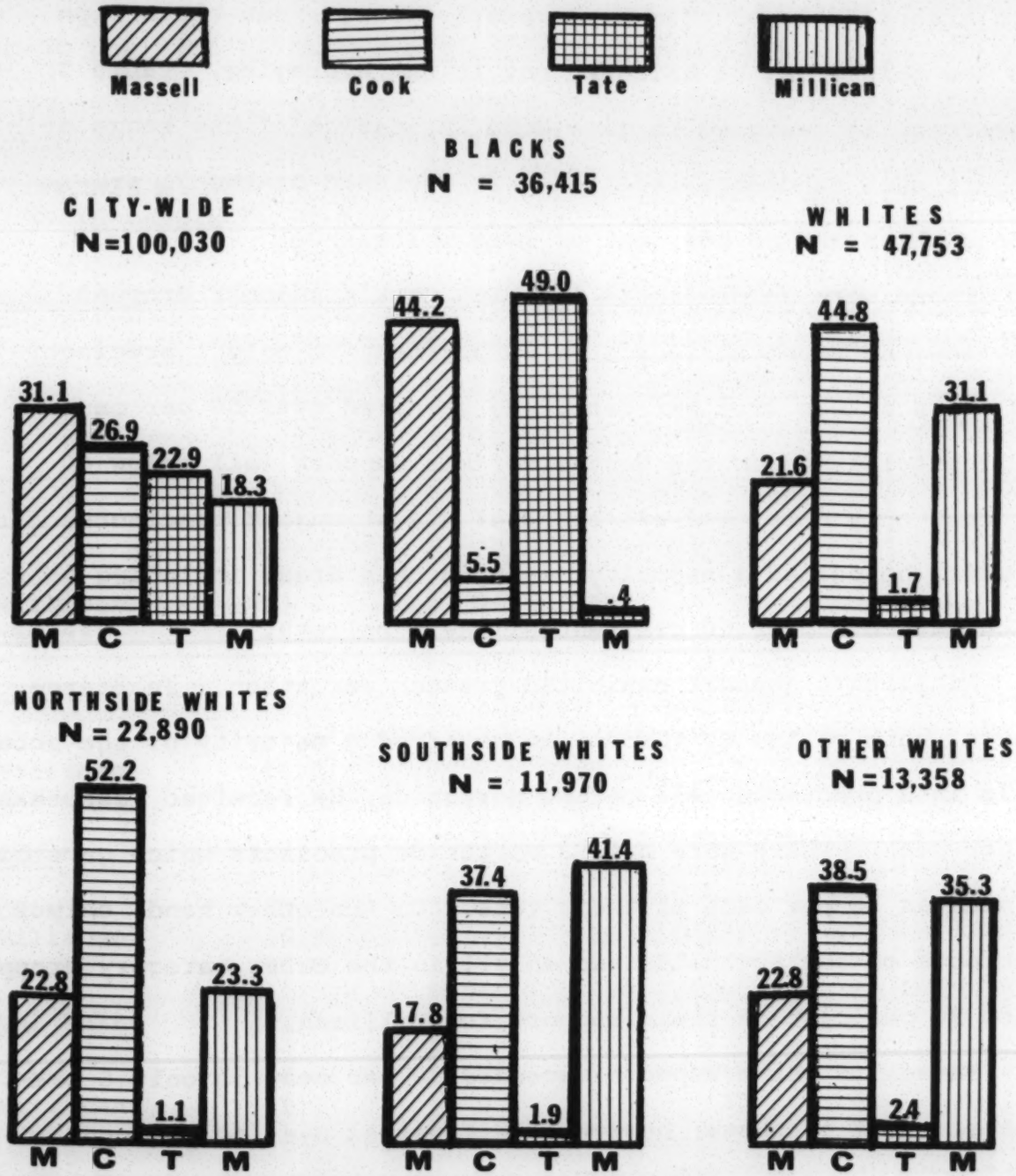
viously, every voter within a precinct will not match the general socio-economic status of the entire precinct, but presumably most voters will fit the classification into which his precinct falls.

As Figure 2 indicates, among Northside whites, Cook ran far ahead of the other candidates. He was supported by 52.2 per cent of these voters, while Millican and Massell each received slightly less than half this number of votes. Southside whites, on the other hand, favored Millican, giving him 41.4 per cent of their votes. Among these voters, Cook's support dropped to about 37.4 per cent and Massell's to 17.8 per cent. In the Other category, Cook had a slight lead over Millican, 38.5 per cent to 35.3 per cent, and Massell received about the same amount of support as in the Northside.

Cook, then, ran well among all white groups, but he did considerably better among the upper-middle-class voters of the Northside than among the working-class voters of the Southside. In contrast, Millican's heaviest support was concentrated more in the Southside, and he did not fare so well in the Northside. Massell ran third among all white groups, doing somewhat worse in the Southside than elsewhere.

While it is instructive to combine the votes from a large number of precincts into overall averages, as was done above for the three categories of white voters, this procedure may also conceal certain information about the pattern of voting. For example, there may be instances where a candidate's support was

Figure 2: Proportion of the Vote Received by Leading Mayoralty Candidates from Different Groups of Voters, October 7, 1969 (in Percentages).



The percentages do not total 100, because there were three other candidates who received a small proportion of the vote. This classification includes only precincts in which the registration is 90 per cent or more black or white. Therefore, the number of voters in each category in this chart may not accurately reflect the total number of voters who would fit this classification, because some of them are located in precincts which are too racially mixed to be included here.

much higher or lower than his overall average, but these high and low points may be balanced out in the averaging. Table 3, therefore, is designed to give some indication of the range of support each candidate received. It is based on the 71 precincts which are 90 per cent or more white.

There were no precincts in which Cook's support dropped very low; he received less than 30 per cent in only 1 precinct, and there it was 29.6 per cent. He received over 50 per cent in 17 precincts. In the Northside, his support fell below 40 per cent only once, and all but 2 of his strongest precincts, in which he polled a majority, were in this area, including 4 which gave him over 60 per cent of their ballots.

Millican's support exhibited greater variation. In 2 precincts, both on the Southside, he received a majority of the vote, while in 9 precincts, all on the Northside, he received less than 20 per cent. There were only 3 Northside precincts which gave him as much as 30 per cent of their vote. On the other hand, only 2 precincts on the Southside and only 3 in the Other category dropped below 30 per cent in their support for Millican.

Massell's white support exceeded 30 per cent in only 6 precincts. In 2 of these, however, he received over 40 per cent of the votes; these 2 precincts, 6C and 8C, both have relatively large numbers of Jewish voters.* On the Southside, he polled less

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*No precise data on the number of Jewish residents in the city's various precincts are available, but informed observers say that these two precincts have the heaviest concentrations. It should be noted, however, that the proportion of Jewish voters in these precincts is not high enough to say that the election results in these precincts is the same as "the Jewish vote."

than 20 per cent of the votes in 21 of 27 precincts.

TABLE 3

COMPARISON OF VOTE RECEIVED IN DIFFERENT GROUPS OF WHITE PRECINCTS BY COOK, MILLICAN, AND MASSELL OCTOBER 7, 1969

	Percentage From All Precincts in Category Combined	Number of Precincts at Different Levels of Support				
		Under 20%	20-29.9%	30-39.9%	40-49.9%	Over 50%
Northside						
Cook	52.2	-	-	1	10	15
Millican	23.3	9	14	3	-	-
Massell	22.8	8	15	1	2	-
Southside						
Cook	37.4	-	-	21	5	1
Millican	41.4	-	2	8	15	2
Massell	17.8	21	5	1	-	-
Other						
Cook	38.5	-	1	11	5	1
Millican	35.3	-	3	11	4	-
Massell	22.8	7	9	2	-	-
Total White						
Cook	44.8	-	1	33	20	17
Millican	31.1	9	19	22	19	2
Massell	21.6	36	29	4	2	-

Although it was suggested above that the voting in the Northside and Southside might serve as rough indicators of the behavior of voters of high and low socio-economic status, respectively, a somewhat more refined comparison of such voters can be found

in Table 4. This table lists five precincts at the top, and five at the bottom of the socio-economic scale of white precincts.*

TABLE 4

PROPORTION OF THE VOTE RECEIVED BY LEADING MAYORALTY CANDIDATES IN WHITE PRECINCTS OF HIGHEST AND LOWEST SOCIO-ECONOMIC RANK, OCTOBER 7, 1969 (IN PERCENTAGES)

High Status Precincts	Massell	Tate	Cook	Millican	Turnout
8G	25.0	0.5	57.2	16.9	58.3
8L	12.5	0.4	63.1	24.0	59.2
8I	20.3	1.1	59.0	19.5	61.1
8M	26.4	1.1	52.6	19.5	58.5
8N	14.6	0.1	62.4	22.6	60.2
TOTAL	19.7	0.7	58.9	20.5	59.7
Low Status Precincts					
1D	18.6	1.4	37.5	40.0	32.4
6D	22.3	-	31.3	42.5	36.6
7S	19.7	3.1	36.7	39.1	36.5
9D	27.6	1.8	30.0	38.9	38.4
4B	19.5	1.9	30.4	44.9	42.1
TOTAL	21.7	1.8	33.3	40.8	37.1

The percentages for each precinct do not total 100, because there were three other candidates who received a small proportion of the vote.

In effect, this selection represents the highest ranking precincts of the Northside and the lowest ranking precincts of the Southside. Voters in the precincts with the highest socio-economic status were

*These precincts were selected by the same method described in the footnote on page 8 and thus are subject to the same qualifications.

even stronger in their support for Cook than were Northside whites generally. Among these voters, Cook received 59 per cent of the vote, and Millican and Massell maintained approximately the same relationship to one another, although, of course, at a lower level.

Voters in the precincts with lowest status, however, did not display an amplification of the general Southside trends. Millican's percentage averaged about the same in these precincts and in the Southside as a whole. Massell's support rose and Cook's support dropped, each by about four percentage points, among these low ranking precincts. Thus, in comparison with working-class whites in general, the poorest white voters tended to favor Massell slightly more, Cook slightly less, and Millican about the same.

The City-Wide Vote

Turning once again to the city-wide results, it can be seen that each candidate had a somewhat different base of support. Massell, who was not the front-runner in any of the "communities" examined above, was the only candidate who received a substantial degree of support from all groups, black and white, although most of his support came from black voters. This combination gave him the largest vote in the city October 7. His total of 31,096 was composed of approximately 19,000 black votes, and 12,000 white votes. Cook, who finished second in the balloting with 26,891 votes, was quite strong among all whites, but he received little support in the black com-

munity. His support was composed of close to 25,000 white votes and slightly over 2,000 black votes. Tate placed third in the outcome with 22,869 votes. He drew virtually all his support from black voters, receiving only around 1,000 of his votes from white precincts. In fourth place with 18,290 votes was Millican, who ran strong among middle and working-class whites and made a fair showing among upper-middle-class whites. He drew almost no support -- less than 1,000 votes -- from blacks, however.*

One significant factor in the October 7 election which has not been discussed is the turnout rate among the various groups of voters. This problem will be examined below in connection with the turnout in the run-off election.

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*The actual number of black and white votes each candidate received is, of course, an estimate.

III. THE MAYORALTY ELECTION

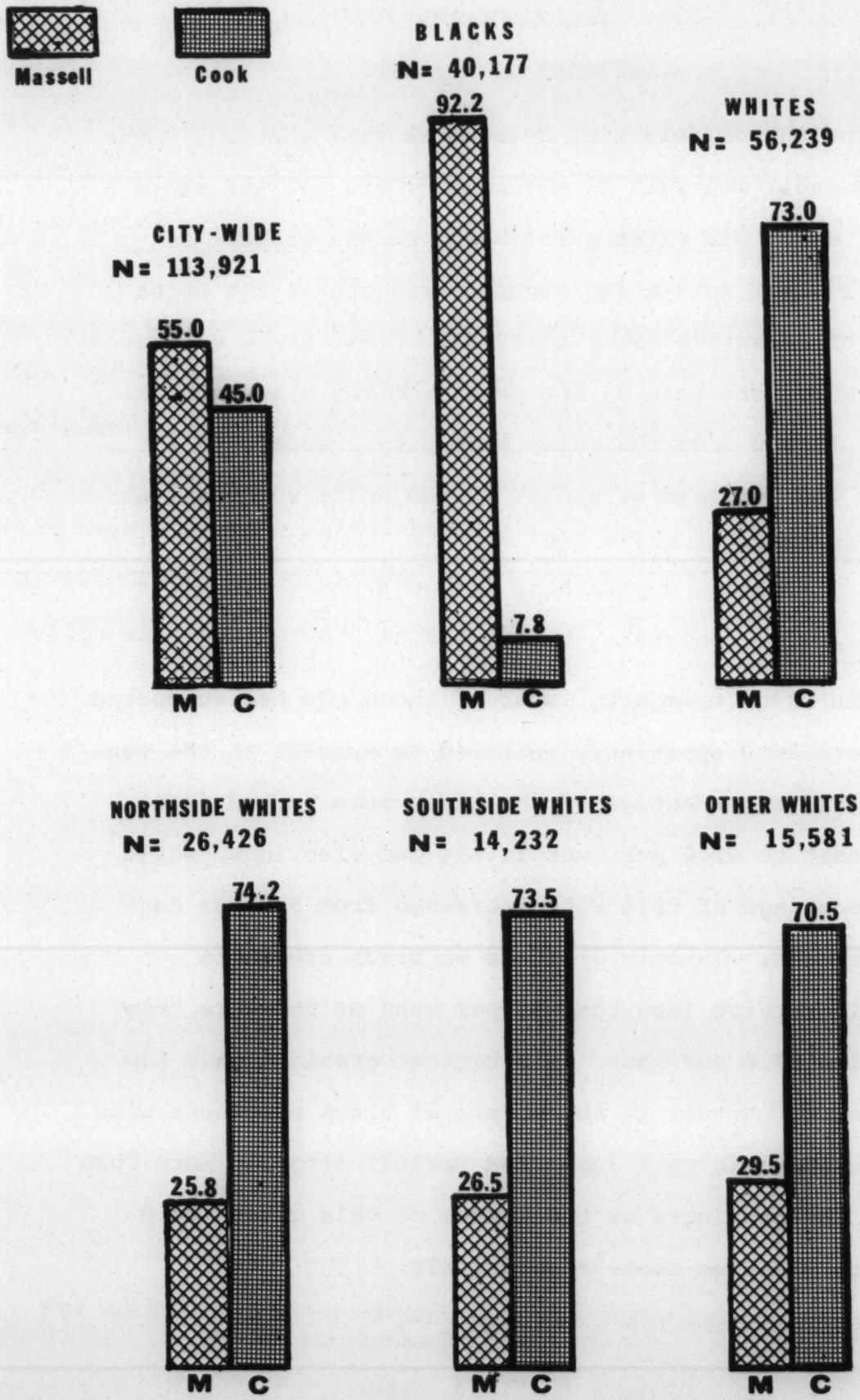
OCTOBER 21 RUN-OFF

In the run-off election between Massell and Cook October 21, Massell won with 55 per cent of the 113,921 votes cast that day. His victory was based on the support of almost all black voters and about one-fourth of the white voters. Of Massell's total of 62,632 votes, it is estimated that slightly more than 45,000 came from the black community and about 17,500 from the white community. Cook's total of 51,289 was composed of almost 47,500 white votes and about 3,800 black votes.

The Black Vote

In the black community, most of those who had supported Tate on October 7 apparently switched to Massell in the run-off. Massell's percentage of the black vote jumped from 44.2 per cent to 92.2 per cent in the two elections, while Cook's percentage of this vote increased from 5.5 per cent to 7.9 per cent. In only 7 of the 45 black precincts did Massell receive less than 90 per cent of the vote, the lowest being 87.6 per cent. His highest precinct gave him 95.4 per cent. Voters in the sample of black precincts with high socio-economic rank supported Massell slightly more than voters in the precincts at the bottom of this scale, 93.6 per cent to 91.6 per cent, respectively.

Figure 3: Proportion of the Vote Received by Leading Mayoralty Candidates from Different Groups of Voters, October 21, 1969 (in Percentages).



The White Vote

In white areas, most of Millican's backers shifted their support to Cook, although Massell apparently picked up the votes of some of them in the run-off. Cook's percentage of the overall white vote rose from 44.8 per cent to 73 per cent and Massell's increased from 21.6 per cent to 27 per cent.

According to Figure 3, there appears to be very little variation in the voting behavior of the different categories of whites. Cook polled 74.2 per cent of the Northside vote, 73.5 per cent of the Southside vote, and 70.5 per cent of the vote of Other whites. In fact, however, there was more variation than these figures would indicate.

Voters in the sample of high status precincts gave Cook 78.1 per cent, a higher proportion than in the Northside as a whole. And in the sample of low status precincts, Cook's support was only 68.5 per cent, which was lower than his proportion of the overall Southside vote. Thus, there was a difference of almost ten percentage points in the support Massell received from voters at the opposite ends of the socio-economic ladder, 21.9 per cent from those at the top, and 31.5 per cent from those at the bottom.

The differences in white voting for mayor are also shown by an examination of individual precincts. As Table 5 reveals, there was somewhat more consistency in the level of support Massell received in Southside precincts than elsewhere.

TABLE 5

VOTING SUPPORT RECEIVED BY MASSELL IN WHITE PRECINCTS
OCTOBER 21, 1970

	Percentage From all Precincts in Category Combined	Number of Precincts at Different Levels of Support						
		Under 20 %	20-24.9 %	25-29.9 %	30-34.9 %	35-39.9 %	40-44.9 %	45% and Over
Northside	25.8	5	9	6	4	-	-	2
Southside	26.5	-	8	12	5	-	1	1
Other	29.5	3	2	4	6	2	1	-
Total White	27.0	8	19	22	15	2	2	3

In the precincts of the Northside and Other categories, there was greater variation in his proportion of the vote. In these latter categories, a few precincts with rather strong Massell votes partially offest in the overall average a number of precincts where the level of support was much lower. For example, in the Northside there were five precincts in which Massell received less than 20 per cent of the vote, but in two precincts (6C and 8C) he received 47.7 per cent and 49.9 per cent. The only other precinct in which Massell obtained over 45 per cent was a very small Southside precinct with a very low turnout, which did not have much effect on the average for that category.

Massell's proportion of the vote was higher October 21

than on October 7 in every precinct but two. But this improvement was notably greater in some areas than in others. In the Northside, his percentage rose by only 3 points in the run-off, whereas in the Southside, it jumped by 8.5 points, almost 3 times the increase in the Northside. Among Other whites, the increase was 6.7 points, more than twice that of the Northside. Massell's increase among the voters in the 5 precincts with the lowest socio-economic status was even greater than the Southside as a whole. His proportion of the votes in these precincts October 21 was 9.8 percentage points higher than in the first election. In contrast, the sample of precincts with the highest socio-economic rank showed an increase for Massell of only 2.2 percentage points. His average increase for all white precincts was 5.4 points.

There were 14 precincts in which Massell increased his proportion of the vote in the run-off by 9 points or more. Of these 14, 11 were in the Southside and none in the Northside. He showed an improvement of 12 points in 8 of these precincts, all but 1 in the Southside. Massell's increase was 3 points or less in 18 precincts. Of these 18, 15 were in the Northside, including 2 where his proportion decreased slightly below his October 7 level, and none in the Southside.

As indicated earlier, Massell's overall proportion of the October 21 vote was about the same among Northside, Southside, and Other whites. The above-average increase in his support among Southside whites in the run-off was necessary to bring

him up to the Northside level, which was considerably higher than the Southside on October 7.

The relatively large increase in Massell's October 21 support in the Southside was also associated with an above-average increase in the turnout in most precincts in that area. This will be discussed in the next section.

IV. VOTER TURNOUT IN MAYORALTY ELECTIONS OCTOBER 7 AND OCTOBER 21

Thus far, this report has been mainly concerned with how various groups in the city distributed their support between mayoralty candidates. The turnout rate, or the percentage of eligible members of a group who actually voted, has been mentioned only briefly. Obviously, the turnout rate is a crucial factor in determining the amount of influence a group will have on the outcome of an election. A group's potential influence, based on its proportion of the electorate, may be enhanced or diminished by how heavily its members vote relative to other groups. And previous indications of the percentage of a group's support received by one candidate or another gain their full significance only when related to the total number of votes cast by that group. This total, of course, reflects the turnout rate.

On October 7, 100,030, or 46.5 per cent of the city's registered voters, cast ballots in the mayor's election. On October 21, this figure rose to 113,921, or 53 per cent of the total registration.* Between these two dates, the question of voter turnout had become a public issue. Mayor Ivan Allen called the low October 7 turnout a "disgrace" and made a strong appeal on television for a much higher number

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*In the heated election of 1961 when Ivan Allen defeated Lester Maddox, the turnout was about 70 per cent, but in 1965 when Allen was re-elected, it was around 42 per cent.

of voters in the run-off. Various business and civic groups volunteered their services to "Operation Vote," and an active campaign was mounted to increase the turnout. In addition to public appeals, a telephone campaign was conducted, and transportation to the polls was offered.

A number of Massell's supporters interpreted the pleas for a higher turnout to mean in fact a call for a higher turnout among certain white voters.* They charged that the campaign, led by the Chamber of Commerce, was being used to aid Cook through its selective application to particular segments of the city.

It is not the intent of this report to question the sincerity or fairness of the efforts to promote a larger turnout, and nothing presented here will resolve the controversy that developed over this issue. What this section will do, however, is show the rate of turnout among each group of voters in the two elections and reveal where and by how much the turnout increased in the run-off.

Table 6 shows the proportion of different groups which voted on the two dates. It should be remembered that this table is based on only those precincts in which one race or the other constitutes 90 per cent or more of the registration. Because the turnout in more racially heterogeneous precincts

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*See, for example, the article in the October 16 issue of the Atlanta Journal on the statements of three labor leaders.

tends to be lower than in the precincts listed here*, the percentage of all blacks and all whites who voted was somewhat lower than the figures in Table 6. It is estimated that about 51 per cent of the registered blacks and 43 per cent of the registered whites voted October 7. The estimates for October 21 are 56 per cent of the blacks and 51 per cent of the whites.

TABLE 6

PERCENTAGE OF REGISTERED VOTERS CASTING BALLOTS IN MAYORALTY ELECTIONS, 1969

	October 7 %	October 21 %	Increase in Turnout Rate on October 21 (In Percentage Points)
All Voters	46.5	53.0	6.5
Blacks	51.5	56.3	4.8
Whites	46.4	54.1	7.7
Northside	52.4	60.1	7.7
Southside	40.4	48.8	8.4
Other	43.5	50.7	7.2

Considering now only those precincts that are included in Table 6, it can be seen that the black turnout exceeded the white turnout in both elections.** The difference between whites and blacks was considerably less in the run-off, however, dropping from

*See Appendix B for the turnout in the other precincts.

**Walker, in the article cited above, indicates that in previous mayoralty elections, blacks turned out at a higher rate than whites.

5.1 to 2.2 percentage points. In other words, in the run-off the increase in turnout over the first election among whites was almost twice that of blacks. The black turnout increased by 4.8 points to 56.3 per cent, while the white turnout jumped by 7.7 points to 54.1 per cent. The comparison of black and white turnout increases can also be made another way. Among black precincts, 12 exhibited an increase which equalled or exceeded the city-wide average increase of 6.5 points, and 33 were below this average. Among white precincts, 56 had an increase at or above the city average, and only 15 were below.

Since most white voters supported Cook and most black voters supported Massell in the run-off, the greater improvement in white turnout relative to black turnout benefitted Cook. If the turnout rate had remained the same as on October 7, Massell's margin of victory would have been even greater than it was.

As usual, there were significant differences in the behavior of the various white groups. In both elections, a considerably larger proportion of whites in the Northside than elsewhere turned out to vote. As Table 6 shows, their turnout rate was 11 to 12 points higher than in the Southside, and 9 to 10 points above Other whites. The Northside turnout was also higher than the black turnout on each date.

There was even greater disparity between the turnout in the sample of precincts with the highest socio-economic status and the sample of lowest ranking precincts. As Table 7 shows,

the proportion of white voters in the top-ranking precincts was about 23 percentage points higher in both elections than the proportion in the low status precincts.

TABLE 7

VOTER TURNOUT IN PRECINCTS OF HIGHEST AND LOWEST SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS IN 1969 MAYORALTY ELECTION

	Percentage of Registered Voters Who Cast Ballots			Difference in Turnout Between High & Low Status Precincts (In Percentage Points)
	All Precincts	High Status Precincts	Low Status Precincts	
White Precincts				
October 7	46.4	59.7	37.1	22.6
October 21	54.9	67.7	44.8	22.9
Increase*	8.5	8.0	7.7	
Black Precincts				
October 7	51.5	60.2	43.6	16.6
October 21	56.3	65.6	50.1	15.5
Increase*	4.8	5.4	6.5	

*Increase in turnout on October 21 (in percentage points).

Southside whites demonstrated the most improvement in turnout. The percentage of registrants there who voted in the run-off was 8.4 points higher than the percentage casting ballots two weeks earlier. All but 2 of the 27 precincts in this category had increases above the city average. Comparable figures for the other white areas were: Northside, 18 of 26 with above-average increases; and Other, 12 of 18 above. The precincts with very large increases

were concentrated more in the Southside than elsewhere.

In comparison with other white areas, the Southside exhibited in the run-off both a larger increase in turnout and a greater increase in the proportion of the vote given to Massell. It must be emphasized that the result of these increases still left the turnout rate in the Southside considerably below that of other white areas and brought Massell's proportion of the vote in that area only slightly above his level in the Northside and below that he received from Other whites.

In the Southside, as among whites generally, Cook polled almost three votes for every one Massell received. The increase in turnout thus worked to Cook's advantage. But the benefit received by Cook was slightly moderated by the improvement in Massell's proportion of the vote in the run-off. In the October 7 election, Massell polled less than one out of five votes cast by Southside whites. If Massell had not obtained a larger proportion of the October 21 vote, the increased turnout would have helped Cook even more.

Unfortunately, since the matter has stimulated a great deal of speculation, a study of this kind cannot answer the question of why the increase in Massell's proportion of the vote was larger in the Southside than among other white groups. It is theoretically possible that the additional votes Massell received October 21 came solely from people who voted in the run-off but not in the first election. The increase in turnout

produced more than enough new voters to account for the enlargement of Massell's support. However, it is more likely that those who voted for the first time October 21 would split their votes in a similar fashion to those who voted on both occasions, and thus some of Massell's votes probably came from people who had voted for other candidates, mainly Millican, on October 7.

There were also significant differences in turnout among black precincts. Table 8 shows the range of voting levels in the black community and indicates that in some black areas the percentage of registrants who voted was quite low, even though the overall black average was higher than the white average. Whereas socio-economic ranking appeared not to affect the direction of black votes in the mayor's election, the opposite is true in terms of the turnout rate.

In both elections the turnout in the sample of high status black precincts was more than 15 points higher than in the sample of low status black precincts, as indicated in Table 7. Blacks in low ranking precincts voted more heavily than low status whites, the difference being about six percentage points in each election. The turnout rates in the high status black sample and the high status white sample were about the same.

Although the increased white turnout in the run-off worked to Massell's disadvantage, this was not a serious threat to Massell's success because of his strong support from black voters. The black vote determined the outcome of the election, and this

decisive influence was due to the greater solidarity of their vote and their higher rate of participation.

TABLE 8

LEVELS OF TURNOUT AMONG DIFFERENT GROUPS OF VOTERS: NUMBER OF PRECINCTS IN WHICH DIFFERENT PERCENTAGES OF THE REGISTERED VOTERS CAST BALLOTS IN MAYORALTY ELECTIONS, 1969

	Percentage of Registered Voters Who Cast Ballots						
	30-34%	35-39%	40-44%	45-59%	50-54%	55-59%	60%
	Number of Precincts						
City							
Oct. 7	17	24	25	33	16	15	12
Oct. 21	3	6	24	23	26	29	31
Black							
Oct. 7	4	2	4	11	10	7	7
Oct. 21	-	2	3	3	12	10	15
White							
Oct. 7	5	17	11	20	5	8	5
Oct. 21	-	-	15	13	11	17	15
Northside Whites							
Oct. 7	-	1	-	10	3	7	5
Oct. 21	-	-	1	-	3	9	13
Southside Whites							
Oct. 7	4	10	7	6	-	-	-
Oct. 21	-	-	9	8	6	4	-
Other Whites							
Oct. 7	1	6	4	4	2	1	-
Oct. 21	-	-	5	5	2	4	2

After the October 7 election, a controversy arose between some of Tate's supporters and some of Massell's supporters over what the

results would have been if those blacks who had voted for Massell had instead given their support to Tate. It is clear that Tate would not have won the election on the first ballot even if he had received all the votes cast by blacks, since these amounted to only about 43 to 44 per cent of the total city vote. He certainly would have been in the run-off, however, if he could have added to his own vote the approximately 21,000 votes received by Massell and Cook in the black community. Whether he could have then gone on to defeat Cook in a run-off would have depended upon the size of the black and white turnout and the way whites voted in the second election. Assuming the October 21 turnout would have remained the same under these conditions and that Tate continued to receive all black votes, a victory by Tate would have required about 8,000 white votes. Tate received little more than 1,000 white votes on October 7. Whether or not he could have picked up the necessary amount of white support to win under the circumstances outlined here obviously cannot be answered, except by those who wish to engage in pure conjecture.

V. THE VICE MAYORALTY ELECTION
OCTOBER 7

The new coalition of voters produced by the change in Atlanta voting patterns in 1969 not only elected the new mayor, but essentially this same group of voters determined the outcome of the vice-mayoralty election. The man they elected was Maynard Jackson, a young attorney, who was the city's first black candidate for this office. He won a decisive victory on the first ballot over a highly respected white alderman, Milton Farris.

Jackson received 58.2 per cent of the votes. Farris was supported by 39.1 per cent of the voters, and two other candidates together polled 2.7 per cent of the ballots. Jackson's total of 56,369 was composed of approximately 41,000 black votes and about 15,000 white votes.

In the black community, Jackson received almost total support, with 97.8 per cent of the vote. In no precinct where the registration was 90 per cent or more black did Jackson receive less than 94.3 per cent of the ballots. A majority of the white community voted for Farris (68.3 per cent), but Jackson obtained substantial support among whites, receiving the votes of 27.7 per cent of them.

There were significant differences among whites in the support given to Jackson, however. In the Southside, he obtained only 17.5 per cent of the vote, while in the Northside, he received almost double that percentage, 33.2, and

and Other whites gave him 26.3 per cent. Table 9 reveals the range of support given to Jackson within each of these categories. In 4 precincts, 3 of which were in the Northside, Jackson polled over 40 per cent of the vote. He received less than 15 per cent in 11 precincts, all but 1 in the Southside. The sample of white voters with the highest socio-economic status gave Jackson 30.9 per cent of their vote, which was less than he received in the Northside in general. The sample of low status whites gave him 17.2 per cent of their support, which was about the same as the overall Southside vote.

TABLE 9

VOTING SUPPORT RECEIVED BY MAYNARD JACKSON FROM DIFFERENT GROUPS OF WHITE VOTERS OCTOBER 7, 1969

	Percentage From All Precincts in Category Combined	Number of Precincts at Different Levels of Support							
		Under 10	10-14.9	15-19.9	20-24.9	25-29.9	30-34.9	35 39.9	40-44.9
Northside	33.2	-	-	-	1	5	12	5	3
Southside	17.5	1	9	8	6	3	-	-	-
Other	26.3	-	1	3	6	2	3	2	1
TOTAL WHITE	27.7	1	10	11	13	10	15	7	4

The number of people voting in the vice-mayor's race was almost the same as that in the mayor's election October 7. In the city as a whole, 45.1 per cent of the electorate voted for vice-mayor compared to 46.5 per cent for mayor. The drop-off in the percentage of registered voters casting ballots in the vice-mayor's election, as compared to the initial mayor's election, was approximately the same for all the various categories of voters examined in this report, the difference ranging from 1.2 to 2.1 percentage points. Thus, based on precincts that are 90 per cent or more black or white, the turnout for vice mayor was: Northside whites, 51.3 per cent; blacks, 50.3 per cent; whites (all categories), 44.8 per cent; Other whites, 41.9 per cent; Southside whites, 38.3 per cent.

Jackson's performance in relation to mayoralty candidates can be seen by comparing Table 9 with Figures 2 and 3. Tate received slightly over half of the percentage obtained by Jackson in the black community. Among the various groups of white voters, Jackson polled from 9 to 30 times as many votes as Tate.

In relation to Millican's performance, Jackson ran strongest where Millican was weakest, and he was weakest where Millican was strongest. In the Northside, Jackson's support was almost 10 points above Millican's. But in the Southside, Millican was almost 24 points above Jackson. The support Other whites gave Jackson was 9 points lower than that given to Millican.

The relationship between the support of these two candidates is demonstrated in another fashion in Table 10. When precincts are rank-ordered from the highest to the lowest percentage of vote received by each candidate, it can be seen that, with one exception, the precincts composing the top quarter of Jackson's support all ranked in the bottom half of the scale according to the support given to Millican. And the precincts in the lowest quarter of Jackson's support are, with one exception, in the top half in terms of their vote for Millican.

TABLE 10

INVERSE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AREAS OF STRONG SUPPORT FOR MAYNARD JACKSON AND AREAS OF STRONG SUPPORT FOR MILLICAN: DISTRIBUTION OF PRECINCTS IN MAYNARD JACKSON'S HIGHEST AND LOWEST QUARTILES FOR MILLICAN AND DISTRIBUTION OF PRECINCTS IN MILLICAN'S HIGHEST AND LOWEST QUARTILES FOR MAYNARD JACKSON

	Number of Precincts in Each Quartile of Millican Support			
	High	Second	Third	Low
Highest Jackson Quartile	-	1	7	10
Lowest Jackson Quartile	11	6	1	-

	Number of Precincts in Each Quartile of Jackson Support			
	High	Second	Third	Low
Highest Millican Quartile	-	-	7	11
Lowest Millican Quartile	10	7	1	-

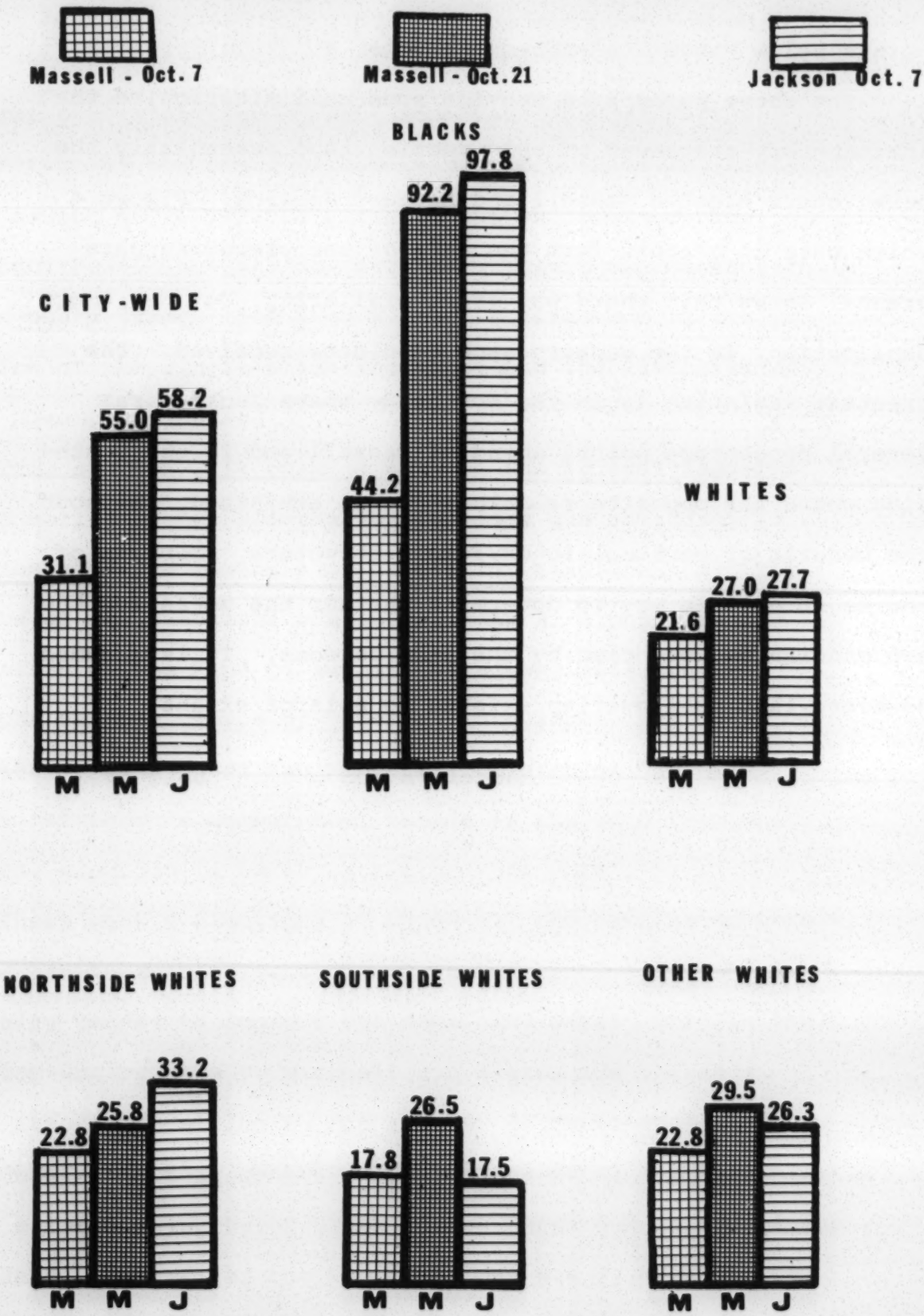
Jackson's vote in the white community generally followed the same direction as Cook's, although there was a large difference in the proportion each received. The area of strongest support for both was the Northside and the area of least strength was the Southside. Jackson's drop-off in the Southside was proportionately worse than Cook's, however.

The relationship between Massell's vote and Jackson's vote is shown in Figure 4. In the Northside, Jackson ran better than Massell did in either the October 7 or October 21 elections. Jackson's vote of 33.2 per cent was 10.4 points higher than Massell's proportion in the first race and 7.4 points above Massell's vote in the run-off. In only two precincts did Massell surpass Jackson. In both 8C and 6C, the two precincts with relatively heavy concentrations of Jewish voters, which were Massell's strongest white precincts, Jackson received 37.9 per cent of the vote. Massell's support in these precincts was 40.2 per cent and 42.9 per cent October 7, and 47.7 per cent and 49.9 per cent October 21.

In the Southside Jackson and Massell ran about evenly October 7, but Massell's performance in this area was much better October 21. Massell's proportion of the vote in the run-off was about 9 points higher than the 17.5 per cent Jackson obtained October 7.

Among Other whites, Jackson ran ahead of Massell October 7, but Massell's support in the run-off exceeded Jackson's performance on the earlier date. Jackson's vote of 26.3 per cent was 3.5 points above Massell's initial vote, but 3.2

Figure 4: Proportion of the Vote Received from Different Groups of Voters by Massell on October 7 and 21 and by M. Jackson on October 7 (in Percentages).



points below Massell's subsequent vote.

The above paragraphs provide some qualification to the introductory statement of this section that essentially the same voters elected Massell and Maynard Jackson. Figure 4 which puts in graphic form the data of the preceding paragraphs, shows that there was great similarity, but not exact duplication, in the support each candidate received. The greatest variation is in the Northside where Jackson ran several percentage points ahead of Massell and in the Southside where the opposite relationship was exhibited. Without the benefit of personal interviews with voters, there is of course no certain way to determine whether the votes for the two candidates were cast by the same persons. It is assumed, however, that this overlap existed to a large extent.

VI. THE BOARD OF ALDERMEN ELECTIONS

The 1969 elections brought important changes in the composition of the board of aldermen. Only 12 of 18 incumbents sought to retain their seats, but one of these was defeated, resulting in 7 new aldermen. Black representation on the board jumped from 1 to 5, as a consequence of the reelection of the single black incumbent and the victories of 4 new black candidates.

This section will examine some of the general features of the voting in the aldermanic elections and the specific features of a few contests of particular significance. The results of all elections are in Appendix A, along with an indication of the kind of support each candidate received from the various groups of voters. In Atlanta, the board of aldermen is made up of two members from each of the nine wards. Although a member must reside in the ward from which he runs, election is based on a city-wide vote.

There were 8 elections in which all the candidates were white. In these elections the white and black communities generally tended to support the same candidate. Only in the election won by Wade T. Mitchell did blacks and whites exhibit strong opposition to one another in their choice of candidates. In that contest, most whites voted for Mitchell, while a large majority of black voters supported an opposition candidate. Except for the two elections won by Hugh Pierce

and Wyche Fowler, the remaining winners polled a majority from whites and blacks. Pierce and Fowler were the leading candidates in the black community, but they received only a narrow plurality from black voters. Although George T. Cotsakis, Richard G. Freeman, Cecil Turner, and W. T. Knight were supported by a majority of blacks and whites, in 3 of these contests the support of blacks was not as heavy as that of whites. Turner, on the other hand, received a substantially larger majority from blacks than from whites.

The different groups of white voters exhibited some variation in their voting in these elections. In all the elections just described, each group gave the winner a majority, but there were sometimes considerable differences in the size of the majority. In 2 contests, Southside whites gave the winner more support than voters in the Northside, while in 5 contests, the Northside support was heavier. The differences in the level of support ranged from 6 to 26 percentage points.

Two aldermanic elections had only black candidates, and in these contests, like the all-white elections, both blacks and whites tended to support the same candidate. Q. V. Williamson polled a substantial majority among every group of voters except Southside whites, and there he missed 50 per cent by only a fraction of a point. Joel C. Stokes, the other winner, barely avoided a run-off with 50.5 per cent of the total vote. He was the front-runner among every group of voters, but he received a majority only from Northside whites. In both con-

tests, the proportion of Northside votes received by the winner was higher than that received from black voters. Stokes also received heavier support from Other whites than from blacks. Although both candidates were the front-runners among Southside whites, their support among these voters was almost 30 percentage points below that received in the Northside. The support from Other whites ranged between the levels of the Northside and Southside.

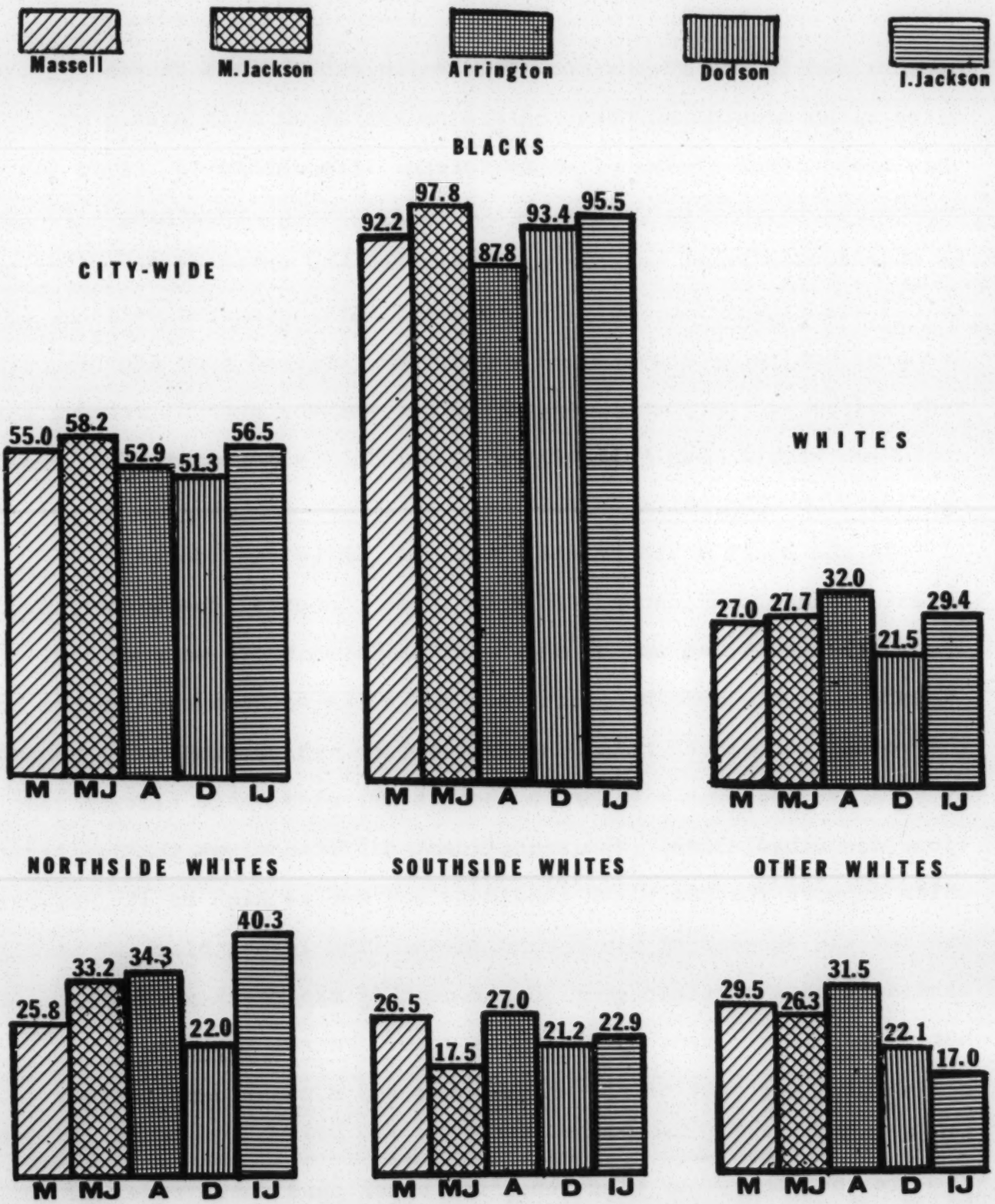
The 8 remaining aldermanic elections involved both white and black candidates. Five of these were won by whites and 3 by blacks. In these elections, there were substantial differences between black and white voters in their support of candidates.

It was stated at the beginning of this report that some members of the board of aldermen were elected by essentially the same group of voters who brought victory to the mayor and vice-mayor. This statement referred to the 3 black candidates -- Marvin Arrington, H. D. Dodson, and Ira Jackson -- who defeated white opponents. The vote they received was not identical to that of Massell or Maynard Jackson, nor was it the same among themselves. Nevertheless, there was considerable similarity in the composition of the support each of these candidates received. The victories of all 5 of them were based on almost solid support from the black community and between 21 per cent and 32 per cent of the white vote.

All 3 of these aldermen were elected in run-off elections, and the discussion here will refer to these votes. (The results of the first ballot can be seen in Appendix A.) The support they received in the run-offs, along with Massell's October 21 and Maynard Jackson's October 7 performances, is shown in Figure 5. A comparison of the support received by these several candidates must be made with caution, of course. Since the number of voters in each election was not the same, the percentages being used in Figure 5 do not all have the same base. Thus, identical percentages do not represent the same number of votes when a larger number of people voted in one election than in another. For example, Massell and Arrington received almost the same percentage in the Southside, but Massell received more votes from this group because the turnout in his election was almost 49 per cent compared to a turnout of about 36 per cent in Arrington's contest. It is theoretically possible, of course, that the people voting for one of these candidates were not the same as those who voted for another of the candidates, but this is not thought to be likely.

Arrington was the only one of this group who received less than 90 per cent of the black vote, but he was not far below this level. Both Arrington and Ira Jackson received the support of almost one-third of the white community. Dodson, who ran against an incumbent, obtained a lower level of white support, but this still amounted to slightly over

Figure 5: Proportion of the Vote Received from Different Groups of Voters by Arrington, Dodson, I. Jackson, and Massell on October 21 and M. Jackson on October 7 (in Percentages).



one-fifth of the white votes. Dodson's lower proportion of the white vote was due mainly to the relatively light support he obtained in the Northside. Unlike the other black candidates being considered here, he did no better in this area than among other groups of white voters. Ira Jackson's support in the Northside was particularly strong, amounting to over 40 per cent, but his proportion of the votes of Other whites was rather low, only 17 per cent. Arrington ran well among all white groups and the support he received from Southside whites, 27 per cent, and from Other whites, over 31 per cent, was higher than that of any other black aldermanic candidate who had white opposition.

In the other 5 aldermanic elections, white candidates defeated black candidates. In 4 of these contests, the winner was an incumbent and won on the first ballot. There was no incumbent in the remaining contest, and a run-off was required. The voting pattern in this run-off election, which was won by R. A. Petree, was similar to that in the aldermanic elections described above. The significant difference was that white support for the black candidate was not as high as it was for the successful black candidates. The losing black candidate here received over 90 per cent of the black vote, but only 18.6 per cent of the white vote. Petree thus received 81.4 per cent of the white votes and 8.9 per cent of the black votes.

In the other four elections, the black candidates received

a smaller proportion of both the black and white vote than did the black candidates who were discussed above. Black support for the black candidates in these contests ranged from 68 to 80 per cent, and white support for them ranged from 5 to 16 per cent. The successful white candidates received the following support: E. Gregory Griggs, 76.5 per cent from whites and 14.1 per cent from blacks; John M. Flanigen, 89.1 per cent from whites and 26.5 per cent from blacks; Charles Leftwich, 77.6 per cent from whites and 16.3 per cent from blacks; and Jack Summers, 73.5 per cent from whites and 29.6 per cent from blacks. All of these candidates except Summers received heavier support in the Northside than in the Southside.

Turnout*

Not as many people voted in the aldermanic elections as in the mayoralty and vice-mayoralty elections. The drop-off was greater among blacks than among whites. Whereas blacks had a higher turnout rate in voting for mayor and vice-mayor, whites participated more heavily in most cases in the balloting for aldermen.

As Table 11 shows, if the turnout for all October 7 aldermanic races are averaged together, the percentage of

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*The term "turnout" will be used to refer to the percentage of registered voters who cast ballots in each particular election. Because some voters cast ballots in some elections and not in others, the "turnout" will vary.

blacks voting in these elections was only 28.4 per cent*, a reduction of 23.1 points from their rate of participation in the October 7 mayoralty election. The corresponding figure for whites is 34.3 per cent turnout for aldermen, a reduction of 12.1 points from the percentage voting in the first mayoralty election. In the October 21 run-offs for positions on the board of aldermen, the turnout rates were considerably higher among both blacks and whites and closer to one another.

TABLE 11

LEVELS OF TURNOUT AMONG DIFFERENT GROUPS OF VOTERS IN ALDERMANIC ELECTIONS: PERCENTAGES OF REGISTERED VOTERS IN EACH GROUP WHO CAST BALLOTS IN DIFFERENT TYPES OF ALDERMANIC ELECTIONS ON OCTOBER 7 AND 21

	Percentage of Registered Voters Casting Ballots in:					
	All Elections Combined		Elections With Black & White Candidates		Elections With Only Black Candidates	Elections With Only White Candidates
	Oct.7 (N=17)	Oct.21 (N=4)	Oct.7 (N=8)	Oct.21 (N=4)	Oct. 7 (N=2)	Oct. 7 (N=7)
City-wide	29.7	39.8	29.9	39.8	31.4	29.1
Black	28.4	41.4	28.8	41.4	36.4	25.7
White	34.3	43.0	34.0	43.0	32.2	35.3
Northside	39.2	45.8	38.1	45.8	37.2	40.5
Southside	27.3	37.4	27.9	37.4	24.5	27.6
Other	31.8	41.6	31.9	41.6	29.5	32.4

*These turnout figures refer only to those voters who were in precincts that are 90 per cent or more black or white. The turnout rate for all blacks or for all whites was probably somewhat lower than these figures. See the discussion on turnout in the section on the mayor's election.

The proportion of blacks voting rose to 41.4 per cent and that of whites to 43 per cent. Compared to the turnout for mayor on October 21, this was a reduction of 14.9 percentage points for blacks and 11.1 points for whites.

Only in the aldermanic contests in which all the candidates were black was the turnout of blacks higher than whites. This was not so much the result of a decline in the number of whites voting, although there was a slight drop-off, as it was the result of a substantial increase in the number of blacks casting ballots in these elections. In contests where all the candidates were white, white participation was slightly above that in other elections, while the black turnout dropped to its lowest point, just slightly more than one-fourth of the registered voters.

For those elections where both black and white candidates were involved, the average turnout for black and white voters was between the levels for all-black and all-white contests. Whites voted more heavily in the mixed contests than in all-black elections, while more blacks participated in mixed contests than in all-white ones. There was considerable variation in the black turnout for mixed elections; the percentage of voters participating ranged from 24.5 to 35.7.

Just as in the elections examined in earlier sections, the turnout rate varied among the different groups of white voters. On October 7, participation by Northside whites continued to be highest at 39.2 per cent, with Other whites second

at 31.8 per cent, and Southside whites lowest at 27.3 per cent. The reduction from the percentage voting for mayor on October 7 was about the same for all these groups, just over 13 points in the Northside and Southside and just under 12 points among Other whites. On October 21 the turnout rates of these groups remained in the same order, but the differences between them were narrowed considerably. This resulted from a larger increase in the percentage of Southside and Other whites voting. All three groups followed approximately the same pattern in their participation in different types of contests; slightly fewer voted in all-black contests and slightly more in all-white contests.

In the sample of white precincts with the highest socio-economic status, the turnout in aldermanic elections was 45.5 per cent on October 7 and 53.4 per cent on October 21. This was several points higher than the turnout in the Northside as a whole on both occasions. In the sample of low status white precincts, the turnout was 23.5 per cent on the first date and 33.1 per cent on the second date. These figures are below the turnout rate for the entire Southside.

There was a similar disparity between the participation rates of black precincts of high and low socio-economic rank. On October 7, 35.8 per cent of the registration in the sample of high status black precincts voted, compared to only 18.9 per cent in the sample of low-ranking black precincts. There was a substantial increase in the rate of participation in the

run-off elections, a rise to 51.4 per cent in the top-ranking black precincts and to 31.3 per cent in the low status ones. Thus, in the second election, there was little difference between the turnout in the high-ranking white precincts and the high-ranking black precincts or between low status white precincts and low status black ones, although on October 7 the black precincts were considerably below their white counterparts.

VII. THE BOARD OF EDUCATION ELECTIONS

The voting patterns in each individual board of education election can be seen in Appendix A. The board of education is composed of one member from each of the 9 wards plus 1 at-large member. The entire city votes for all positions, although candidates for the ward seats must live in the ward from which they run.

The 1969 election brought 5 new members to the 10-man board of education. Seven incumbents ran for re-election, but 2 of them were defeated. As was true for the board of aldermen, the election resulted in more black members than before, the number increasing from 2 to 3. One black incumbent did not seek to retain his seat; thus 2 of the 3 blacks elected were new members.

While none of these elections exhibited the same pattern of voting that elected the mayor, vice-mayor, and 3 of the black aldermen, there were 3 contests that had some similarities. Victory in these 3 elections was based on a substantial majority in the black community combined with a sizable minority of the white votes. In these elections, the black support for the winner was somewhat lower and the white support somewhat higher than in the "coalition" of voters which elected Massell, M. Jackson, Arrington, I. Jackson, and Dodson.

All of the candidates in these 3 board of education

elections were white. Two of them won in run-offs. Howard E. Klein, who won on the first ballot on October 7, received the largest percentage of black votes (79.4 per cent) and the smallest proportion of the white vote (36.8 per cent). June Cofer's black support in the run-off amounted to 78.6 per cent and her white support was 42.3 per cent. On October 21 Jerry Luxemburger's proportion of the black vote was the lowest of the three at 64.9 per cent, but his percentage of the white votes was highest at 44.7 per cent. With the exception of Luxemburger, these candidates received approximately the same level of support from each group of white voters. Luxemburger's support from Southside and Other whites was similar to Cofer's and Klein's, but Luxemburger was backed by a majority of the voters in the Northside.

There were two other contests in which all the candidates were white. Both of these were two-man races and were decided on October 7. In one of these, W. Tom Beebe won almost identical majorities from both black and white voters, 64 per cent of the blacks and 65.4 per cent from the whites. In the other election, Fred M. Shell received a majority from both blacks and whites, but there was a substantial difference in the proportions. Blacks gave him 52.1 per cent of their votes, compared to 79.7 per cent from whites. Both of these candidates were supported by majorities from all white groups, although Beebe's were at a lower level. In both cases, the proportion of Northside votes given to the winner was around 13 percentage points higher than Southside support.

In only one election were all the candidates black. Asa C. Yancey won this race on the first ballot over two opponents. He received majorities from all groups, and his proportion of the white vote (74 per cent) was slightly higher than the percentage he received from blacks (72.9 per cent). Although all white groups gave him a majority of their votes, Southside support was almost 30 percentage points below Northside support.

Four elections included both black and white candidates. In 2 of these contests, which were won by blacks, victory was based on a majority among both black and white voters. Benjamin E. Mays, running against 1 white and 1 black opponent, polled 82.9 per cent of the black vote and 56.4 per cent of the white vote to win on the first ballot. The second successful black candidate was J. A. Middleton, who defeated two white opponents on October 7. His support was 90.8 per cent in the black community and 51.5 per cent in the white community. Both men received majorities from Northside whites and very close to majorities from Other whites, but both of them ran second to white opponents in the Southside.

In the two elections in which whites defeated blacks, the winner's base of support consisted of a strong majority from white voters and about one-fourth of the black voters. Ann Woodward, whose victory came on the first ballot, received 71.4 per cent of the votes in the white community and 25.5 per

cent of the votes in the black community. A run-off was required in the other election, won by Bill C. Wainwright. His support from whites in the run-off amounted to 85.6 per cent and his support among blacks came to 25.7 per cent. All the white groups gave him about the same level of support. Woodward's support was higher in the Northside than elsewhere.

Turnout

The number of people who voted in the board of education elections on October 7 was not quite as high as for the aldermanic elections, but the difference was slight. The same was true for October 21, except for Northside whites, who voted more heavily for school board members than for aldermen on this date. The turnout rate of the different categories of voters on October 7 followed the same pattern as in the aldermanic elections; the largest turnout was among Northside whites, followed in descending order by Other whites, blacks, and Southside whites, as Table 12 shows.

The number of blacks who voted varied considerably with different elections. The turnout was highest, 39.5 per cent for the election in which Mays won over a white and a black opponent. The next largest number, 36.3 per cent, voted in the all-black contest won by Yancey. In the other election in which a black, Middleton, defeated white opponents, the turnout was 31.6 per cent. In the two contests in which white candidates, Wainwright and Woodward, successfully ran against blacks, the respective percentages of eligible black voters

who cast ballots were 26.4 and 22. Under 25 per cent of the blacks voted in any of the elections which had only white candidates.

TABLE 12

LEVELS OF TURNOUT AMONG DIFFERENT GROUPS OF VOTERS IN BOARD OF EDUCATION ELECTIONS: PERCENTAGES OF REGISTERED VOTERS IN EACH GROUP WHO CAST BALLOTS IN DIFFERENT TYPES OF BOARD OF EDUCATION ELECTIONS ON OCTOBER 7 and 21

	Percentage of Registered Voters Casting Ballots in:						
	All Elections Combined		Elections With Black & White Candidates		Elections With Only Black Candidates	Elections With Only White Candidates	
	Oct. 7 (N=10)	Oct. 21 (N=3)	Oct. 7 (N=4)	Oct. 21 (N=1)	Oct.7 (N=1)	Oct.7 (N=5)	Oct.21 (N=2)
City-wide	28.0	38.0	29.2	37.3	30.4	26.7	38.4
Black	27.3	34.7	29.5	32.0	36.3	23.5	36.1
White	32.3	44.6	32.4	44.0	30.4	32.5	44.9
Northside	37.1	50.4	37.2	50.2	35.3	37.3	50.5
Southside	24.7	37.2	24.7	37.8	22.6	25.1	36.9
Other	29.5	41.6	29.8	42.0	27.8	29.6	41.4

There was not so much variation in the number of whites who voted in these elections. The turnout ranged only from 30.4 per cent to 35.4 per cent. The nature of the candidates involved seemed to have little effect on the turnout. A slight exception was that the turnout of each group of white voters for the all-black contest was at or near the bottom of the range.

On October 7, the sample of black precincts with high socio-economic status exhibited an average turnout of 35 per cent compared to an average turnout of 17.5 per cent in the low status black precincts. These figures rose to 43.9 per cent and 24.8 per cent on October 21. In the samples of white precincts, an average of 43.7 per cent of the high status whites and 21.6 per cent of the low status whites cast ballots on October 7. In the run-offs these averages were 57.9 per cent and 32.9 per cent. Whereas the differences in turnout in aldermanic races between the corresponding black and white samples was almost removed in the run-offs, in the board of education elections the differences exhibited on October 7 were not overcome on October 21.

VIII. BLOC VOTING AND RACIAL POLARIZATION

Throughout this study, comparisons have been made between the voting of blacks and whites, and comments have been made about the influence of one group or the other on the outcome of an election. In this section, the overall results of the 1969 elections will be examined, so that the voting behavior of blacks and whites in relation to one another can be placed in better perspective. How often were most whites and most blacks on opposite sides of these electoral contests? How cohesive were these groups in their candidate support? To what extent was one racial group willing to vote against a candidate of their own race for a candidate of the opposite race?

There were 30 offices to be filled in the 1969 city elections: mayor, vice-mayor, 18 positions on the board of aldermen, and 10 positions on the board of education. Since 1 incumbent was unopposed, there were only 29 contests on October 7.

In 10 of the 29 elections, the black and white communities voted similarly, each giving a majority of their support to the same candidate. In 3 more contests, the winner received a plurality from black voters and a majority from white voters. Of course, as earlier sections have described, there were sometimes considerable differences in the size of the majority given by blacks and whites in a particular election. These 13 contests included 2 with both

black and white candidates, 8 with white candidates only, and 3 with all black candidates.

Thus there were 16 other elections in which black and white voters exhibited substantial opposition to one another. In these elections, a majority of one racial group supported the winner, and the other racial group gave either a majority or a plurality to an opposition candidate. Half of these contests were settled on October 7, and the other half on October 21.

In the 8 contests decided on the first ballot, white voters were on the winning side 6 times. On October 21, the black-supported candidates were successful in 6 of the 8 elections. With the exception of Massell, the candidate receiving the majority of a group's support in a run-off election was also the leading vote-getter among that group on the first ballot. Massell ran second to Tate among blacks on October 7 but in the run-off against Cook, Massell received an overwhelming majority of the black vote. (Exact comparisons of a candidate's support on the two dates can be made by consulting Table 13).

An examination of the final outcome of all 16 elections in which most white and most black voters were on opposite sides in their support of candidates shows that the white voters' choice was victorious in 8 elections and the candidate with black support won in 8 elections. All 8 of the candidates successfully supported by whites were white, but only 4 of the candidates who won with black support were black.

In terms of offices, the black vote was primarily responsible either on October 7 or October 21 for the election of mayor, vice-mayor, 3 aldermen, and 3 members of the school board. In these elections, a majority of black voters supported the winner and a majority of white voters backed the loser. White voters were likewise decisive in the election of 6 aldermen and 2 school board members. Black and white voters jointly elected 9 members of the board of aldermen and 5 members of the board of education.

While it was true that most whites were on the losing side in 8 elections, a somewhat different picture emerges when whites are divided into groups. Northside whites gave a majority of their vote to a losing candidate in only 7 elections. Southside whites, however, supported a losing candidate 10 times, and in 3 other elections, they gave only a plurality to the winner. There were 8 instances when Other whites supported a loser, and 3 other times when they gave the winner only a plurality.

The next question is concerned with how much solidarity blacks and whites displayed in their voting. This discussion will not deal with the question of why a group voted as a bloc, although, of course, this would be a crucial consideration if one were going to pass judgment on such behavior. The examination here will simply measure the degree of cohesion each racial group exhibited in their voting and indicate something about the nature and outcome of the elections in which such

cohesion was shown.

Table 13 shows in descending order the percentage of the vote received by the leading candidate among blacks and whites in each election. This table also indicates how the opposite racial group voted in each election, as well as the race of each candidate and which candidate was victorious. Since the turnout varied in these elections, these percentages can only be used as a measure of the solidarity among those in a group who actually cast ballots in each particular contest.

Any attempt to talk about a "bloc vote" immediately encounters the problem of how one is to define this phenomenon. One must specify what degree of solidarity is to be described as a "bloc vote," and by choosing different levels, quite different conclusions can be reached about the tendencies of blacks and whites to vote in this manner.

If the level is set at 70 per cent, then blacks and whites each "bloc voted" 12 times October 7. Whites were far more successful in this voting than blacks. Eleven of the white-supported candidates won outright victories and the remaining candidate obtained a place in the run-off. Only 6 of the candidates supported by blacks won on the first ballot, and 1 other candidate gained a position in the run-off.

On October 21, black support for a candidate exceeded 70 per cent in all 8 of the contests. The white vote was above this level in 5 of the elections. On this date blacks were more successful. Six of the 8 candidates with black support won, compared to only 2 of the candidates who received over 70 per cent of the white votes.

TABLE 13

VOTER COHESION AMONG BLACKS AND WHITES: PERCENTAGE OF VOTE RECEIVED BY CANDIDATE WHO WAS THE LEADING VOTE-GETTER AMONG BLACK AND WHITE VOTERS IN EACH ELECTION

Column 1 = Percentage of voters who supported listed candidate.
" 2 = * indicates victory; - indicates place in run-off.
" 3 = Name of the candidate.
" 4 = Race of candidate: B=Black, W=White.
" 5 = Percentage of vote received by candidate who led among opposite racial group. "Same" indicates that same candidate led among both groups.
" 6 = Race of candidate who led among opposite racial group.

October 7

Black Voters					White Voters				
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5) (6)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5) (6)
97.8	*	M. Jackson	B	(68.3-W)	89.1	*	Flanigen	W	(73.5-B)
90.8	*	Middleton	B	(same-51.5)	89.1	*	Freeman	W	(same-54.0)
88.0	-	Dodson	B	(76.9-W)	79.7	*	Shell	W	(same-52.1)
85.4	*	Turner	W	(same-65.1)	77.6	*	Leftwich	W	(69.0-B)
82.9	*	Mays	B	(same-56.4)	76.9	-	Dennis	W	(88.0-B)
80.1		Reed	W	(74.7-W)	76.5	*	Griggs	W	(44.5-B)
80.1	-	Finley	B	(48.2-W)	74.7	*	Mitchell	W	(80.1-W)
79.4	*	Klein	W	(50.8-W)	74.5	*	Fowler	W	(same-47.4)
74.6	-	Arrington	B	(43.3-W)	74.0	*	Yancey	B	(same-72.9)
74.5		D. Jackson	B	(71.4-W)	73.5	*	Summers	W	(68.4-B)
73.5		Doe	B	(89.1-W)	72.6	*	Cotsakis	W	(same-58.1)
72.9	*	Yancey	B	(same-74.0)	71.4	*	Woodward	W	(74.5-B)
69.6	-	Cofer	W	(54.9-W)	68.6	*	Williamson	B	(same-62.6)
69.0		Watley	B	(77.6-W)	68.3		Farris	W	(97.8-B)
68.4		Canty	B	(73.5-W)	65.4	*	Beebe	W	(same-64.0)
64.9	-	Luxemburger	W	(44.8-W)	65.3	*	Pierce	W	(same-39.0)
64.0	*	Beebe	W	(same-65.4)	65.1	*	Turner	W	(same-85.4)
62.6	*	Williamson	B	(same-68.6)	60.4	-	Wainwright	W	(59.5-B)
59.5	-	Hunter	B	(60.4-W)	60.0	*	Knight	W	(same-55.9)
58.1	*	Cotsakis	W	(same-72.6)	58.3	*	Stokes	B	(same-44.8)
55.9	*	Knight	W	(same-60.0)	56.4	*	Mays	B	(same-82.9)

TABLE 13 - Continued

October 7
(continued)

Black Voters					White Voters				
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5) (6)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5) (6)
54.0	*	Freeman	W	(same-60.0)	54.9	-	Cox	W	(69.6-W)
52.1	*	Shell	W	(same-79.7)	51.5	*	Middleton	B	(same-90.8)
49.0		Tate	B	(44.8-W)	50.8		Schilling	W	(79.4-W)
48.6	-	I. Jackson	B	(35.0-W)	48.2	-	Petree	W	(80.1-B)
47.4	*	Fowler	W	(same-74.5)	44.8	-	Cook	W	(49.0-B)
44.8	*	Stokes	B	(same-58.3)	44.8		Allen	W	(64.9-W)
44.5		Matthews	B	(76.5-W)	43.3	-	Irwin	W	(74.6-B)
39.0	*	Pierce	W	(same-65.3)	35.0	-	Mundy	W	(48.6-B)
October 21									
95.5	*	I. Jackson	B	(70.6-W)	85.6	*	Wainwright	W	(74.3-B)
93.5	*	Dodson	B	(78.5-W)	81.4	*	Petree	W	(91.1-B)
92.2	*	Massell	W	(73.0-W)	78.5		Dennis	W	(93.5-B)
91.1		Finley	B	(81.4-W)	73.0		Cook	W	(92.2-W)
87.8	*	Arrington	B	(67.9-W)	70.6		Mundy	W	(95.5-B)
78.6	*	Cofer	W	(57.7-W)	67.9		Irvin	W	(87.8-B)
74.3		Hunter	B	(85.6-W)	57.7		Cox	W	(78.6-W)
73.9	*	Luxemburger	W	(51.9-W)	51.9		Allen	W	(73.9-W)

All these percentages are based on the results in precincts in which 90 per cent or more of the registered voters are either white or black.

As suggested earlier, black voters were more likely to give heavy support to white candidates than vice versa. With one exception, all the candidates who received 70 per cent or more of the white vote were white. Black voters gave this level of support on either October 7 or 21 to 6 white candidates.

If the level is moved up to 80 per cent, then blacks showed a much greater tendency than whites to "bloc vote." In the first

election, black voters displayed this degree of solidarity 7 times and whites only twice. In the run-offs, 5 candidates received 80 per cent or more of the black vote, and only 2 candidates received this level of support from whites.

There were 5 instances on either October 7 or 21 when the black support for a candidate exceeded 90 per cent. The greatest solidarity whites exhibited was 89.1 per cent, and this occurred only twice.

In some elections, one racial group would vote with great unity, while in the same contest, the other group would exhibit a much lower degree of cohesiveness. But in a number of contests, both groups voted heavily for opposing candidates. On October 7, there were 4 elections in which blacks gave 70 per cent or more of their votes to 1 candidate, and whites gave 70 per cent or more of their votes to an opposition candidate. (If the measure is dropped to 68 per cent or more, then there were 7 elections on October 7 in which the 2 groups of voters opposed one another with this degree of solidarity.) In 1 election, the same candidate obtained over 70 per cent from both groups. On October 21, in 5 of the 8 elections, whites and blacks gave over 70 per cent of their respective support to opposing candidates.

As a final consideration, a look will be taken at some of the situations which revealed the opposite tendency from racial polarization. In some elections which involved a contest between black and white candidates, one can see a willingness

among some black and white voters to support a candidate of the opposite race. There were 14 elections on October 7 in which black and white candidates competed with one another. As Table 14 shows, whites gave over 10 per cent of their votes to 1 or more black candidates in 11 of these contests. Black voters supported white candidates in this manner in 10 of the elections. The support given to candidates of the opposite race exceeded 25 per cent 6 times among each group of voters. In 2 instances among white voters and once among blacks this support was over 50 per cent.

On October 21, there were 5 elections which pitted black candidates against white opponents. The support the 5 black candidates received from white voters ranged from 14.4 per cent to 32.1 per cent. Only 2 white candidates received over 10 per cent of the black vote, 25.7 per cent in 1 instance, and 12.1 per cent in the other.

As the preceding discussion indicates, the 1969 elections displayed a variety of voting behavior. There was "bloc voting" in some contests, and in others, the various groups of voters revealed deep divisions of opinion among themselves. There were instances of polarization of blacks and whites in their choice of candidates, but there were also instances in which both groups were in substantial agreement with one another. And there were still other situations where black and white voters chose not to support a candidate of their own race, but instead showed their preference for a candidate of the opposite race.

TABLE 14

PERCENTAGE OF VOTE GIVEN BY VOTERS OF ONE RACIAL GROUP TO CANDIDATES OF THE OTHER RACIAL GROUP

October 7

Black Voters-White Candidates	White Voters-Black Candidates
Per Cent	Per Cent
51.0 - Massell, 44.2; Cook, 5.5; Millican, .4.	62.1 - Mays, 56.4; C. Jackson, 5.7.
40.5 - Wainwright, 16.5; Conrad, 12.6; Hicks, 7.5; Keys, 3.9.	51.5 - Middleton
31.6 - Summers, 29.6; Belluso, 2.0.	35.7 - I. Jackson, 24.5; Patrick, 5.3; Smith, 2.4; Ware, 1.2; Daniels, 2.3.
26.5 - Flanigen	
25.5 - Woodward	28.6 - D. Jackson
25.3 - Pierce, 10.2; Irvin, 9.5; Coppeak, 3.1; Swetlitz, 2.5.	27.7 - M. Jackson
21.0 - Leftwich, 16.3; Jones, 10.4; Flournoy, 4.3.	27.3 - Arrington
	18.3 - Dodson
19.9 - Monti, 10.0; Petree, 9.9.	16.2 - Canty
19.4 - Griggs, 14.1; Kennebrew, 5.3.	15.8 - Matthews, 8.5; Curington, 7.3.
12.0 - Dennis, 8.9; Beeks, 3.1.	13.9 - Finley
	10.9 - Doe

October 21

25.7 - Wainwright	32.1 - Arrington
12.1 - Irvin	29.4 - I. Jackson
	21.5 - Dodson
	18.6 - Finley
	14.4 - Hunter

(Only those contests where the percentage was over 10 per cent are included.)

IX. CONCLUSION

Further elections will reveal which features of the 1969 elections represented new trends, which were remnants of a past era, and which were transitional steps toward a new politics, the character of which is not yet determined. Nevertheless, it is clear that 1969 was a turning point in Atlanta politics. The traditional form of politics was disrupted and new patterns of voting emerged. Even if in future elections there should be another alliance between blacks and upper-middle class whites superficially resembling that which existed prior to 1969, the black influence in deciding the course of action for such an alliance would almost certainly be far greater than in the past. This arrangement, of course, is only one of several possibilities for future politics in Atlanta.

Because of the significance of the 1969 elections, it is important to understand as well as possible what actually happened in this year, and perhaps it is equally important to understand what did not happen. It is hoped that the exposition in the preceding sections and the data presented in the appendixes will provide an adequate basis for such understanding. There are a few points, however, which merit further attention in this final section. The matters to be discussed here are by no means the only ones of importance in these elections, but they have been the subject of considerable confusion, judging from some of the comments heard in Atlanta after the election.

The most significant developments of the 1969 elections were: (1) the break-up of the traditional alliance between blacks and northside whites; (2) the success of blacks along with a minority of whites in determining the outcome of a number of elections, including those of mayor and vice-mayor; and (3) the increase in the number of black candidates who were elected. These events should not, however, be interpreted to mean that blacks took control of the city government, or that they displayed a narrow racist orientation in their voting behavior.

Without even considering the question of how much any official is "controlled" by those who voted him into office, the contention that blacks gained control of the city is clearly fallacious. In some elections, the black vote was decisive in electing their preferred candidate over the opposition of most white voters, but this was not true in most elections. Fifteen of 18 aldermanic and 7 of 10 school board elections were not decided in this fashion. In a number of instances, candidates with heavy black support lost, and in other elections, the winner was the leading candidate among both blacks and whites.

Altogether there were 9 blacks among the 30 officials selected in these elections. Blacks, therefore, now occupy 30 per cent of the elective offices in a city in which their proportion of the population is 49 per cent. In addition to this, 4 white candidates were elected by a majority of the

black vote over the opposition of a majority of white voters. There is no question that the influence of blacks on these elections, and presumably thereby on the future operation of city government, was greater than in the past. But the results of the 1969 elections could hardly be labelled a black take-over.

Although there was a three-fold increase in the number of blacks elected to office in 1969, this was not the result of black voters displaying a single-minded determination to elect black candidates whenever possible. It is true that in several elections, black voters gave almost all their support to a black candidate running against a white candidate. But it is also true that in other instances a considerable number of blacks gave their support to the white opponent of a black candidate. The same thing was true of white voters. Sometimes they gave almost all their support to a white candidate who had black opposition, and at other times a signficant proportion of the white voters bypassed the candidate of their own race and supported a black candidate. Although there are some differences in the number of times white and black voters behaved in these ways, the differences are not great. One cannot credit or blame one group of voters for this kind of voting behavior without extending basically the same judgment to the other group.

In the mayor's election alone, the voting behavior of blacks provided considerable evidence to discredit any allega-

tion of racism in their support of candidates. If blacks were mainly interested in electing black candidates, surely they would have demonstrated this in the election of the single most important official in the city government. But instead of voting solidly October 7 for the black candidate for mayor, slightly over half of the black voters gave their support to white candidates.

Another concern expressed by some people was over the question of bloc voting by blacks. In fact, whites also bloc voted on occasion. But there were many other instances when each group exhibited considerable division among its members over whom to support. While blacks showed a somewhat greater tendency than whites to bloc vote, blacks also demonstrated a greater tendency than whites to give such a vote to a candidate of the opposite race. Furthermore, bloc voting is sometimes a rational form of political behavior, especially when the choice of candidates involves an issue of overriding importance to all members of a group. Thus a concern about bloc voting in Atlanta should carry with that concern an awareness that all groups of voters sometimes vote in this manner, as well as the reasons why a group acts this way.

In none of the foregoing discussion was there an intention to imply judgments about the wisdom of any of the actions described. It is not the purpose of this study to suggest that one candidate was more deserving than another, nor to suggest that the behavior of one group of voters was more rational or

praiseworthy than any other group. Instead, it is hoped that this study will provide the basis for making more accurate interpretations of the 1969 elections and will thereby help to avoid the formation of attitudes based on erroneous impressions of what happened in these elections.

: - :

APPENDIX A

RESULTS OF BOARD OF ALDERMEN AND BOARD OF EDUCATION ELECTIONS ON OCTOBER 7 AND OCTOBER 21

-- The figures in parentheses represent the percentage of registered voters who cast ballots.
-- Except for the city-wide total votes column, all other figures are percentages.
-- Race of candidate: B=black; W=white.
-- *=candidate was incumbent.

Board of Aldermen

Ward 1, Position 1	City-wide Pct.-Total	Black	White	N'side White	S'side White	Other White
October 21	(40.2)	(43.1)	(42.4)	(44.0)	(37.7)	(41.5)
Dodson (B)	51.3-44,294	93.5	21.5	22.0	21.2	22.1
Dennis*(W)	48.7-42,084	6.5	78.5	88.0	88.8	87.9
October 7	(31.7)	(33.0)	(34.4)			
Dodson (B)	46.3-31,604	88.0	18.3			
Dennis*(W)	49.2-33,614	8.9	76.9			
Beeks (W)	4.5- 3,048	3.1	4.8			
Ward 1, Position 2						
October 7	(30.8)	(30.2)	(34.3)	(38.5)	(27.9)	(32.0)
Griggs* (W)	51.7-34,199	14.1	76.5	79.8	71.0	73.8
Kennebrew (W)	7.1- 4,663	5.3	7.7	6.6	10.4	8.4
Curington (B)	18.8-12,433	36.1	7.3	6.2	10.0	7.7
Mathews (B)	22.4-14,837	44.5	8.5	7.4	8.6	10.1
Ward 2, Position 1						
October 21	(38.3)	(38.1)	(42.6)	(46.3)	(37.3)	(40.5)
Petree (W)	52.8-43,530	8.9	81.4	82.9	76.8	81.3
Finley (B)	47.2-38,923	91.1	18.6	17.1	23.2	18.7
October 7	(28.4)	(26.7)	(32.8)			
Petree (W)	34.6-21,140	9.9	48.2			
Finley (B)	38.4-23,510	80.1	13.9			
Monti (W)	27.0-16,499	10.0	37.9			

Appendix A - continued.

Ward 2, Position 2	City-wide Pct.-Total	Black	White	N'side White	S'side White	Other White
October 7	(27.1)	(24.5)	(32.0)	(36.5)	(25.1)	(29.6)
Flanigen* (W)	66.6-38,836	26.5	89.1	90.2	87.3	87.9
Doe (B)	33.4-19,510	73.5	10.9	9.8	12.7	12.1
Ward 3, Position 1						
October 7	(33.1)	(38.9)	(33.3)	(38.5)	(25.4)	(30.4)
Williamson* (B)	64.0-45,519	62.6	68.6	77.8	49.4	60.8
Hunter (B)	20.2-14,388	34.3	8.0	6.8	10.6	9.0
Follette (B)	15.8-11,212	3.1	23.4	15.4	40.0	30.2
Ward 3, Position 2						
October 7	(29.8)	(33.9)	(31.1)	(35.9)	(23.6)	(28.4)
Stokes (B)	50.5-32,320	44.8	58.3	68.1	38.6	49.6
McKinney (B)	25.0-16,038	37.3	14.2	10.0	24.5	16.9
Amos (B)	12.3- 7,848	11.6	12.4	9.8	15.6	15.6
Dobbs (B)	12.2- 7,840	6.3	15.1	12.1	21.3	17.9
Ward 4, Position 1						
October 7	(29.1)	(26.3)	(34.3)	(37.7)	(30.2)	(31.6)
Pierce* (W)	54.5-34,111	39.0	65.3	71.9	55.2	59.4
Tumlin (W)	14.1- 8,859	31.4	5.2	4.3	7.4	5.4
Barnes (W)	12.6- 7,884	6.3	14.4	10.9	19.4	17.8
Others (W)	18.8-11,766	23.3	15.1	12.9	18.0	17.4
Ward 4, Position 2						
October 7	(30.1)	(25.5)	(36.6)	(40.4)	(32.3)	(33.4)
Leftwich* (W)	56.6-36,588	16.3	77.6	81.6	69.5	75.2
Watley (B)	26.2-16,915	69.0	5.5	5.5	3.7	6.6
Jones (W)	11.0- 7,117	10.4	10.2	-	-	-
Flournoy (W)	6.2- 4,052	4.3	6.7	-	-	-

Appendix A - continued.

Ward 5, Position 1	City-wide Pct.-Total	Black	White	N'side White	S'side White	Other White
October 7	(30.2)	(26.4)	(37.2)	(43.0)	(27.5)	(34.4)
Cotsakis* (W)	66.4-43,132	58.1	72.6	75.6	63.1	71.7
Wester-gaard (W)	27.3-17,723	33.4	23.5	22.3	27.5	23.5
Lipps (W)	6.3- 4,072	8.5	4.0	2.1	9.4	4.8
Ward 5, Position 2						
October 7	(28.4)	(24.8)	(34.8)	(40.5)	(26.0)	(31.5)
Fowler (W)	63.1-38,528	47.4	74.5	82.9	57.3	66.8
Walters (W)	22.3-13,619	43.1	10.6	7.3	18.4	13.0
Ecker (W)	10.5- 6,453	5.5	11.4	7.6	18.7	15.0
Pulverenti (W)	4.1- 2,494	4.0	3.5	2.2	5.6	5.2
Ward 6, Position 1						
October 7	(28.4)	(23.9)	(35.6)	(40.9)	(26.5)	(33.2)
Freeman* (W)	77.3-47,129	54.0	89.1	91.1	85.3	87.2
Davis (W)	22.7-13,853	46.0	10.9	8.9	14.7	12.8
Ward 6, Position 2						
October 7	(30.1)	(28.4)	(35.3)	(39.7)	(27.9)	(33.3)
Turner* (W)	73.9-47,913	85.4	65.1	59.4	78.2	68.4
Clements (W)	26.1-16,890	14.6	34.9	40.6	21.8	31.6
Ward 7, Position 1						
October 7	(30.6)	(29.5)	(34.9)	(38.8)	(27.3)	(33.8)
Summers* (W)	57.5-37,867	29.6	73.5	71.7	78.9	73.8
Canty (B)	34.9-23,004	68.4	16.2	19.6	9.4	13.8
Belluso (W)	7.6- 4,971	2.0	10.3	8.7	11.7	12.4

Appendix A - continued.

Ward 7, Position 2	City-wide Pct.-Total	Black	White	N'side White	S'side White	Other White
October 21	(42.6)	(45.2)	(44.2)	(48.1)	(42.9)	(39.7)
Jackson (B)	56.5-51,750	95.5	29.4	40.3	22.9	17.0
Mundy (W)	43.5-39,875	4.5	70.6	59.7	77.1	83.0
October 7	(32.9)	(35.7)	(34.8)			
Jackson (B)	32.4-22,945	48.6	24.5			
Mundy (W)	22.4-15,838	1.7	35.0			
Patrick (B)	13.4- 9,519	24.3	5.3			
Wood (W)	10.9- 7,725	0.9	17.3			
Smith (B)	9.4- 6,668	18.8	2.4			
Blanton (W)	7.3- 5,189	0.5	12.0			
Ware (B)	2.2- 1,588	3.8	1.2			
Daniels (B)	1.9- 1,353	1.4	2.3			
Ward 8, Position 1						
October 7	(31.2)	(29.0)	(37.2)	(44.2)	(29.3)	(32.9)
Mitchell (W)	51.8-34,728	16.1	74.7	81.5	56.0	68.1
Reed (W)	39.9-26,740	80.1	16.5	13.6	18.3	20.8
Bryant (W)	8.3- 5,520	3.8	8.8	4.9	25.7	11.1
Ward 8, Position 2	(No opposition to incumbent Fowlkes.)					
Ward 9, Position 1						
October 7	(26.0)	(21.2)	(32.5)	(37.2)	(25.6)	(29.8)
Knight* (W)	60.3-33,757	55.9	60.0	55.0	68.0	65.1
Griffin (W)	39.7-22,192	44.1	40.0	45.0	32.0	34.9
Ward 9, Position 2						
October 21	(38.2)	(39.2)	(42.4)	(44.9)	(36.4)	(40.8)
Arrington (B)	52.9-43,439	87.8	32.1	34.3	27.0	31.5
Irvin (W)	47.1-38,657	12.1	67.9	65.7	73.0	68.5

Appendix A - continued.

Ward 9, Position 2	City-wide Pct.-Total	Black	White	N'side White	S'side White	Other White
October 7	(27.3)	(25.4)	(32.3)			
Arrington (B)	41.9-24,680	74.6	27.3			
Irvin (W)	30.4-17,849	9.5	43.3			
Pierce (W)	19.4-11,414	10.2	20.9			
Coppeak (W)	4.6- 2,685	3.1	4.5			
Swetlitz (W)	3.7- 2,177	2.5	4.0			

RESULTS OF BOARD OF EDUCATION ELECTIONS ON OCTOBER 7 AND OCTOBER 21

Ward 1	City-wide Pct.-Total	Black	White	N'side White	S'side White	Other White
October 21	(38.3)	(36.9)	(43.8)	(48.6)	(36.8)	(40.9)
Cofer (W)	55.1-45,437	78.6	42.3	44.4	39.3	40.0
Cox (W)	44.9-36,990	21.4	57.7	55.6	60.7	60.0
October 7	(26.8)	(24.7)	(31.5)			
Cofer (W)	46.0-26,471	69.6	34.8			
Cox (W)	45.2-25,979	25.9	54.9			
Pressley (W)	8.8- 5,074	4.5	10.3			
Ward 2						
October 7	(25.6)	(22.0)	(31.1)	(35.7)	(23.9)	(28.7)
D. Jackson (B)	45.1-24,865	74.5	28.6	24.2	37.4	32.3
Woodward* (W)	54.9-30,231	25.5	71.4	75.8	62.6	67.7
Ward 3						
October 7	(30.4)	(36.3)	(30.4)	(35.3)	(22.6)	(27.8)
Embry (B)	6.1- 3,989	4.1	6.9	5.0	11.2	8.2
Quinn (B)	22.4-14,640	23.0	19.1	12.8	34.2	23.6
Yancey* (B)	71.5-46,769	72.9	74.0	82.2	54.6	68.2
Ward 4						
October 7	(25.7)	(22.2)	(31.0)	(34.4)	(27.0)	(77.8)
Shell* (W)	69.8-38,535	52.1	79.7	83.6	71.1	77.8
Waller (W)	30.2-16,647	47.9	20.3	16.4	28.9	22.2

Appendix A - continued.

Ward 5	City-wide Pct.-Total	Black	White	N'side White	S'side White	Other White
October 21	(38.5)	(35.2)	(45.9)	(52.3)	(37.0)	(41.8)
Allen* (W)	45.4-37,533	26.1	51.9	43.5	66.7	59.8
Luxemburger (W)	54.6-45,149	73.9	48.1	56.5	33.3	40.2
October 7	(28.5)	(24.5)	(35.4)			
Allen* (W)	41.4-25,388	28.3	44.8			
Luxemburger (W)	48.6-29,799	64.9	44.7			
Nicholson (W)	10.0- 6,111	6.8	10.5			
Ward 6						
October 7	(27.0)	(23.8)	(32.9)	(37.6)	(24.4)	(31.0)
Hines (W)	13.2- 7,686	12.9	12.4	10.3	16.9	13.9
Klein* (W)	51.1-29,671	79.4	36.8	38.3	34.5	35.3
Schilling (W)	35.7-20,697	7.7	50.8	51.4	48.6	50.8
Ward 7						
October 7	(32.9)	(39.5)	(32.6)	(37.6)	(23.9)	(30.4)
Jackson (B)	10.8- 7,665	16.0	5.7	5.0	6.9	6.3
Mays (B)	66.9-47,364	82.9	56.4	65.0	38.2	49.2
Pierce (W)	22.3-15,789	1.1	37.9	30.0	54.9	44.5
Ward 8						
October 7	(25.5)	(22.2)	(31.9)	(36.7)	(23.2)	(28.4)
Beebe* (W)	63.1-34,567	64.0	65.4	69.9	56.4	61.2
Hopkins (W)	36.9-20,253	36.0	34.6	30.1	43.6	38.8
Ward 9						
October 7	(29.0)	(31.6)	(30.9)	(35.4)	(24.0)	(28.3)
Barrett (W)	25.1-15,631	5.5	37.7	35.9	41.4	39.2
Middleton (B)	66.1-41,196	90.8	51.5	57.0	38.7	47.8
Well (W)	8.8- 5,489	3.7	10.8	7.1	19.9	13.0

Appendix A - continued.

At-Large		City-wide Pct.-Total	Black	White	N'side White	S'side White	Other White
October 21		(37.3)	(32.0)	(44.0)	(50.2)	(37.8)	(42.0)
Hunter	(B)	34.6-27,754	74.3	14.4	13.1	14.8	14.8
Wain-wright*	(W)	65.4-52,448	25.7	85.6	86.9	85.2	85.2
October 7		(29.1)	(26.4)	(34.8)			
Conrad	(W)	11.9- 7,434	12.6	11.1			
Hicks	(W)	16.5-10,331	7.5	21.3			
Hunter	(B)	23.7-14,801	59.5	4.2			
Keys	(W)	3.5- 2,201	3.9	3.0			
Wain-wright*	(W)	44.4-27,753	16.5	60.4			

APPENDIX B

VOTING IN RACIALLY HETEROGENEOUS PRECINCTS: PERCENTAGE OF REGISTRANTS VOTING AND PERCENTAGE OF VOTE RECEIVED BY SELECTED CANDIDATES IN PRECINCTS WHICH ARE LESS THAN NINETY PER CENT WHITE OR BLACK

		Mayor - October 7 (In Percentages)					Mayor-October 21 (In Percentages)		Vice-Mayor-October 7	
Precinct	% White	Massell	Cook	Tate	Millican	Turnout	Massell	Turnout	M. Jackson	Turnout
9J	87.5	15.9	28.4	8.3	46.2	40.4	33.2	43.3	24.8	38.1
4C	85.8	20.4	29.2	3.2	45.9	39.6	31.3	44.7	25.6	37.0
1M	84.5	14.9	25.9	14.1	42.5	42.1	37.4	48.5	29.4	39.4
9F	84.5	11.2	35.1	8.8	44.2	28.2	32.5	32.4	21.8	25.2
9M	82.0	23.6	41.2	13.5	21.4	43.2	38.8	50.9	46.3	40.4
7G	81.3	23.6	31.8	13.7	30.1	35.9	43.8	41.8	36.9	34.7
7V	79.3	21.7	30.0	20.2	27.5	36.2	38.8	41.6	42.6	35.3
7M	77.8	24.5	23.5	25.1	26.2	35.7	52.5	39.7	49.5	34.4
4AB	77.5	18.8	27.0	18.8	34.0	30.9	45.6	39.9	40.7	30.1
9G	75.1	16.2	31.8	17.3	34.1	40.9	37.3	48.3	39.8	38.1
4K	65.8	18.0	18.5	34.9	28.6	23.1	47.9	26.1	52.9	21.3
7P	64.7	26.3	21.5	36.2	15.1	47.5	61.3	50.5	66.7	46.7
1I	63.0	39.3	24.7	20.8	12.9	29.8	59.5	38.0	60.0	25.9
1F	61.5	38.4	27.8	14.7	18.2	41.1	55.0	45.1	55.8	39.1
7E	56.5	37.2	15.4	32.6	13.9	40.7	71.4	45.8	67.2	39.1
1B	53.3	31.6	17.4	22.3	26.7	32.9	65.1	40.3	54.2	31.8
7R	52.2	37.0	15.8	30.1	17.1	38.1	65.2	41.2	30.6	32.3
	% Black									
1N	86.9	44.0	6.9	44.2	4.0	43.7	85.2	51.8	90.7	41.5
3I	85.8	36.5	5.4	53.3	3.3	41.9	85.8	49.4	88.4	40.7
3Q	83.7	46.8	7.0	43.3	2.9	49.1	89.8	55.2	92.9	48.0
1H	71.7	39.2	12.3	34.8	12.3	31.9	81.6	38.7	76.7	31.1
3H	70.7	38.4	9.6	44.5	5.3	44.2	82.2	48.7	85.5	42.3
9P	63.9	25.0	25.0	50.0	0.0	11.1	83.3	16.6	80.0	13.8
4N	57.3	33.3	7.9	55.4	2.9	33.7	78.5	35.4	91.4	30.8
7Q	55.1	30.7	14.6	37.8	16.1	42.1	71.7	46.3	72.5	40.5
7W	50.4	36.0	18.1	34.0	11.9	53.3	73.2	56.8	77.2	52.6

These precincts were not included in the calculations in the foregoing study. Atlanta precincts in DeKalb County are not included in this table.

F-VEP

VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH

Spring-Summer, 1970

STATE	WHITE VAP	BLACK VAP	WHITES REGISTERED	BLACKS REGISTERED	PERCENT WHITE VAP REGISTERED	PERCENT BLACK VAP REGISTERED
ALABAMA	1,353,058	481,320	1,300,000	308,000	96.1	64.0
ARKANSAS	850,643	192,626	683,000	138,000	80.3	71.6
FLORIDA	2,617,438	470,261	2,465,000	315,000	94.2	67.0
GEORGIA	1,797,062	612,910	1,610,000	390,000	89.6	63.6
LOUISIANA	1,289,216	514,589	1,137,000	318,000	88.2	61.8
MISSISSIPPI	748,266	422,256	650,000	285,000	86.9	67.5
N. CAROLINA	2,005,955	550,929	1,598,000	302,000	79.6	54.8
S. CAROLINA	895,147	371,873	656,000	213,000	73.3	57.3
TENNESSEE	1,779,018	313,873	1,570,000*	240,000*	88.3	76.5
TEXAS	4,884,765	649,512	3,599,000	550,000	73.7	84.7
VIRGINIA	1,876,167	436,720	1,472,000	265,000	78.4	60.7
TOTALS	20,096,735	5,016,100	16,740,000	3,324,000	83.3	66.3

VAP = Voting Age Population,
1960 Census.

*Corrects overestimate in 1969 summer-fall table.

Voter Education Project, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

August, 1970

[ca. 1967??]

DEAR VEP:

Emory consulted with VJ and VJ said that Thad could pull together for EV the names, organizations, and addresses of voter registration leaders in Va., S.C., N.C., La., and Florida.

If EV could have this at 2:00 p.m. today it would be most useful.

LABOR PROGRAM

VEP

Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ROOM 206 / 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. / ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA / TELEPHONE 525-0595

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Voter Education Project

A PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

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Alexandria, Virginia

Mrs. Virginia Hughes
Lynchburg Voters' League
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Mr. M. W. Thornhill, Jr.
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Lynchburg, Virginia

Mr. Robert Robertson
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Dr. James H. Henderson
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Mrs. George M. Brunt
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Opa-Locka, Fla.

The Reverend H. C. Calloway
6514 Hampton Road
Pensacola, Fla.

Mr. Delano S. Steward
1610 Albany Street
Tampa, Fla.

JUN 14, 1967

A STATEMENT ON THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

OF THE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

* * * * *

The Southern Regional Council launched the first Voter Education Project in 1962. A major purpose of the new undertaking was to be research into the causes of low political participation, particularly among blacks, in the South. And a major method of this research was to be the direct funding of voter registration drives in the South as a means of determining the types of difficulties encountered.

While the SRC Executive Committee felt this project to be of the first importance, it stipulated that the Council could not sponsor this effort without review and assurance from the Internal Revenue Service that this program would be in accordance with tax-exempt activity as interpreted by IRS. The Council received that assurance from IRS on March 22, 1962. In addition, of course, the Southern Regional Council has filed annual reports with IRS on this as well as all of its programs and expenditures.

SRC's first Voter Education Project began in March of 1962 and ended in the fall of 1964. As a result of these efforts, an increase in Negro registration of nearly 700,000 was recorded in 11 Southern states.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965, suspending literacy tests in six states and otherwise providing new protection for prospective black voters, substantially changed the circumstances of civic participation in the South. Accordingly, the Southern Regional Council decided to launch a second Voter Education Project.

This second VEP began work in early 1966 and remains in operation today. Research into the causes of low political participation remains a major function. Support of voter registration activities continues to be a method of determining the causes of low political participation. However, the second Voter Education Project has placed an increasing amount of emphasis on non-partisian citizenship education and leadership training programs, particularly the latter.

As Congress recognized in the adoption of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the recent history of the South is darkly stained by the systematic exclusion of Negroes from the political process. A summary of the repressive statutes and practices which enforced this exclusion can be found in "Political Participation," published in May of 1968 by the Civil Rights Commission, and in "Climbing Jacob's Ladder," by Pat Watters and Reese Cleghorn, published by Harcourt, Brace and World in November of 1967. The latter book is largely a description of the work of the Voter Education Project. A feeling for the importance of the research activities of VEP may be gained by noting the number of citations of VEP material in the

Civil Rights Commission's report.

The activities of the Voter Education Project have unquestionably brought more Negroes into the political process in the South. With the passage of the Voting Rights Act a contributing factor, the second Voter Education Project---like the first---estimates that its programs have added 700,000 blacks to the registration rolls in the South. Year-by-year progress can be seen in the following table:

INCREASES IN BLACK REGISTRATION - 11 STATES

Year	Black Registration	White Registration
1960	1,463,333	12,276,127
1962	1,480,720	12,109,680
1964	2,164,200	12,263,820
1966	2,689,000	14,309,704
1968 (Summer)	3,112,000	15,702,000

It should be noted that although black registration has risen to 62 per cent of the black voting-age population in the region, white registration stands at 78 per cent of the white voting-age population. Much remains to be done before it can be said that Negroes in the South are full partners in the regional and national political process.

The amount of money allocated for each project hardly can be described as large (although it must seem large to an organization with no other source of support). An average grant for voter registration runs between $1,000 and $2,000. The allocation generally covers a period running from one to two months.

A grant letter is sent to the local organization (see attached sample) which sets out in unequivocal terms that the money is to be used only for non-partisan voter education and voter registration and may not be put to any partisan or other use, and specifically not to serve any political campaign. The grant letter is followed by a research letter which sets our reporting requirements. Organizations receiving funds are required to submit both financial and status reports weekly. These reports are reviewed in the VEP office in Atlanta. All money spent must be accounted for precisely.

Money is supplied on a cash-draw basis. No lump-sum grants are given. This furnishes VEP with a means of cutting off support instantly when a report indicates partisan activities or any other irregularity.

In addition to all this, VEP employs a full-time field director. The field director makes both announced and unannounced visits to all projects receiving VEP support. The field director also visits projects prior to funding to determine that they qualify for support. Non-partisanship is a major item checked by the field director in these on-the-spot inspections.

It should be pointed out that VEP does not endeavor to pay the entire cost of voter registration activities in the South. Local organizations, to the extent possible, are expected to raise funds of their own, particularly in urban areas. Candidates and others directly connected with political campaigns are not permitted to hold positions of responsibility in VEP-supported registration activities

or in any way utilize VEP-supported projects, funds or facilities in aid of their own campaigns. While VEP has never found instances of partisan activity to warrant terminating a grant, several grants have been discontinued on other grounds.

Registration activities are not limited to blacks. Several projects have involved registration of Indians and Mexican-Americans. A few projects have reported registering some white Southerners. Relevant to the last point, however, is the fact that white registration in most of the South already is quite high.

The weekly reports are the backbone of VEP research. It is through these reports that VEP learns of difficulties Negroes continue to encounter in their attempts to register and vote in the South. Directors of voter registration projects supply the research department with a wide variety of facts and figures relating to Negro political participation in the South. VEP is the central point of such information by government, the press, scholars and universities, publications, research organizations, authors, and foreign visitors.

As already mentioned, the registration drives provide tremendous amounts of information and knowledge that otherwise would not be available. For many years, the Southern Regional Council has been the main source of information about black registration and voting in the South. Because several states have discontinued publication of registration figures by race, these local registration drives have become increasingly important in arriving at registration figures by race. The Voter Education Project continues to be the main source of this information.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

During the last three years, VEP has held a number of seminars, workshops and conferences for candidates and officeholders.

We have felt that black candidates and black officeholders, like black voters, have been so long denied a part in the political process that these special educational programs were warranted and, indeed, necessary.

The seminars and conferences are restricted to discussions of the duties and responsibilities of candidates and/or officeholders. Discussion of campaign techniques and strategy, of how to get elected, etc. is not permitted. Incidentally, VEP has consistently rejected requests for funds for get-out-the-vote activities and has cautioned grant recipients against using VEP funds for this purpose. Similarly, we have felt that the new voters should be informed about the government they now are helping elect, and that is the basis for the programs in the field of citizenship education.

As the number of black elected officeholders in the South climbed rapidly toward 400 last year, VEP scheduled the first South-wide Conference of Black Elected Officials. The conference was held in Atlanta last December with approximately 200 black elected officials attending. With the total number of black elected officials now standing at about 460, VEP has set up service centers for elected officials at five predominantly black colleges in the South. Although these centers now serve mostly black officials, we look forward to the day when they will be serving officials of any race who need technical

and research advice. The centers may be compared, in terms of techniques and approach to the problems of government, with the Institutes of Government of the Universities of North Carolina and Georgia.

FINANCES

The Voter Education Project is but one of the many programs conducted by the Southern Regional Council, but it is the largest. Although VEP continues to receive small gifts from individuals, the bulk of funds comes from foundations.

Between 1966 and 1968 VEP received $1,163,446. Foundations which gave $2,500 or more each during this period include Aaron Norman, Abelard, Field, Ford, Irwin-Sweeney-Miller, Mary Reynolds Babcock, New World, New York, Rockefeller Brothers, Robert E. Moton Memorial and Taconic.

Grants for 403 programs, most of which involved voter registration totaled $736,956.70, for an average of approximately $1,830 per grant. The rest of the expenditures went for publications research and consultants, scholarships, student interns, meetings and seminars (including the Southwide Conference), and salaries and administration.

The first Voter Education Project (1962-64) received $870,371. Principal supporters were Taconic Foundation, Field Foundation, and the Edgar Stern Family Fund.

CONCLUSION

The Voter Education Project was formed as a result of

widespread urgings from many concerned persons and groups, including high government officials, particularly in the Justice Department, that the energies of the sit-ins and freedom rides of the early '60s be channeled also into voter registration and citizenship education. It should be noted that there was some resistance within youthful civil rights circles to this development, the objection being that the idea sounded like an "Establishment" effort to blunt the thrust of activist undertakings.

It is true that the voter registration, citizenship education and leadership training programs have sought to bring black Southerners into the political process as a means of correcting the injustices that black people have historically suffered. The registration of thousands and the election of scores of black people have given many blacks in the South some hope of improving their lives through the existing political structure.

The Voter Education Project is the only organization conducting such programs on a region-wide basis. VEP could not have undertaken its task without foundation support. Without foundation support, VEP could not have existed. And without VEP, the black registration in the South would be substantially less than it is today.

Yet, as already pointed out, much remains to be done. Some two million voting-age Negroes in the South have not been registered to vote. Gradually, there are signs that white officeholders are responding to the needs of black voters. There are encouraging signs, here and there across the South, that blacks and whites can work

together in the councils of government.

In large part these gains were made possible through voter registration, which in turn was made possible in large part through foundation support. To continue and sustain these gains will require a continuing effort, which in turn hinges upon continued foundation support. Gradually white Southerners are becoming accustomed to Negroes as a part of the political process. To roll back that trend now would be tragic. Discontinuance of foundation funds for voter registration, coupled with the prospective expiration of the Voting Rights Act, would surely halt and reverse the trend toward full political participation in the South.

Sustained registration campaigns are needed to test the willingness of Southern registrars to follow non-discriminatory procedures (especially if the Voting Rights Act is not extended). However, most black people in the South are poor and can scarcely meet their daily needs. A few communities would be able to raise local funds to finance a voter registration campaign, but most would not. For all practical purposes, voter registration in the South would grind to a halt without foundation support.

In the years after Reconstruction came a dark period called Redemption. During this period, white Southerners turned back the clock and reasserted their control over the lives of black people. Tragic and bloody years followed, and the nation is still undoing the damage. Total exclusion of blacks from the political process was a major factor in that Redemption period.

A second Redemption is unthinkable if the region---and the nation---is to survive as a multi-racial society.

Approved by the Executive Committee
of the Southern Regional Council, Inc.
in Executive Session, June 14, 1969
Atlanta, Georgia

(List of members appended)

A STATEMENT BY THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL TO THE UNITED STATES SENATE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE RE. HR 13270

(A SUMMARY OF CONTENTS)

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(B) Agreement with Correction of Abuses

II. CONCERN WITH 7½% TAX ON FOUNDATION INCOME

III. CONCERN WITH AFFECT OF "ANY ATTEMPT TO INFLUENCE LEGISLATION THROUGH AN ATTEMPT TO AFFECT THE OPINIONS OF THE GENERAL PUBLIC OR ANY SEGMENT THEREOF."

(A) Ruling on Supreme Court of Georgia on this Point as Regards the Southern Regional Council

IV. CONCERN WITH THE LIMITATION OF NO MORE THAN 25% SUPPORT FROM ONE FOUNDATION

V. CONCERN WITH THE AFFECT OF GRANTEES FROM FOUNDATION EXPENDITURE RESPONSIBILITY

(A) Inability Under the Bill for Small Foundations to Provide Support

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CONCLUSION

Sep 11, 1969

A STATEMENT BY THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL TO THE UNITED STATES SENATE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE RE. HR 13270

-o-

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee:

Thank you for this opportunity to be heard. As Executive Director, I represent the Southern Regional Council an organization formed in 1944 for the purpose of contributing generally to the development of the region and more specifically to race relations within the region and the nation. Our five incorporators were Bishop Arthur Moore of Georgia; the late Dr. Howard Odum of the University of North Carolina; the late Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University; the late Dr. Charles Johnson, president of Fisk University; and the late Mr. Ralph McGill, publisher of the Atlanta Constitution. The Council consists of one hundred distinguished Southerners, black and white, Protestant, Catholic and Jew. There is maintained in Atlanta an office and a staff of approximately forty persons. As indicative of our interests we have on that staff, or use as consultants, specialists in urban planning, manpower resources, health and nutrition, community organization, and related areas. We emphasize in our work research and publication on those matters which we feel most pertinent to the region. We also sponsor special projects such as the Voter Education Project, which has been the subject of some interest to the Congress in the formation of this bill.

Our concern about HR 13270 arises from our belief that the bill before you jeopardizes a valuable and unique operation by which our society is served. That operation is the partnership which has been created between private tax-exempt foundations and private tax-exempt agencies. We are confident this partnership has been to the public good. And, it is important that a significant part of the needs and the stimulation of the private sector are served by private funds, under private control, apart from the undue involvement of government.

Before we cite those particulars of the bill which most concern us, we should like to make two general observations:

(1) For twenty-five years the Southern Regional Council has recognized that we enjoyed the benefit of tax-exempt funds in proper exchange for certain restrictions on the use of those funds. For instance, our implementation of the requirement that no substantial portion of our efforts be partisan has been to attempt to see that <u>no</u> portion of our activity is political. We have attempted to operate within the spirit of the law as

well as the letter of the law. We are confident this is true of many other agencies. We do not appear before you to request that the existing regulations and laws which have created this method of operation and our reasoning be altered.

(2) It may be that the present tax laws have allowed individuals and groups to abuse those laws by creating so-called "foundations" for personal gain rather than to serve the public interest. We believe the Congress is justified in seeking to stop those abuses. Our concern is that honorably conceived and legally operated foundations -- and those whom they support -- not be punished and unduly restricted because of activities of others.

Our particular concerns with HR 13270 are as follows:

(1) Sec. 306 - Tax on Private Foundation Investment Income.

While the precedent may be ominous, the proposed 7½% tax probably would neither significantly alter foundation operations nor add substantially

to the public treasury. The true effect would be to reduce by 7½% those funds available to the private agencies. These private tax-exempt groups are, therefore, those really being taxed. This must be recognized by those who believe that there are limitations on the capability of the public sector and that there is, therefore, an important role for private agencies.

(2) Sec. 4945(c)(1) - Taxes on Taxable Expenditures.

It is extremely important to note that this section of the bill removes from the current Internal Revenue Service regulations the requirements that no substantial part of a tax-exempt organization's resources be used in partisan political activity or in support of a candidate for office. Rather, there is substituted excessive stipulations to preclude any political activity.

We have been told this has been done because some tax-exempt agencies have abused the present regulations by engaging in substantial

partisan political activity. These abuses may have occurred. But, if they have it has not been because of the inadequacy of current laws and regulations, but rather because of the failure of adequate enforcement of those laws and regulations.

* * *

While we subscribe completely to the concept that tax-exempt funds should not be used for partisan purposes, we are gravely concerned, for instance, by the wording in the proposed legislation, "any attempt to influence legislation through an attempt to affect the opinion of the general public or any segment thereof,..."

Literally interpreted, we believe this provision would prevent responsible agencies now engaged in serious research and publishing from making any meaningful comments on the society in which we operate. We assume, for instance, that at best the Council could publish statistics on migration from the region, but not offer opinions on the causes or impact of that migration. We assume that, at best, we could publish a medical report on hunger and malnutrition, but not offer remedial proposals. We assume we could

publish statistics on black-white registration, but not offer any analysis of processes which affected that registration. We would not expect, and do not request, that we be allowed to propose specific legislation nor to support or oppose legislation being considered. However, under the provisions of this bill we assume that regardless of the effort and integrity we invest in forming them, we could not share our opinions with "the general public or any segment thereof."

It is in the public interest that agencies such as the Southern Regional Council be allowed not only to collect information but analyze and comment on that information. Our publications have been used extensively by the media, by scholars and others, and they have figured in the deliberations of the Congress. This contribution to public consideration and to public debate is, we believe, not only valuable, but non-partisan.

We have been upheld by the courts of Georgia in that opinion. In 1963 the Georgia Department of Labor informed the Council that we had been held taxable by virtue of their interpretation that we had a point of view, shared it with the public, and, thereby, engaged in "propaganda" and influenced legislation.

In Court, the State readily accepted the fact that the Council did not lobby, did not support or oppose any specific legislation, nor any candidate for public office. Rather, the State introduced as evidence a collection of Council publications and rested its case on the statement of the executive director that these publications were circulated to the general public.

The Superior Court found in favor of the Council and that decision was appealed to the Supreme Court of the State of Georgia. That Court unanimously upheld the decision of the lower court. We would like to quote the following statement from the Court's decision, Williamson vs SRC, Inc., 223 Ga. 179:

> "If the word 'propaganda' is given the broad meaning that it is any dissemination of ideas, then no religious or educational institution could qualify under Code Anno. 54-657(h)(7)(H), since a substantial part of the activities of such institutions is the dissemination of ideas and beliefs. Under the constitutionally protected right of freedom of speech, an organization cannot be penalized for disseminating ideas and beliefs which are not opposed to our system of

government, even though such ideas may not meet with the approval of all of the people in the area in which they are advanced."

* * *

We submit that the process of public dialogue and the dissemination of ideas is essential in a democracy. We submit, further, that such dialogue should be especially encouraged, not prohibited, by organizations that have established themselves in that society.

(3) Sec. 4945(d)

We are grateful that the report of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives specifically recognized the Council as an agency which could -- subject to the information they had available -- engage in programs in support of voter registration.

Within this section of the bill, however, and perhaps more importantly elsewhere in the bill, there are requirements that certain programs can receive no more than 25% of their support from any one source. There are

implications to this stiuplation which may not be readily apparent.

The most important of these are:

(a) There are still relatively few foundations which are willing to support programs of social reform. These foundations and the programs they have supported should be commended, not discouraged, for venturing substantially into new areas since frequently these programs -- like the Council's Voter Education Project which could not have come into existence under this provision -- have made an important contribution to the public welfare.

(b) Occasionally an unusually imaginative foundation has had the courage and foresight to support exclusively, or almost exclusively, a new group which has promise and a sound idea. We know of a number of now established agencies -- many of which now enjoy the financial support of federal, state, or local governments -- which would not be

in existence had one foundation been limited to providing no more than 25% of a beginning budget.

Subject to other proper considerations, there is no more rationale to restricting a foundation to a maximum of 25% support for a deserving effort than restricting an agency of the federal government to the same limitation on any publicly funded program.

(4) Sec. 4945(f) - Expenditure Responsibility

This section would require that foundations be "fully responsible" for the use of grants made. While the three requirements under this section would, on the surface, seem to be reasonable, there are serious consequences to these requirements if they are literally enforced. We believe the enforcement of the three requirements of this section of the bill would be severely damaging to foundations and cause recipients to loose a substantial degree of their independence and autonomy. It would also probably mean that the smaller foundations would have to cease giving to those affected by this provision, since they

have neither the staff nor the resources to meet these requirements.

Please do not misunderstand us. We are for the full and complete reporting on the use of tax-exempt funds. During the 25 years of our existence the great majority of our support has come from foundations. During the current year the Council will receive support from at least fourteen foundations totalling more than a million dollars. During all this time and dealing with foundations, large and small, we have never known an instance where a foundation staff did not satisfy itself beforehand as to the pertinence of our request and our competence to administer any funds granted. Nor, have we known of an instance where this process was not further reviewed by the foundation board. Further, we always at least annually issue a full audit of our expenditures and a complete report on our activities for the foundations and other interested parties.

However, the current situation is that the Internal Revenue Service is charged with determining whether or not an agency is tax-exempt and this serves as a guide to foundations. Earlier, we made a request to the IRS regarding our own process of granting funds to other agencies and in a letter dated March 22, 1960 the IRS stated:

(1) "If you make a distribution of your funds to an organization which presently has exemption as a charitable or educational organization described in Section 501(c)(3) of the Code, there is no further obligation on your part to satisfy yourself as to the use of the funds distributed.

(2) "Contributions made by you to organizations, which have not established an exempt status for Federal income tax purposes, will not jeopardize your exempt status if the contributions are made and used only for one or more of the exempt purposes specified in Section 501(c)(3) of the Code. In such an event you should use reasonable care in ascertaining that the contributions will be used only for an exempt purpose and you will be able to substantiate that fact if called upon to do so by the Internal Revenue Service."

We submit this is a workable and efficient method. The burden of requiring foundations to be "fully responsible," as interpreted in the bill, would be harmful to all concerned.

Small foundations, with small staff, do not now generally give to non-tax-exempt agencies because they do not have the resources for the necessary supervision, and few large foundations make such grants because the requirements are too burdensome. Under this bill, small foundations would likely have to treat currently exempt organizations as they have non-tax-exempt ones in the past; simply removing them from their list of potential recipients of funds.

Equally disastrous, from the standpoint of all concerned, large foundations would probably have to be so vigorous in complying with these provisions,including their own on-the-spot staff supervision and auditing of their funds being spent, that they would in effect become the supervising grantee as well as the grantor. It is not an exaggeration to state that under these conditions, the independent tax-exempt agency staffs become employees of the donating foundations and the boards of those tax-exempt agencies become bystanders. We urge you to give the most serious consideration to the implications of this situation.

In conclusion, we believe it most important to stress that this bill, as it relates to foundations and those whom foundations support, is widely regarded to be punitive against those agencies and those foundations dealing with social reform, poverty, and minority affairs.

There are those agencies, of which the Southern Regional Council is one, that have attempted not only to contribute to the general welfare but to bring into reality the potential and the promise of this nation for all of our people. In a sense, it could be said we occupy the middle ground; recognizing need, tragedy and aspirations on the one hand, and holding on the other hand a deep faith in the ability of this society and this government to be the means by which wrongs can be corrected and the wholesome society created.

In this critical time of crisis, polarization and misunderstanding we urge you, do not cripple -- as this bill would -- those agencies which, with increasing difficulty, are attempting to occupy that middle ground where the faith remains that the capabilities and intent of our government and our society can be equal to our promises.

Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

September 11, 1969

ATTACHMENTS:

1. Members of the Council
2. A Statement of Purpose
3. A Statement on the Voter Education Project

Oral Summary Testimony Before the
Senate Finance Committee, October 8, 1969

by: Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee:

Thank you for this opportunity to be heard.

As Executive Director, I represent the Southern Regional Council, a body of 100 distinguished Southerners. With me are Mr. Joseph Haas, our legal counsel and Mr. Vernon Jordan, director of the Council's Voter Education Project.

Recognizing the demands made on you I shall be very brief. However, since our funds are supplied almost exclusively by foundations, we are very concerned about the bill before you.

Before citing our specific concerns I should like to make two observations:

(1) For twenty-five years the Southern Regional Council has recognized that we enjoyed the benefit of tax-exempt funds in proper exchange for certain restrictions on the use of those funds. We have attempted to operate within the spirit as well as the letter of the law. We do not appear before you to request that

the existing regulations and laws which have created this method of operation and our reasoning be altered.

(2) It may be that the present tax laws have allowed individuals to abuse those laws by creating so-called "foundations" for personal gain. We believe the Congress is justified in seeking to stop those abuses. Our concern is that honorably conceived and legally operated foundations -- and those whom they support -- not be punished and unduly restricted because of activities of others.

Among our specific concerns are:

Sec. 4945(c)1

The wording that prohibits an agency from engaging "in any attempt to influence legislation through an attempt to affect the opinion of the general public or any segment thereof," disturbs us greatly. That our own publications are properly a part of the dissemination of ideas in a free society and are not an attempt to directly influence legislation has been upheld by the Georgia courts. We feel that this bill is drawn too broadly. Literally interpreted, the provision in the proposed legislation

would prevent responsible agencies now engaged in serious research and publishing from making meaningful comments on the society. This is incompatible with a democratic society.

Sec. 4945(d)

This section includes the provision that under certain circumstances a foundation could provide no more than 25% of an agency's support. We know of a number of outstanding and worthy institutions that would not be in existence had this been the law. We believe the sole criteria for grant-making should be the program's legality and merit, and the ability of those connected with it to properly administer the funds.

Sec. 4945(f)

This section requires foundations to be "fully responsible" for grants made. While the three requirements would seem to be reasonable on the surface, there are serious consequences here. It is conceivable that the enforcement of this provision would require such stringent supervision of grants made that private agency staff would in effect become employees of the foundations and their policy leaders merely onlookers. We urge you to give serious consideration to these implications.

In conclusion, we believe it most important to stress that this bill, as it relates to foundations and those whom foundations support, is widely regarded to be punitive against those agencies and those foundations dealing with social reform, poverty, and minority affairs.

There are those agencies, of which the Southern Regional Council is one, that have attempted not only to contribute to the general welfare but to bring into reality the potential and the promise of this nation for all of our people. In a sense, it could be said we occupy the middle ground; recognizing need, tragedy, and aspirations on the one hand, and holding on the other hand a deep faith in the ability of this society and this government to be the means by which wrongs can be corrected and the wholesome society created.

In this critical time of crisis, polarization and misunderstanding we urge you, do not cripple -- as this bill would -- those agencies which, with increasing difficulty, are attempting to occupy that middle ground where the faith remains that the capabilities and intent of our government and our society can be equal to our promises.

STATEMENT OF:
VERNON E. JORDAN, JR.
DIRECTOR, VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

NOT FOR RELEASE PRIOR
TO 3:00 P. M. THURSDAY
OCTOBER 30, 1969

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The Southern Regional Council has had a Voter Education Project since 1962. The primary purpose of this project is to give those vast numbers of black people who have been denied the ballot an opportunity to become a part of the political process in the South. During all of this time we have looked to Washington as a friend. Many times we have reported our difficulties to the federal government and called upon it for help. As Director of the Voter Education Project, I am here with several black elected officials from the South to protest the grave threat to black political participation raised by an action of the Senate Finance Committee.

Today we see the friend turning upon us and becoming an ally of the racists we confront daily in the South.

Earlier this week the Senate Finance Committee placed in its version of the tax reform bill a prohibition against tax-exempt funds being used for voter registration. This is not a tax reform action. It neither adds to nor reduces the public treasury. Nor is it a measure that will prevent partisan political activity. Black people, like all other citizens, vote self-interest and frequently Southern blacks have to vote survival. This action of the Senate Finance Committee is a punitive measure. It favors those who profit from a restricted electorate and who fear the judgement which might come from truly democratic processes.

Statement - 2

We maintain that encouraging the largest number of citizens to participate in and thereby strengthen the democratic process is as beneficial and is as essential to American society as medical research, libraries, or any recognized charity. For Senators of the United States to go on record as denying this fact is a national tragedy.

It is distressing that many congressmen appear not to have thought the issue through. Willingly or unwillingly, those who support this measure without thinking of its implications align themselves with those backward forces in the South who, from racist motives or inhuman callousness, have long opposed the black vote.

Why is foundation money being singled out in this prohibition against the financing of voter registration drives? It is because blacks and members of certain other minorities must depend upon foundation funds to overcome the weight of centuries during which public monies and public offices were used in open efforts to deny them the ballot.

The rich and those of the middle-class do not need foundation money to help them. This legislation is directed accurately and in deadly fashion against those who need help.

Make no mistake about it: Black people in the South cannot continue to make the sort of registration gains they need to make without organized registration programs. And make no mistake about it: These organized registration drives would not have existed, and cannot exist, without generous foundation support. Black people in the South, being for the most part extremely

poor, cannot raise among themselves the sort of money it takes to conduct registration programs for the poor and disadvantaged who must overcome decades of oppression. Make no mistake about it: If this action of the Senate Finance Committee is allowed to stand, registration work among black people in the South will come to a virtual standstill.

There are many people in the nation today--young whites as well as blacks--who feel that the American political system is not really open to their aspirations. There are many who will see in this action of the Senate Finance Committee a determination to slam shut the door to political participation which only in the last few years has been opened to black people in the South. There is much political alienation in the land today, and this Committee action would enormously increase that alienation. If that occurs, no amount of tax revenue raised by this bill or any other bill would offset the political and social damage to America.

With a deep sense of indignity, with a deep commitment to democracy, and with a determination that black people will find freedom through an open political system, we come to Washington today to oppose the action of the Senate Finance Committee. We are here to denounce that action and to appeal to the Committee to reconsider this incredible decision.

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5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.

THE EDITOR
c/o LETTERS TO THE EDITOR DEPARTMENT
THE WASHINGTON POST
1515 "L" STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

NOVEMBER 3, 1969

WE ARE DISTURBED BY YOUR EDITORIAL OF SUNDAY ABOUT THE TAX REFORM BILL,WHICH SEEMED TO GIVE BLANKET APPROVAL TO THOSE PORTIONS OF THE BILL WHICH NOW HAVE EMERGED FROM THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE.

ON MAY 18, YOU DEPLORED A PROVISION IN THE TAX REFORM BILL WHICH WOULD PROHIBIT FOUNDATIONS FROM "ENGAGING IN ACTIVITIES DIRECTLY AFFECTING POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS." THEN YOU NOTED THAT THE LANGUAGE CONTAINED MORE THAN MET THE EYE, AND ADDED: "STRIPPED OF ITS FINERY, IT IS DISCLOSED AS AN ATTEMPT TO FORBID THE VOTER REGISTRATION DRIVES WHICH PRODUCED SUCH STUNNING POLITICAL UPSETS IN CLEVELAND AND A FEW OTHERER PLACES UP NORTH AND ALL OVER THE SOUTH, WHERE ONLY WHITE FOLKS USED TO GO TO THE POLLS.... VOTER REGISTRATION DRIVES ARE DIRECTED MAINLY AT THE POOR AND THE UNEDUCATED -- AND

MOST OF ALL, OBVIOUSLY, AT HITHERTO DISFRANCHISED NEGROES. THE PURPOSE OF THESE DRIVES IS TO ENLARGE PARTICIPATION IN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS."

AMONG THE PORTIONS OF THE BILL WHICH WERE FINALLY APPROVED LAST WEEK BY THE FINANCE COMMITTEE WAS ONE WHICH DOES NOT EVEN HAVE TO BE "STRIPPED OF ITS FINERY" IN ORDER THAT ITS IMPORT MAY BE KNOWN. IT SPECIFICALLY PROHIBITS THE USE OF FOUNDATION MONEY FOR VOTER REGISTRATION DRIVES.

THIS BEING THE CASE, WE DO NOT UNDERSTAND HOW THE POST CAN NOW GIVE BLANKET APPROVAL OF THE TAX REFORM PROPOSALS WHICH NOW HAVE EMERGED FROM THE FINANCE COMMITTEE. YOUR EDITORIAL SUNDAY DEALT ENTIRELY WITH THE TRUE TAX REFORM ASPECTS OF THE TAX BILL. WHAT WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT IS NOT TAX REFORM, BUT A MATTER WHICH IN REALITY HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH TAX REFORM BUT WHICH IS IN THE TAX

REFORM BILL. WE HEARTILY APPROVE OF TAX REFORM EFFORTS. WE STRONGLY DEPLORE YOUR APPROVAL, AT LEAST BY IMPLICATION, OF ASPECTS OF THE BILL WHICH YOU EARLIER HAD CALLED "QUITE DISCRIMINATORY" AND HAD RIGHTLY CALLED NOT A REFORM EFFORT BUT A REVENGE EFFORT. WE WISH THAT IN SOME SUBSEQUENT EDITORIAL YOU WOULD CLARIFY WHETHER YOUR POSITION ON THAT PART OF THE BILL HAS INDEED CHANGED. WE ASSUME IT HAS NOT, BUT THE EDITORIAL OF SUNDAY LEAVES THE IMPRESSION THAT IT HAS.

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Kirkland on Panel For Foundations

Lane Kirkland, executive assistant to AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany, has been named to a commission of leaders in various areas of national life who will take part in a study of private foundations.

The commission, composed of 14 members with more to be named later, will try to determine how increasing government involvement in social welfare programs will affect the foundations. It also will consider their tax-exempt status.

Peter G. Peterson, board chairman of Bell & Howell Co., set up the commission at the urging of John D. Rockefeller III and other philantrophists.

AFL-CIO News

5/3/69

EV

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028
212/535-9915

June 9, 1969

Dear Paul:

I thought you might like to have a copy of the enclosed letter from the Foundation to Congressman Mills. We would be interested in any comments you may have on these matters.

With very best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

Enc.

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028
212/535-9915

June 9, 1969

Representative Wilbur D. Mills
Chairman
Ways and Means Committee
United States House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Mills:

The Field Foundation has had a keen interest in the consideration being given this year to the tax status and program regulation of foundations. We have studied the "tentative decisions" released by the Committee on May 27. These complement the Administration's views, as expressed by Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Cohen in his presentation of April 25, 1969. Both convey a strong sense of the need for a closer scrutiny of the structures and practices of foundations.

We concur in that general view and, for example, endorse completely that proposal set forth in detail under the heading "Disclosure and Publicity Requirements."

On the other hand, we disagree strongly with the direction apparently being taken by the Committee and the Administration in two areas.* First, we think taxation of foundations would be unwise and inappropriate; and second, that restriction on voter registration and activity intended "to influence the decision of any governmental body" would harm the country's democratic processes and violate a long tradition of private, voluntary, initiative in the social and economic fields.

We would like to explain briefly why we hope that Congress will not adopt these proposals, and we shall do so by reference to beliefs that we have learned from the experience of this Foundation over a period of more than 25 years. A recent meeting of the Foundation's Board of Directors (June 4, 1969) gave us an opportunity to review these beliefs, and this letter is, accordingly, sent to you to express the convictions of that meeting.

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* We have also reservations about the proposals for requiring intermediaries between foundations and individual grantees, and may at a later date wish to comment on these.

Let us state at the outset our acknowledgment that Congress has full power to establish the conditions under which foundations may exist and act. Foundations are subject to the will of legislative bodies, and in particular of Congress. We believe this fact emphasizes the necessity of Congress regulating foundations only in ways that are consistent with the pruposes for which foundations do exist.

American society is characterized by a profusion of institutions. Many of them are non-governmental and voluntary, and do not in similar form exist in other societies, where far more social activity is directed and monopolized by governments. Private, voluntary, activity can not only supplement government's role in this country, but is frequently innovative and serves for a pilot in measured programs which government can adopt or reject without itself making big and costly trials.

We believe that Congress should distinguish between useful regulations and those which would end or severely hamper the basic purposes of foundations. Specifically, we suggest that the tax and the program regulations mentioned above would end or curtail accustomed social practices and would thereby in appreciable measure increase the dependence of citizens on the national government.

As we see it, very nearly all of the purposes of foundations can be included under two headings:

- the support of objectives that serve the public welfare and those which government has not chosen to pre-empt,

- the support of responsible criticism and evaluation of governmental programs and offices.

The "tentative decisions" announced on May 27 would prohibit voter registration by grantees of foundations.* Surely Congress must believe that voter registration work by responsible groups is publicly valuable. Surely Congress could undertake the task itself, through the instrumentalities of the executive branch. Is Congress prepared to do so? If not, why would it choose to prohibit foundations from supporting this effort to make our democracy work better? Is it not unseemly for this, of all the many foundation program activities, to be singled out for specific prohibition, when this activity has meant so much to the previously unregistered citizens whose participation as voters is an agreed national goal?

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* By foundations acting directly also. So far as we know, however, no foundation is directly engaging in voter registration or voter education work, nor wants to be. If Congress thinks this a possible development, we would not oppose its prohibition.

Starting in early 1962 and continuing, with the omission of but one year, to the present, the Field Foundation has made annual grants to the Southern Regional Council for its Voter Education Project. Altogether, these grants have totalled $1 million. In our most recent action (November 1968) we indicated to the Southern Regional Council that we would be prepared to consider three further annual renewals. The Council uses our grants and those of other contributors to the Voter Education Project to sustain the work of many, many groups of citizens throughout the South, people in their home communities groping their way after centuries of oppression and discrimination into fulfillment of their constitutional rights and obligations. Through the educational programs of the Voter Education Project, hundreds of thousands of citizens have registered and have undertaken the duties that inhere in a democracy. If there are abuses in present or future work, they can be adequately guarded against now by enforcement of existing prohibitions of Sec. 501 (c) (3).

We find little comfort in the May 27 statement qualifying the prohibition by limiting it (apparently) to "activities intended to influence the outcome of any election." It would be all too easy for unsympathetic administrators to link up any voter registration work to an intent to influence an election, or at least to put on the private group the burden of proving the opposite. We find it hard to see why any voter registration, at any time, in any place, for any motive, is not in the public interest, and we would exclude foundation support from only those voter registration drives which make an overt appeal to partisan interests.

The further statement of this section that, "no private foundation is to be permitted to directly or indirectly engage in any activities intended... to influence the decision of any governmental body (whether or not such activity is substantial)," is, if anything, of even more concern to us.

We cannot believe that the Committee intends this. Such a prohibition would (to mention only some of this Foundation's concerns) stop litigation in behalf of constitutional and statutory rights carried on by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund; would have prevented the exposure of the inadequacies of the National School Lunch Program made by the National Council of Catholic Women and several other women groups; would cripple or end the experimental law enforcement programs of the Vera Institute of Justice; would even have questioned the carefully prepared recommendations made in the early 1960s by the Child Welfare League on day care services; and would likewise cloud many other activities including studies directly sponsored in 1961-62 by this Foundation, at the request of former Secretary Ribicoff, of child care practices and public welfare. For Congress to choose to go down this road is for it to choose that responsible criticism is to be drastically limited and that resort to the courts for settlement of disputes between governmental bodies and individuals is to be impeded.

We can only conclude that these were indeed "tentative" reactions, growing from the Committee's deep concern over the power and influence which relatively autonomous bodies of wealth - in many cases large and in some cases huge wealth - can have on the polity. We think that this is a legitimate concern and, as said above, we find much of the Committee's program to be meritorious. Some of its measures can go far to remove any capacity for harm which foundations may now have.

Nevertheless, we would go even farther here than has the Committee or the Administration, and farther, in fact, than all members of this Foundation were before a few years past prepared to go, until led to it by continuous reflection on the experiences of a quarter century. Foundations are self-perpetuating and frequently continuing bodies, and thereby the preferences of founders can outlast their usefulness or relevance to social needs. Precisely because the largest purpose of foundations is to share with government in the task of serving the public welfare, this structure poses fundamental issues. We would resolve those issues by saying that foundations should have a finite life, perhaps lasting at the most no more than two or three generations. Congress might well consider applying to foundations the common law Rule Against Perpetuities. There is ample Anglo-American legal tradition against the dead hand of the past influencing the indefinite future.

It is within this context that we urge that the Committee's and the Administration's proposal to tax the income of foundations be not enacted. Foundations do not exist as a source of revenue, but of philanthropy. In our own view, the problem is not that foundations contribute nothing to the public treasury - which they were never intended to do - but that they contribute insufficiently to present day social and educational causes.

The Foundation Center estimates that at the end of 1968 foundations had combined assets of $20.5 billion and were making annual grants of $1.5 billion, or about 7% of assets. If only those foundations were considered whose assets consisted primarily of endowments, the percentage would have been much less. We think this is not enough, and that foundations - notwithstanding the terms of charters or of donors' wills - should be granting (over and above administrative costs) much more - not less, perhaps, than 10% of the market value of their assets each year.

To implement our view that foundations should not exist in perpetuity, we suggest that Congress might require that grants be of such magnitude as to make probable that every foundation, not adding to its corpus, would decrease in size, year by year, until finally extinguished.

We are especially led to this conviction by our concern over the gigantic social problems besetting this country. If philanthropy ever should be active, now is the time. We have enough confidence in the economy of this country to believe that new foundations will continually arise, and that therefore old endowments do not need to be perpetually protected.

A required outflow as high as we have suggested would probably double (at least) the dollars annually distributed. That could be a vital stimulus to the public welfare at this time of social transition. It would tend also to keep any and all foundations from becoming socially unhealthy accumulations of money, and of the influence that can go with money. The other route - that of taxation - will less surely accomplish this latter end, and will at the same time increase dependence on government by reducing the capabilities of foundations for serving public interest causes.

We appreciate the opportunity of placing these views in the record of your committee. Because of the public attention that has been aroused in these matters, we are sending copies of this letter to other interested parties.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Ruth P. Field, Chairman

Morris B. Abram, President

Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director

Board Members:

Morris B. Abram
Barbara F. Benziger
Ralph J. Bunche
Robert Coles
Ruth P. Field
Lloyd K. Garrison
Maxwell Hahn
M. Carl Holman
Alfred W. Jones
Robert Phipps
Justine W. Polier
Helen Ross
Fiona Rust
Milton J E. Senn
Harry L. Shapiro

Special Folder Wash Trip — Tax Bill

ABM, TAX REFORM CAP BUSIEST WEEK SO FAR IN 1969

In the most climactic week since the start of the 91st Congress, the Senate and House took action on emotion-packed and symbolic measures.

After one of the longest debates in recent history, the Senate Aug. 6 narrowly defeated proposals to curb development and deployment of the Safeguard antiballistic missile (ABM) system.

The House Aug. 7 approved, by a wide margin, a comprehensive tax-reform bill calculated to save U.S. taxpayers $2.4 billion the first year.

Four days earlier, the House accepted a Senate amendment to extend the 10 percent surtax until Dec. 31, 1969.

The House Aug. 5 passed the fiscal 1970 authorization bill for Defense Department military construction.

For details, see p. 1432 for the ABM showdown; p. 1424 for tax reform; p. 1438 for the surtax extension; and p. 1436 for the military construction authorization.

Safeguard ABM

The two critical ABM votes were Aug. 6 on amendments proposed by the Senate's only woman Member, Margaret Chase Smith (R Maine), and Philip A. Hart (D Mich.) and John Sherman Cooper (R Ky.).

Mrs. Smith, who became a leading figure in the Safeguard controversy during the last days of the debate, offered a proposal to limit research to other antimissile systems. Her amendment failed on a breathtaking 50-51 roll-call vote that ended the suspense that had been building during the 29-day debate. (A 50-50 tie vote defeated the amendment, but Vice President Spiro T. Agnew added his vote of opposition.)

The Hart-Cooper amendment, which would have permitted only research on, not deployment of, the Safeguard system, then lost on a 49-51 roll-call vote after Mrs. Smith joined opponents of the amendment.

Thomas J. McIntyre (D N.H.) offered another compromise Aug. 7 to allow work on the system's initial stages but bar acquisition of operational missiles. The amendment failed, 27-70.

Later the same day, three Republican ABM opponents won support for an amendment to drastically tighten auditing of major defense contracts. The roll-call vote was 47-46.

The angry controversy over the ABM has symbolized growing congressional dissatisfaction over the increasingly costly military superstructure as it competes for funds with other national priorities.

Tax Reform

The tax reform bill (HR 13270) eventually would save individual taxpayers about $9 billion a year while eliminating some $7 billion in preferential treatment of others. It passed on a roll-call vote of 394-30 after two days of debate on the floor, preceded by six months of Ways and Means Committee hearings.

The broad and complex measure, the most sweeping revision in the 56-year history of the U.S. income tax, contained reforms in 27 major areas.

"Your Committee is not aware of any prior tax reform bill of equal substantiative scope," said the Committee report (H Rept 413) on the 368-page bill.

Among the changes, besides individual tax reductions, were taxes on previously tax-free foundations, lower depletion allowances on oil and minerals and higher taxes on upper-income taxpayers.

The House-passed bill also contained an extension of the surtax from Jan. 1 to June 30, 1970, at 5 percent.

Senate action on the measure was promised after Oct. 31, 1969, when the Finance Committee was expected to be through with hearings. But strong opposition to many of the proposed reforms was anticipated in the Senate.

The reform bill sought to meet a seeming yearning for an end to rising taxes that had loosed a flood of mail to Congress in recent months.

Surtax Extension

The House Aug. 4, on a 237-170 roll-call vote, concurred with a Senate amendment to a bill previously passed by the House (HR 9951), extending the surtax for six months, and sent the bill to the President. The Senate approved the extension, 70-30, July 31. *(Weekly Report, p. 1361)*

Estimated revenue from the surtax extension would be about $5.6 billion in fiscal 1970.

The bill also provided for quarterly, rather than annual, payment of federal unemployment taxes and for several other changes in their collection.

Military Construction

House approval of the military construction authorization bill (HR 13018) came on a 377-30 roll-call vote. The measure authorized spending of $1.5 billion during fiscal 1970.

Included in the bill was $2.5 million for floor space at headquarters of the Air Force's North American Air Defense Command (NORAD) at Colorado Springs, Colo., for a tie-in with the Safeguard ABM system. The NORAD funds were the first authorized by either house for operation—as opposed to research and development—of the ABM.

Among the amendments defeated was one offered by Robert L. Leggett (D Calif.), a Committee member, to remove from the bill language prohibiting picketing or demonstrations at the Pentagon. The amendment lost, 43-145, on a teller vote.

After seven months of relative inactivity, decisions were made this week that indicated a change in the tide of events. Despite the ABM opponents' failure to block deployment of Safeguard, they demonstrated their unmistakable strength as foes of the military complex.

At the same time, the much-promised equity in federal tax laws actually seemed within reach.

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HOUSE VOTES OVERWHELMINGLY FOR LANDMARK TAX REFORM

The House Aug. 8 passed what virtually all agreed was the most comprehensive tax reform bill in history. The Tax Reform Act of 1969 (HR 13270) was approved by a 394-30 roll-call vote. It climaxed seven months of work which began Feb. 18 when the Ways and Means Committee opened hearings on tax revision. The measure went to the Senate where the leaders have promised a vote by Oct. 31.

The bill would close alleged loopholes to the tune of $4.1 billion in 1969 and reduce taxes in the amount of $1.7 billion. By 1979, the elimination of tax benefits would raise an additional $6.9 billion but tax relief at all levels of income would reduce revenues by $9.3 billion.

Chairman Wilbur D. Mills (D Ark.) of the House Ways and Means Committee said the difference would be made up through increased tax collections because of normal growth of the economy.

Despite the wide-ranging provisions of the bill, it did nothing about estate and gift taxes and left many aspects of the law it did deal with for future consideration. Mills said the Committee would continue to study tax reform and hoped to have proposals on estate and gift taxes ready by the end of the 91st Congress.

Passage of the bill fulfilled Mills' promise during debate over the extension of the 10-percent surtax for comprehensive tax reform before the summer recess, scheduled to begin Aug. 13.

House and Senate liberals battled President Nixon's request for extension of the surtax unless there were credible promises of major tax revision. The surtax was extended by Congress through Dec. 31 and the tax reform bill would continue it through June 30, 1970, in line with President Nixon's request. *(For surtax story, see p. 1438.)*

Reaction. Mills, asked if it were his greatest legislative accomplishment in his 30 years in Congress, said, "It's one of the big ones, that's for sure." John W. Byrnes (R Wis.), ranking minority member of the Ways and Means Committee, agreed that "it has to be one of the big ones."

Mills said there were some things he would like the Senate to tighten up, among them inclusion in the limitation on tax preferences of certain oil depletion benefits and elimination of a provision benefiting the Kellogg Foundation, a tax-exempt organization set up by the food processing family. The bill exempted the foundation from certain aspects of the foundation provisions.

Mills said timing was crucial. If the Senate acts by the end of the first session of the 91st Congress, the Senate version could be at least as strong as the House bill, he explained. But if the bill is held over until 1970, he said, the lobbysits against various provisions would have time to unite and they could organize a powerful block against the bill.

Loopholes. Though the bill went far in curbing tax benefits most agreed had outlived their usefullness, some charged that it included loopholes itself.

The exemption of the excess of percentage over cost depletion from the limit on tax preferences, the Kellogg Foundation benefit and the elimination of coal and iron royalties from stricter capital gains treatment were among the alleged loopholes. In addition, a complex formula on mineral production payments gave coal producers a preferential effective date in relation to producers of other minerals, some experts contended.

Vote Analysis. The main opponents of the bill and supporters of recommittal were Members from oil-producing states. Of the 23 Members from Texas, 13 voted for recommittal and 12 voted against the bill. Of eight Representatives from Louisiana, seven were against the bill and in favor of recommittal. Of the six Members from Oklahoma, four voted against the bill and for recommital.

For background on tax reform, see fact sheets, Weekly Report p. 1327, 313; for earlier Ways and Means Committee announcements of proposals, see p. 1416, 1379, 1316, 1288, 866; for President Nixon's tax reform proposals, see p. 578; for earlier Treasury Department proposals, see p. 314; for Ways and Means Committee hearings, see p. 576, 537, 471, 434, 400, 306; for fact sheet on depletion allowance votes by Committee members, see p. 14466.

Revenue Effects of Tax Reform Bill

(in billions of dollars)

Calendar	1970	1971	1972	1974	1979
Tax reform program	1.64	2.05	2.18	2.60	3.56
Repeal of investment credit	2.50	3.00	3.00	3.10	3.30
Total	4.14	5.05	5.18	5.70	6.86
Income Tax Relief	—1.70	—6.79	—9.27	—9.27	—9.27
Net effect	2.44	—1.74	—4.09	—3.57	—2.41

NOTE: The surcharge extension would add $3.1 billion and the postponement of the excise tax reductions would add about $540 million to current revenue estimates for fiscal 1970.

Committee Action

COMMITTEE—House Ways and Means; Wilbur D. Mills (D Ark.), chairman.

ACTION—Aug. 2 reported the Tax Reform Act of 1969, (HR 13270—H Rept 91-413) to make major changes in the nation's tax system. The Committee Aug. 5 amended the bill to include tax reductions for all taxpayers.

As reported originally by the Committee, the bill balanced $6.81 billion of tax relief with $6.86 billion of tax increases. The Aug. 5 amendment, however, added $2.44 billion of tax relief to the bill.

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Major Provisions

Personal Income Taxes

TAX REDUCTIONS

Rate Reductions. The Committee approved individual income tax cuts totaling $4.44 billion. The reductions, averaging 5 percent for all taxpayers, would become effective in calendar 1971 and 1972. The Committee's original bill authorized cuts worth $2.04 billion, beginning at the point where the present 22-percent tax rate applies—for married persons whose joint taxable income is between $8,000 and $12,000.

A later amendment extended the reductions to the five lowest tax brackets, which would result in a further federal revenue loss of $2.4 billion.

Almost all individuals with taxable income of less than $100,000 received at least a 5-percent reduction. The present top tax rate of 70 percent, applying to individuals with taxable incomes of $100,000 or more, would be cut to 62 percent for individuals in the $100,000-$120,000 bracket, to 63 percent for the $120,000-$150,000 bracket, to 64 percent for the $150,000-$200,000 bracket and to 65 percent for the $200,000 and over bracket. The present 14-percent rate for the lowest income bracket would be cut to 13 percent. The reductions would be phased in over a three-year period, with the full reductions becoming effective in calendar 1972.

Revenue loss: $4.44 billion annually by 1972.

Low Income Allowance. The bill removed 5.2 million taxpayers from federal rolls and eased tax burdens on another 7 million by raising a family's deductible income almost to the poverty level. This increase was produced by a raise in the minimum standard deduction and the number of $600 regular personal exemptions.

A family's minimum standard deduction would be increased by an amount which would raise tax-exempt income to $1,100. The proposal would apply to families with eight or fewer exemptions.

Revenue estimate: $2 billion annually when the provision becomes fully effective in calendar 1971.

General Standard Deduction. The bill raised the standard deduction, generally filed by individuals with no home-mortgage interest payments to deduct, to 15 percent of adjusted gross income, with a $2,000 maximum, from the present 10 percent with $1,000 maximum.

The increase is expected to facilitate tax collection by prompting more individuals to use the standard deduction.

Revenue loss: $1.3 billion annually when the provision takes full effect in 1972.

Single Persons. Rates for single persons 35 years or over and persons whose spouse has died were set halfway between those available to married couples and those for single persons. Widows and widowers with dependent children under 20 or attending school would be allowed to file joint returns.

Revenue loss: $650 million annually.

Income Averaging. The Committee simplified present income-averaging provisions, which allow a taxpayer with unusually large income in one year to spread the income over several years for tax purposes.

The bill allowed a taxpayer to average income if his earnings were more than 120 percent of the average of the prior four years. Present law requires the income to be more than 133-1/3 percent to be eligible for averaging.

Revenue loss: $300 million annually.

Moving Expenses. Present deductions for moving expenses in job-connected transfers were broadened to include house-hunting trips and temporary living expenses, with an overall limit of $2,500. Temporary living expenses could constitute no more than $1,000 of that limit.

Deductions would not be allowed unless the distance between the taxpayer's new job is at least 50 miles farther from his former residence than was his old job.

Revenue loss: $100 million annually.

Maximum Tax. The bill limited the tax on earned income of individuals to a maximum of 50 percent.

Revenue loss: About $200 million annually.

Heads of Household. Single individuals who are heads of household and over the age of 35 were given "intermediate tax rates" between those for single and married persons.

Revenue loss: About $650 million annually.

TAX INCREASES

Municipal Bonds. The present exemption on interest from state and municipal bonds was retained, but the federal government would offer a subsidy to encourage local governments to issue taxable bonds. The subsidy would be equal to the average cost of the additional interest payable (over the interest on tax-exempt bonds) plus some additional amount.

The amount of the subsidy was to be determined by the Treasury Secretary within a range of 25 percent to 40 percent of the interest yield of the bond. However, for the first five years the subsidies are granted, the range was to be 30 percent to 40 percent.

Individuals receiving tax-exempt bond interest over $5,000 would have to allocate their itemized deductions, such as charitable contributions and medical expenses, between their taxable income and their tax-free bond interest. This rule would apply only to new issues of bonds and would be imposed under a 10-year transition arrangement.

Banks and other financial institutions having deposits or policy-holder accounts would be required to allocate interest-expense deductions between taxable income and tax-exempt bond interest. This requirement, too, would apply only on new issues and would include a 10-year transition rule.

Revenue loss: No loss is expected because revenue from taxed bonds is expected to more than offset federal subsidies given to local governments.

Capital Gains. The Committee extended from six months to one year the holding period required before the sale of an asset is eligible for capital gains tax treatment. The change applied to transactions made after July 25, 1969.

The alternative maximum capital-gains tax rate of 25 percent would be eliminated for individuals, and the corporate tax rate on long-term captial gains would be raised from 25 percent to 30 percent.

Only 50 percent of an individual's net long-term capital losses could be deducted from the tax base. Mar-

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ried persons filing separate returns would be limited to $500 deductions for capital losses instead of the present $1,000 each.

Revenue gain: $935 million annually.

Capital Losses. Only 50 percent—instead of the current 100 percent—of net long-term capital gains could be deducted from ordinary income. The $1,000 limitation was reduced to $500 for married persons filing separate returns.

Revenue gain: $50 million in 1970, rising to $65 million by 1979.

Pension Fund Distributions. The extent to which lump-sum pension distributions would receive capital gains treatment would be tightened. Tax treatment of amounts of distribution represented by employer contributions made to purchase employer securities for a pension plan also would be stiffened.

Revenue gain: $50 million annually.

Other Deferred Compensation. Though deferred compensation, usually given key executives to reduce ordinary income and thus the effective tax rate in a given year, will continue to be taxed when received, a minimum income tax was levied on the compensation to the extent it exceeds $10,000 in any given year.

Revenue gain: The change would be effective with respect to taxable years ending after June 30, 1969. The revenue gain would be negligible until it reached $5 million in 1972 and would reach $25 million in 1979.

Charitable Contributions. The general limit on charitable contributions was raised to 50 percent from 30 percent of adjusted gross income, minus any nonbusiness expenses claimed in excess of $5,000.

Unlimited Deduction—The unlimited charitable deduction possible on contributions to some types of charities was repealed. The repeal would be fully effective in 1975.

Appreciated Property. The Committee moved to remove some of the existing tax advantages of gifts of appreciated property over gifts of cash.

The bill required a taxpayer who made gifts of appreciated property, his option, either to reduce his charitable contribution deduction to the amount of the gift's cost or to take a deduction based on the market value of the gift and include in his tax base the gift's untaxed appreciation.

This provision applied only to private foundation recipients, ordinary income property, tangible personal property, future property interest and bargain sales.

Charitable Trust—The two-year charitable trust was repealed. This type of trust allowed an individual to exclude from his income the income of a trust established by him to make payments to a charity for a period of at least two years.

Non-exempt Trusts—The deduction allowed non-exempt trusts for amounts set aside for charity would be limited to current value of the gift.

Right to Use—Charitable deductions for property to which the donor retained a right to use were disallowed.

Split-Interest Trusts—In trusts under which part of the income was paid to private persons and part to charity, the "charitable" income would be taxed if the investment policies of the charity were not consistent with the purpose for which the exemption was granted.

Revenue gain: $20 million annually when the provisions become fully effective in 1972.

Allocation of Deductions. The Committee expanded the Administration proposal to include capital gains and tax-exempt bond income. A taxpayer would be required to allocate his nonbusiness deductions proportionately between his ordinary taxable income and that part of his income affected by tax preferences.

Revenue gain: $500 million annually.

Restricted Stock Plans. Current regulations allow top corporation executives and certain other employees to receive stocks as compensation for salary because of lower tax rates. Under the Committee's proposal, an employee would be taxed on nonforfeitable restricted stock. The tax would be based on the fair-market value at the time of transfer.

Revenue gain: Negligible.

Stock Dividends. Existing tax laws provide that stocks distributed by a corporation to its shareholders instead of cash dividend are not taxable.

The committee established two exceptions to the rule.

Under the first exception, the Committee required that if stock or stock rights are distributed in conjunction with a taxable dividend distribution based on other shares, the stock distribution would be taxable. But this would apply only if the distribution increased the recipient's proportionate interest in the corporation.

Under the second exception, preferred stock or preferred stock rights distributions would be treated as taxable dividends even if they were not related to a cash dividend on other stock.

Revenue gain: No immediate gain is expected, but the changes are expected to forestall substantial future revenue losses.

Other Deferred Compensation. A minimum tax on deferred compensation was levied on the amount by which the compensation exceeds $10,000. The minimum tax would be the lower of two alternate amounts computed by complex formulas.

Revenue gain: By 1979 an estimated $25 million annually would be produced by the new tax rule.

Interest Deductions. An individual's tax deduction on interest on funds borrowed to acquire or carry investment assets was limited to net investment income (including capital gains). Interest expenses could be offset against other income up to $25,000.

Interest deductions which could not be used in any single year because of the limitation could be carried forward. The limitation did not apply to money borrowed for business purposes.

Revenue gain: $20 million annually.

Farm Losses. Tax provisions covering farm losses were tightened somewhat, chiefly to curb large tax breaks to individuals with "hobby farms."

The "hobby loss" provision of the existing law was replaced by a measure prohibiting deduction of losses resulting from a business that had no "reasonable expectation" of making a profit. This would be presumed if the business operated at a loss in excess of $25,000 annually in three of five years.

To prevent taxpayers from utilizing certain farm losses to convert ordinary income into capital gains, the Committee provided for recapture of farm losses previously used by a taxpayer to offset non-farm income to the extent such losses are required to be added to an

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"excess deductions account." The recapture would occur upon the sale or other disposition of farm property but would not affect the deductibility of losses in the year in which they occurred. Generally it would not apply to taxpayers who use an accrual method of accounting and who capitalize farm expenses rather than deducting them entirely.

A taxpayer who incurred farm losses in excess of farm income was required to keep an excess deductions account to which would be added yearly losses of more than $25,000 and from which would be subtracted any farm gains. When there was a sale of farm assets that would otherwise qualify for capital gains treatment, the gain would be treated as ordinary income up to the amount in the excess deductions account. The account would be reduced accordingly. It would not apply to taxpayers with adjusted gross income of $50,000 or less.

Revenue gain: $20 million annually when fully effective in 1979; less than $2.5 million in calendar 1970.

Accumulation Trusts. Beneficiaries of trusts would be taxed on distributions received from the trusts at about the same rate as if the income had been distributed on a current basis rather than accumulated.

Revenue gain: $50 million in 1970, $70 million in succeeding years.

Real Estate. Currently, owners of a new real estate property may depreciate their property at twice the ordinary rate and a later owner can depreciate at one-and-one-half times the ordinary rate.

The Committee proposal kept the double-depreciation rate for residential real estate but reduced all other new real estate to the 150-percent level. All used property currently eligible for 150 percent was cut back to ordinary straight-line depreciation.

Real estate corporations were required to use straight-line depreciation for computing dividends. Some companies had been able to make non-taxable distributions to stockholders under the present law.

The costs of rehabilitating existing buildings could be amortized over a five-year period.

Revenue gain: $150 million annually initially but perhaps $1 billion a year in the long run.

Limit on Tax Preferences. Under present law there is no limit on how large a part of his income an individual may exclude from tax as a result of tax exemptions. The Committee required an individual to include in his tax base half of this preferential income, when it exceeds his ordinary taxable income by at least $10,000.

Revenue gain: $85 million annually when fully effective.

Tax-Exempt Organizations

The Committee approved a set of restrictive regulatory measures and a scale of sanctions that range up to the loss of tax-exempt status and the repayment (with interest) to the government of all the tax benefits the foundations have received since 1913.

The changes in treatment of foundations would produce an estimated $100 million a year when fully effective in 1979. In addition, the new taxes on unrelated business income would produce $5 million in calendar 1970 and rise to $20 million annually by 1979.

The measures are the following:

Self-dealing. Transactions between foundations and certain "disqualified persons" involving the transfer of the foundation's assets were strictly prohibited. "Disqualified persons" are individuals who are either donors and other such related individuals, or government officials (including civil servants above the level of GS-15).

Distribution of Assets. The bill provided that to avoid tax, private foundations must distribute all income currently (but not less than 5 percent of total investment assets).

Business Involvement. The bill limited to 20 percent the combined ownership of a corporation's voting stock which may be held by a foundation and all its disqualified persons. If someone else can be shown to have control of the business, the 20-percent limit is raised to 35 percent. Existing excess holdings must be disposed of within 10 years; excess holdings acquired by gift or bequest in the future must be disposed of within 5 years.

Tax on Investment Income. A tax of 7½ percent was imposed upon a private foundation's net investment income.

Use of Assets. The bill imposed a 100-percent tax on a private foundation which invests any amount "in such a manner as to jeopardize the carrying out of any of its exempt purposes." A 50-percent tax was imposed on the foundation manager who knowingly invests the money in such an improper manner.

Political Activity. The bill provided that private foundations would be forbidden to spend money for lobbying, electioneering (including voter registration drives), grants to individuals (unless there are assurances that the grants are to be made on an objective basis), and grants to other organizations (unless the foundation accepts certain responsibilities concerning the use of the funds by the donee organization).

Change of Tax-Exempt Status. If for any reason, voluntary or not, an organization loses its tax-exempt status, the bill required that it pay back (with interest) all of the tax benefits that it and its substantial contributors had received since 1913.

Unrelated Business Income. Taxes were required on the unrelated business income of churches, social welfare clubs, civic leagues, social clubs, and fraternal beneficial associations. Churches would have to dispose of unrelated businesses within a specified period of time.

Debt Financing of Unrelated Business Acquisitions. A tax-exempt organization would be taxed on income from a business unrelated to its purposes and financed with borrowed funds.

Corporate Income Taxes

Depletion Allowances. The Committee reduced the 27½-percent oil-depletion allowance to 20 percent. Comparable reductions were made with most other minerals, but the present 15-percent rate for gold, silver, oil shale, copper and iron ore was retained.

Other minerals currently receiving a 15-percent allowance were trimmed to 11 percent. Those at 23 percent were cut to 17 percent, those at 10 to 7, those at 7½ to 5 and those at 5 to 4.

The depletion allowance was discontinued for oil operations abroad. However, the allowance was continued for drilling on the continental shelf.

Revenue gain: $425 million in 1970 and $410 in 1971. $400 million annually after that.

Production Payments. The bill provided that mineral production payments were to be treated as loans

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for tax purposes. A carved-out production payment was to be treated as a mortgage loan on the mineral property, rather than as an economic interest in the property. Thus, the proceeds received by a seller of a payment would not be taxable to him. However, income derived from the property after the payment was taxable to the owner, subject to the depletion allowance.

In the case of retained production payments, that income derived from the property and used as the production payment was taxed to the property's owner, subject to the depletion allowance.

Revenue gain: $100 million in 1970, $200 million a year by 1979.

Corporate Securities. The Committee tightened general tax treatment of securities relating to mergers. No deductions were permitted on interest paid on certain bonds and debentures issued in exchange for at least two-thirds of another company's stock.

An exception permitting an annual $5-million deduction in interest payments for acquisitions was included in the bill.

Restrictions on deductions were not applicable to securities issued in certain acquisitions of foreign corporations.

Revenue gain: $10 million in 1970, $40 million by 1973.

Foreign Tax Credit. The bill tightened the application of a provision which allowed U.S. companies to subtract taxes paid foreign governments from taxes owed the U.S. Government.

Among the changes was one which allowed the United States to recapture, against the foreign tax credit of a later year, the benefit a company gained by offsetting on domestic income an operating loss in a foreign branch.

Revenue gain: $5 million annually in 1971 and $20 million annually by 1979.

Real Estate Depreciation. Real estate corporations were required to use straight-line depreciation for computing dividends. Some companies had been able to make nontaxable distributions to stockholders under existing law.

Costs of rehabilitating existing buildings could be amortized over a five-year period.

On future real estate depreciation, write-offs in excess of straight-line were recaptured as ordinary income, eliminating a provision for a percentage reduction in the recapture.

Revenue gain: As much as $1 billion a year by 1979 for both corporate and individual changes.

Utilities Depreciation. In general, the Committee froze the present situation regarding depreciation methods used by gas and oil pipelines and telephone, electric and water companies.

Companies using straight-line depreciation were barred from switching to faster rates. Companies employing accelerated depreciation rates and normalizing their deferred taxes were required to switch to straight-line depreciation unless normalization continued. Utilities using accelerated depreciation and giving benefits of deferred taxes to their customers were required to continue doing so.

Revenue gain: $60 million in 1970 and $260 million annually by 1974. Without the changes, federal revenue losses of up to $2 billion annually had been predicted as a result of industry trends under current laws.

Tax-Free Dividends. Companies were required to compute earnings on straight-line depreciation in the determination of distributions to shareholders. The measure was designed to discourage issuance of non-taxable distributions.

Revenue gain: $80 million annually by 1973.

Bad Debt Reserves. Commercial banks were permitted to add to their bad debt reserves an amount based on each bank's experience with bad loans during the last six years. New banks were allowed to use the industry-wide average for the same period.

Banks were permitted to carry back net operating losses for 10 years instead of the present three years to provide an extra margin of safety against large bad-debt losses.

In the case of mutual savings banks, the bill eliminated the so-called 3-percent method of computing tax-free reserves in favor of a method using the tax-free reserves of 60 percent of annual taxable income. However, the 60-percent method itself was reduced to 30 percent after a 10-year period.

Other technical changes regarding mutual savings banks also were included in the bill.

Revenue gain: $460 million annually by 1979.

Multiple Surtax Limitations. The bill limited a chain of corporations controlled by a parent firm to a single surtax exemption after an eight-year adjustment period.

Revenue gain: $235 million by 1979.

Small Corporations. The Committee made two changes. One limited amounts set aside for pensions for shareholders to 10 percent of the shareholder's income or $2,500 if less. The other change empowered the corporation itself to determine its income or loss, rather than leaving this determination to separate proceedings for each shareholder.

Revenue gain: Negligible.

Cooperatives. Patronage dividends were to be distributed over 15 years or less. The required cash pay out in any year was required to equal at least 50 percent of the amount of the current year's patronage.

No revenue estimate was made.

Surtax Extension

The Committee also added on to the tax reform bill the rest of the surtax extension package.

Surtax. The bill extended the surtax beyond the Dec. 31 expiration date to June 30, 1970. The rate for that period would be 5 percent.

Revenue gain: $3.1 billion.

Investment Credit. Repealed the 7-percent tax credit for business investment retroactive to April 18, 1969.

Revenue gain: $2.5 billion in 1970, rising to $3.3 billion a year by 1979.

Excise Taxes. Postponed until Dec. 31, 1970, the scheduled reduction in telephone and automobile excise taxes. The 10-percent excise tax on telephone service and the 7-percent excise tax on automobiles had been scheduled to drop to 5 percent after Dec. 31, 1969, 3 percent after Dec. 31, 1970, and 1 percent after Dec. 31, 1971. They had been scheduled to expire entirely Jan. 1, 1973.

Revenue gain: $540 million in fiscal 1970.

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Effective Dates

Following are the dates at which provisions of the House Ways and Means Committee tax reform act will become effective:

- Jan. 10, 1969—stock dividends.
- April 18, 1969—investment credit repeal.
- April 22, 1969—multiple trusts, mineral production payments.
- May 27, 1969—corporate securities.
- June 30, 1969—other deferred compensation.
- July 11, 1969—bad debt reserves, municipal bonds.
- July 22, 1969—accelerated depreciation of utilities, mineral depletion allowance reduction.
- July 25, 1969—capital gains and losses, real estate depreciation.
- July 31, 1969—alternative capital gain rate for corporations.
- Aug. 4, 1969—restricted property.
- Jan. 1, 1970—private foundations, other exempt organizations, charitable contributions (except for repeal of two-year charitable trust rule and certain technical provisions which became effective April 22, 1969), farm losses, limitation on deduction of interest, moving expenses, limit on tax preferences, allocation of deductions, income averaging, foreign tax credit, cooperatives, small corporations, standard deduction increase, low income allowance, maximum income tax, single persons tax.
- Jan. 1, 1971—rate reduction (one-half).
- Jan. 1, 1972—rate reduction (full).
- Jan. 1, 1976—multiple surtax limitation (end of gradual reduction of surtax exemptions to one).

In certain cases revenue changes increased from year to year as a result of a phase-in period. For example, the multiple surtax limitation provision was to become fully effective Dec. 31, 1975, after an eight-year phase-in.

Committee Views. "Your Committee is not aware of any prior tax reform bill of equal substantive scope," the Committee said.

Though the bill was truly comprehensive, the Committee added, "more remains to be done."

The time available did not permit consideration of estate and gift taxation, the report noted, and the Committee pledged to study the area "as soon as possible with the expectation of reporting out a bill...in this Congress."

"Under your Committee's bill," the report continued, "virtually no individual with significant amounts of income will be able to escape payment of tax. The first line of defense is to reduce specific tax benefit provisions. The second line of defense is to group remaining tax preference items and impose a minimum tax or a limit on tax preferences."

The reforms in the bill not only tightened up benefits, the Committee said. "Virtually all of the revenue gains provided by the corrective measures have, in turn, been devoted to the removal of general hardships under the tax laws or in providing tax reductions of general application," the report said. "Care has been taken in this regard not to absorb most of the fiscal restraint provided by the surchage and other measures included in this bill for 1970."

The preferences in the present law have accumulated since the income tax was first levied in 1913, the Committee noted. Though many preferences have been removed, others have been added, the report said. "...Although the tax preferences may have been justified at the time of their inception, it is not clear that they are needed or desirable in today's economy," the Committee said.

The Committee said tax reform is necessary to make sure those with substantially the same incomes are paying substantially the same tax and also to make sure that the graduated tax structure is working fairly.

In addition, tax reform is necessary to make general tax reductions possible, the Committee said. Finally, tax reform is necessary because the present defects in the tax structure "impede the proper functioning of the economic system," the Committee added.

Separate Views. Five statements of separate views were filed by Committee members, two of them signed by two members each. Two Democrats and five Republicans signed the statements.

Vanik Views—Charles A. Vanik (D Ohio), prime mover in the partially successful attempt to link the surtax with tax reform, criticized the haste with which the bill was considered. He said it was not until July 28 that the Committee first was able to look over the 368-page bill.

Vanik also said he opposed the use of the tax reform bill as a vehicle for the rest of the surtax package. "It is a cruel and harsh thing to charge the taxpayers of America over $3.5 billion for the 1970 extension of the surcharge as a downpayment for the reform bill," Vanik said.

Gibbons Views—Sam M. Gibbons (D Fla.) also was critical of the Committee's haste. "Even if this bill becomes law...the Internal Revenue Code will still be riddled with unjustifiable tax preferences and tax subsidies and it may take another generation for this matter to be considered again," Gibbons said. "I would like to vote against this bill but at this time it appears to me that there will be little other chance to obtain anything any better."

Utt Views—James B. Utt (R Calif.), second-ranking minority member of the Committee, criticized a wide range of proposed changes in the bill. The bill, said Utt, may introduce "greater complexity and inequity into our tax laws." He questioned the provisions affecting farm losses, depletion allowances, tax-exempt bonds, charitable gifts and capital gains.

He charged that the Committee bill was "fiscally irresponsible" for using the increased revenue to finance "politically expedient reductions" instead of reducing the national debt.

Schneebeli and Chamberlain Views—Herman T. Schneebeli (R Pa.) and Charles E. Chamberlain (R Mich.) said the change in treatment of tax-exempt bonds "was not designed to correct a serious inequity and cannot masquerade as a reform." They said that it "must be represented for what it is: a restructuring of important fiscal relationships within our federal system."

Bush and Morton Views—George Bush (R Texas) and Rogers C.B. Morton (R Md.), Republican National

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Chairman, agreed with Utt on the need for simplification of the tax system. They recommended a closer look at Committee changes in real estate, depletion allowances, tax-exempt bonds, foundations, charitable contributions and capital gains.

Rules Committee

The House Rules Committee Aug. 5 after about eight hours of hearings and debate reported out a resolution (H Res 513—H Rept 91-427) granting a closed rule to the tax reform bill. The closed rule, normal for major tax bills, prohibited floor amendments to the bill except by the Ways and Means Committee majority.

In an unusual move, the Ways and Means Committee met during the lunch-hour recess of the Rules Committee to amend the reform bill by adding about $2.4 billion more of tax relief for individuals.

Chairman William M. Colmer (D Miss.) of the Rules Committee said he favored postponing a vote on the bill until after the Aug. 13-Sept. 3 Congressional recess. But Chairman Wilbur D. Mills (D Ark.) of the Ways and Means Committee said the bill should be passed quickly to avoid "a breakdown in taxpayer morale."

Mills said, "If we don't make these corrections (contained in the reform bill) I think the whole of our tax system can break down. You can't keep this kind of momentum for tax reform going on and on indefinitely."

Colmer said he favored the idea of a tax reform bill but wanted to postpone a vote until Members could study the 368-page bill and the accompanying two-part report. "I'm going to support the legislation," Colmer said, "but I want to know what I'm supporting."

Charles A. Vanik (D Ohio), a member of the Ways and Means Committee and a leader in the partially successful attempt to tie the surtax extension to tax reform, argued for a rule which would permit an amendment to strike the surtax sections of the reform bill.

The Vanik motion was defeated by an 11-4 vote. Colmer said his own motion for a delay was beaten by about the same margin.

Ways and Means Vote. During the Rules session, Mills was challenged by Richard Bolling (D Mo.) about the gap in tax relief contained in the reform bill. The bill gave tax relief to low-income persons and to most individuals who paid taxes at rates above the point in the tax tables which applied to married persons with taxable incomes of more than $8,000. Left out, according to the House Democratic Study Group, were taxpayers with incomes between $7,500 and $13,000 a year and who itemize their deductions.

Mills said it was due to a misunderstanding between him and the staffs of the Ways and Means and Joint Internal Revenue Taxation committees. He called his Committee into session at noon to amend the reform bill to include relief for the additional taxpayers.

"That was a very remarkable misunderstanding," said Bolling, a member of the Rules Committee and the Democratic Study Group.

"I'd say so myself," Mills replied.

Though the amendment added $2.4 billion in tax relief to the bill which previously had been balanced in revenue losses and gains, Mills said this was no cause for concern. He said the deficit could be made up by the higher tax collections which would come from normal growth of the economy.

Mills said the Administration probably will not meet its previously announced Nov. 30 deadline for additional tax reform recommendations. The Ways and Means Committee, however, will continue to work on reform, he said. First it would consider estate and gift taxation and then make an analysis of the effects of the current bill to see if it reached those wealthy individuals who had been able to avoid taxation by pyramiding tax benefits, Mills added.

Treasury Position

At a Treasury news conference Aug. 1, Undersecretary Charls E. Walker and Assistant Secretary Edwin S. Cohen generally praised the tax-reform bill but cautioned that they still had some "reservations."

Walker termed the bill "highly constructive legislation that may well be viewed as a milestone in tax reform." He said, however, "We do not agree with all of the provisions, but we will be prepared in the Senate (Finance Committee) with a comprehensive statement on every aspect of the bill."

Key trouble spots foreseen by the Treasury were oil-depletion allowance reduction—"that has become much of a symbol," Walker said—and exclusion of depletion allowances and intangible drilling costs in computing a minimum tax base.

Walker and Cohen also indicated that they were not fully satisfied with provisions related to municipal securities, tax increases on banks and other financial institutions, limited deductions on farm losses, and multiple corporation surtax exemptions for subsidiaries.

They also said the proposed 7.5 percent tax on foundations that are now tax exempt was "somewhat high."

Oil Taxes. The Treasury Department, meanwhile, was preparing to present to the Senate Finance Committee a proposal which it hoped would ensure that the nation would get its money's worth out of tax benefits to producers of oil and other minerals.

President Nixon had pledged during his election campaign that he was in favor of the 27½-percent depletion allowance for oil. The House cut the allowance to 20 percent but the Treasury plan, while keeping the rate at 27½ percent, would make other tax changes that could bring in even more than the estimated $360 million annually from the lower allowance for percentage depletion.

The Treasury plan, which was rejected almost out-of-hand by the House Ways and Means Committee, would restrict percentage depletion and the immediate deduction of intangible drilling costs to domestic operations.

President Nixon, however, has not yet approved the plan.

Floor Action

The House Aug. 7 by a 394-30 roll-call vote passed and sent to the Senate the Tax Reform Act of 1969. A recommital motion was defeated by a 78-345 roll-call vote. *(See votes 72, 73, p. 1474.)*

Aug. 6 debate:

The tax-reform bill cleared another major obstacle as Members approved a resolution (H Res 513) which prohibited most floor amendments to the bill. Debate over the closed rule had consumed eight hours of testimony

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and debate in the House Rules Committee the previous day.

Approval of the resolution—which barred all but Ways and Means amendments—came on a voice vote after a motion to take up the resolution was approved by a 265-145 roll-call vote. *(See vote 71, p. 1474.)*

Rules Committee Chairman William M. Colmer (D Miss.) was among those arguing against the rule. He had favored postponing a vote on this bill until after the three-week Congressional recess scheduled to start Aug. 13. Colmer had wanted more time to study the 368-page bill.

Charles A. Vanik (D Ohio), a member of the Ways and Means Committee, also opposed the closed rule. He had wanted to offer an amendment striking the portion of the reform bill which extended the surtax through June 30, 1970.

Near the end of the debate over the rule, Speaker John W. McCormack (D Mass.), stepped down from his chair to tell the members that in his opinion—based on 10 years as a member of the Ways and Means Committee—the thoroughness of the package and the complicated provisions it contained, justified the no-amendment rule.

Watching the proceedings was former Treasury Secretary Henry H. Fowler.

Mills credited Fowler with helping to bring the tax reform question into the public eye by revealing shortly before he left office in the Johnson Administration, that 154 wealthy Americans had escaped paying income tax due to loopholes in the tax code. *(Weekly Report p. 147)*

Mills told the Members that if they were concerned over the provisions of the bill they could "go back to their constituents," and tell them that if they have been getting preferential treatment "this legislation will help put them on a level with the less fortunate citizens in the community."

He said that they could also tell the "less fortunate taxpayers that they are going to get tax relief."

The ranking minority member of the Ways and Means Committee, John W. Byrnes (R Wis.) praised the tax bill but said it was not a panacea.

"Certainly we'll find loopholes that we'll have to caulk up as soon as we find them," he said, "but they won't be the same ones we have now."

George Bush (R Texas) said "I hope that the Senate, when it gets this legislation, which I'm going to vote for," strips out the oil depletion reductions. "I support this legislation because in the long run we will provide meaningful tax relief when these tax cuts are phased in at all levels," he said. The next day he voted against the bill.

Bush said that depletion allowances were "not a gimmick," and "not a loophole."

"I think that any Member of the Congress willing to look at the facts and willing to concede that depletion has ever had meaning, would agree that it is more meaningful now than ever in the past," he said in adding to a statement that in this area "the committee has gone way too far."

Aug. 7 Debate:

The second day of debate saw Members discussing how various special interests would be effected by the bill. But on the roll call, oil appeared to be the single special interest to gain votes against the package.

The bill cut the controversial oil depletion allowances from 27½ percent to 20 percent.

But when the roll call was in, 394 Members voted for the package—covering 27 areas—and 30 recorded voted no.

Among those voting no were Rep. Henry B. Gonzales (D Texas), generally considered to be a liberal, and Montana Democrat John Melcher, elected to Congress June 24 on a liberal platform.

Melcher, from an oil-producing section of Montana, issued a statement saying that while he is in favor of tax reform, he voted against the bill because it would raise the taxes of farmers and small businessmen. This was the result of investment-tax credit repeal, he said, without a $25,000 exemption. He also said he was against the bill which would give him five dollars tax relief for every one dollar of relief given a family of four with a $7,500 income.

A motion by Bush to recommit the bill to the Ways and Means Committee, just prior to the final roll call, failed on a 78 to 345 roll-call. Joining the oil interests in the attempt were conservatives from both parties and a few liberals who opposed the rest of the President's surtax package being tacked on to a reform bill.

Interests Defended. During debate, Andrew Jacobs Jr. (D Ind.) termed the 20-percent oil depletion allowance "a giveaway sanction in this reform bill," and said the practice should be ended.

Joe D. Waggonner Jr. (D La.) accused Jacobs of having a sectional interest and said that the oil depletion allowance was not enough incentive to the industry. He added that Jacobs did not mention depletion allowances for iron ore—untouched by the bill's changes in depletion allowances—which plays a vital role in Indiana's economy.

Wayne N. Aspinall (D Colo.), broadened the depletion debate to the rest of the extractive industry. He said that he was giving a "reluctant vote" to the reform package.

Aspinall said he believed "that the extractive industries will be weakened by greater economic burden" due to cuts in mineral depletion allowances, and added that hardest hit will be the small producers.

Peter H.B. Frelinghuysen (D N.J.), who noted that he is a member of the board of directors of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, protested that the bill would reduce the incentive to contribute works of art to museums.

Ways and Means Committee Member Barber B. Conable Jr. (R N.Y.), pointed out that in approaching tax reform "loopholes can be closed," but when they are it is at a "cost to the public."

"We will assess the cost of this bill in years to come," he said, "in terms of the adjustments that are necessary.

"I think that if we are going to be mature about tax reform, we have to be aware that there is a cost involved."

Conable termed the Committee's bill a "highwater mark of tax reform" but predicted that when it comes back to the House from the Senate, "it will be watered down to some degree."

Before voting on the bill, the House accepted two Ways and Means Committee amendments. The first provided for rate reductions totaling $2.4 billion for taxpayers in lower middle-income brackets. The second amendment applied the same base for computing percentage depletion or oil extracted from oil shale as already applies for oil produced from an oil well.

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Reprinted From

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Friday, September 12, 1969

Tax Bill Impact

Foundations, Colleges Say Proposed Changes In Law Threaten Them

They Say Funds Would Drop, Programs Would Suffer; Donors' Benefits Affected

Critics See Tax-Dodging Now

By FREDERICK ANDREWS
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Tax changes proposed by the House of Representatives would drastically alter philanthropy in America. Among other things, they would very likely reduce the flow of dollars to organizations that depend heavily on charitable giving.

This, at least, is the conclusion that emerges from interviews with tax lawyers, col-

The tax revision bill passed last month by the House of Representatives and now before a Senate committee would have far-reaching effects on individuals, corporations and some other organizations. This is the third of several articles discussing the potential impact.

lege administrators, churchmen, foundation executives and others involved in one way or another in philanthropic endeavors. Without exception, they claim the House-passed tax bill, now under consideration in the Senate Finance Committee, would have a massive impact if

enacted into law. Just how massive can be suggested by a few specifics.

—National Educational Television says its programing would be restricted so severely that the system's future would be in jeopardy.

—Brookings Institution, the Population Council Resources for the Future, the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton and dozens of other nonprofit reservoirs of research talent say their operations could be severely curtailed.

—An official of St. Lawrence University, Canton, N.Y., estimates that "our income could be cut in half—easily."

—Interchurch Medical Assistance Inc., which ships supplies to hundreds of missionary-run hospitals abroad, wonders whether it could continue to function.

—Research Corp., a foundation that for half a century has promoted various forms of scientific research, reckons it would be rendered "ineffective" within 15 years.

"It's hard to think of an area of philanthropy that wouldn't be significantly affected by this bill," remarks an official of one large charitable foundation. Says another foundation man: "This is an antiphilanthropic bill." (Such sentiments have apparently proved at least partly persuasive to the Administration. It recently gave the Finance Committee its own more moderate alternatives to the House plan.)

Proponents of the legislation staunchly deny they are "anti" anything—except tax-dodging and the abuse of a privileged tax-exempt status granted solely to encourage good works. They say at present it's easy for wealthy individuals to manipulate the tax laws and make generous gifts at little cost to themselves—and sometimes at an after-tax "profit."

Personal Gain

Other proponents say many individuals exploit private foundations for personal gain, in particular for favorable business deals or to perpetuate control of a family firm. Still others fear that some foundations have grown too powerful and are not adequately regulated. They are disturbed by what they see as foundation intervention in heated public controversy and even in political campaigns.

Foundations take a different view. They say a proposed ban on their "propagandizing" or trying to "influence legislation" would in practice censor their involvement with vital issues of the day. National Educational Television is most disturbed by a provision that would bar influencing legislation even by influencing pub-

lic opinion.

The provision "would effectively wipe out our public affairs broadcasting," says James Day, president of the National Educational Television and Radio Center, which produces programs for stations affiliated with the NET network. Programs that could easily be deemed improper, Mr. Day says, include the weekly "NET Journal," a recent drama on student unrest titled "Confrontation," and "Black Journal," a monthly program focusing on the racial problem.

Problems With Pete Seeger

"The penalties are so severe, I'm afraid caution would prevail," Mr. Day declares. "If you were McGeorge Bundy (president of the Ford Foundation, NET's major supporter), would you give us money, knowing that you could be fined if it were spent" on programs that could be seen as propaganda or attempts to influence legislation? "Perhaps even our folksingers" could cause a problem, the executive adds. "Have you ever listened to Pete Seeger?" (Mr. Seeger, a folksinger, often injects large doses of politics into his songs.)

Under the House bill, if a foundation spent money to propagandize, affect legislation or influence a political campaign, it would have to pay a penalty tax equal to the expenditure in question. If a foundation official agreed to the expenditure, knowing it was improper, he would personally be taxed half the sum. Neither penalty tax would have any ceiling.

The bill explicitly bars foundations from financing voter registration drives. Foundation officials say this provision could hobble such efforts because they have often relied on foundation grants. The House bill, however, would still permit grants to voter drives that operate in at least five states and have widely diversified support. The exemption is meant to apply to groups like the League of Women Voters and the Southern Regional Council.

Such research institutions as Brookings believe they would also be hurt by the ban on spending to influence legislation. Besides its main activity of publishing research on public policy topics, Brookings staff members are frequently asked for advice on particular problems. "Hardly a day goes by that some member of Congress—of either party—or his staff doesn't call or write a specialist at Brookings on a matter affecting pending legislation," Kermit Gordon, Brookings president, declares. "Does the bill mean all this must stop?"

The House bill would bar foundations, and presumably institutions like Brookings, from affecting legislation through private communi-

cations with anyone who may take part in or influence the formulation of law. There's an exemption for "nonpartisan analysis or research," but according to Mr. Gordon, "it's not nearly as clear as it ought to be. It leaves us in a state of apprehension."

He asks, for example, "Could a Brookings staff member write a letter to The Wall Street Journal advocating a proposal? Are the activities of Brookings' staff activities of Brookings?" The House measure is filled with "ambiguities beneath the surface," Mr. Gordon believes.

Limiting Grants

Another provision of the bill would tend to cut the funds available to many research organizations. In effect, it may force many such groups to choose between limiting their support from any single tax-exempt source to 25% of their budget, or becoming for all practical purposes ineligible to receive foundation grants. The Ford Foundation alone has contributed more than 25% of the funds of such noted research or scholarly groups as Resources for the Future, the Social Science Research Council, the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation and the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavorial Sciences at Palo Alto, Calif. The Population Council, heavily dependent on Rockefeller money and government grants, would be affected by a similar provision.

"We are supported practically 100% by Ford," says John E. Herbert, secretary-treasurer of Resources for the Future, which was set up 15 years ago to study matters affecting America's natural resources. If the Ford money had to be cut to 25%, "this would knock us out," Mr. Herbert declares.

Politicians would also find foundation purse-strings much tighter if the House bill becomes law. Under a ban on business transactions between a foundation and persons close to it, the legislation would also rule out many payments by foundations to a wide variety of Federal, state and local officials, including Congressmen.

The Ford Foundation has provided money for various payments to several hundred Federal, state and local officials in the last two years alone. Many would be permitted under the House bill, which would allow reimbursement of domestic travel expenses. In addition, the "overwhelming majority" of the payments were actually made by groups to which Ford makes grants, and there's considerable perplexity over how such indirect actions would be treated. But the foundation says

the following are typical of many that "most probably" would no longer be possible:

A $250 honorarium to Elmer B. Staats, Comptroller General of the U.S., for taking part in a Council of State Governments program; $100 for Edward Logue, president of New York State Urban Development Corp., for a talk at Columbia Journalism School; and $100 received by Stanley Cain, then an Interior Department official, for taking part in a conservation panel.

Impact on Colleges

Colleges and hospitals are among the institutions whose receipts would probably be cut significantly. The House bill, for instance, stiffens the tax treatment of gifts of property whose value has increased over the years. Present law entitles a donor to a tax deduction of the gift's fair market value, rather than what it cost him, and neither donor nor recipient pays any tax on the appreciation.

Under the House bill, in certain cases, a donor would have to choose between including the appreciation in his income and limiting his tax deduction to his cost. Proponents of the change argue that present law gives donors a double benefit. They may not only exclude the gain from their taxable income but may also use the deduction to shelter other income from tax.

This tighter treatment would apply to "deferred gifts," where a donor gives away assets but keeps the income they produce for a specified period, usually his lifetime. Still another provision would require taxpayers who receive substantial income from tax-sheltered sources to disregard part of their normal charitable deductions.

Such regulations would have a severe impact on colleges, officials claim. "I know several institutions that couldn't take it," declares Leonard Buchlin, director of development at St. Lawrence University. "I don't think they would close their doors, but they would have to become public institutions."

Big Gifts

Colleges can't predict precisely how severely each of the House provisions would hurt them. But it's possible to make some estimates. The impact of the provision regarding gifts of appreciated property is indicated by a survey of 28 private colleges in Massachusetts. In a recent year, the survey found, 56% of all gifts given the institutions by individuals consisted of securities or other property, rather than cash.

Gifts of stock and other property are apparently just as important to hospitals. A profes-

Tax Bill Impact: Foundatio
For Changes in Law Pose S

sional fund raising firm reviewed the 320 campaigns it conducted for hospitals in the last 25 years and found that 45% of the $148 million raised from individuals was given in appreciated securities.

The richer the donor and the larger the gift, the more likely it will be made in appreciated securities or other property, professional fund raisers say. They regard very large gifts as vitally important. One estimates that for an institution to raise $20 million in capital funds, its campaign typically must garner at least one $5 million gift, two of $2 million, and three of $1 million. That's more than half the goal in six gifts.

Many institutions believe, in addition, that the tax changes would almost wipe out their "deferred gift" plans. "These are funds we can count on," says John Callahan, director of development at Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. College officials say these plans make it possible for moderately well-off persons to make large gifts during their lifetime. "The plans have created a whole new class of philanthropists," a tax lawyer says.

Some small colleges fear that the loss of deferred gifts would be especially hard on them. "The ability of a school of our type to get gifts outright is decreasing rapidly," says Roland C. Matthies, vice president of Wittenberg University, a church-affiliated school in Springfield, Ohio. "Our benefactors aren't wealthy enough to surrender income." He says the school currently has 134 deferred gift contracts on its books. They total some $4 million, or roughly one-third of the school's endowment.

Holding Up an Agreement

To show how deferred gifts are affected by the House bill, Mr. Callahan recalls a deferred gift plan that Amherst recently drew up for a 74-year-old retired schoolteacher. "'He came right in out of the blue," according to Mr. Callahan, "and said, 'Look, I'd like to do something for Amherst, but I need to provide income for my wife. What can we work out?' "

It turned out that the teacher owned stock now worth about $40,100 but which originally cost only $7,000. Amherst prepared an agree-

ions, Colleges Say Proposals Serious Threats to Them

ment called a "life income contract" that would give the teacher and his wife, 57, the income from the stock for as long as they lived. The stock would go into an investment pool of such gifts, which Amherst manages like a mutual fund, with each beneficiary getting his share of the pool's income. But when the House bill came along, the college felt bound to advise the teacher to hold up on the agreement.

The reason is readily apparent. Under present law, the teacher may deduct from his taxable income about $21,675, or 54% of his $40,100 of stock. That fraction is derived by a complex formula based on the stock's present value and the couple's life expectancy. Under the House bill, he could deduct only an even smaller fraction of his $7,000 cost—or less than $3,500. (Tax lawyers can't agree precisely what the bill would require.)

In addition, the House bill would make administering such an investment pool entirely impractical, college officials say. There would remain only separate trust arrangements that segregate each donor's assets. Even these would be under tighter restrictions than at present.

Like Amherst, many institutions are already feeling the impact of the House bill. "Everything has ground to a halt," says one college fund raiser. "We've virtually given up raising money. We can't do a thing until the Senate acts." Another college official says he has written several would-be donors to hold their gifts in abeyance.

Humanitarian groups, many of them church-affiliated, fear they would also find support scarcer under the House proposal because they receive many of their donations in kind.

Drug Donations Affected

Interchurch Medical Assistance, a Protestant organization, is among those disturbed by rules applying stricter tax treatment to gifts of inventories to charities. At present, corporations may make deductions from their taxable income based on the wholesale value of what they give to charity. The House bill would limit such deductions to what the goods cost the company to produce, rather than what they

normally bring at wholesale. It's estimated that this could double the out-of-pocket cost to firms of such charitable gifts.

The impact could be substantial. "We're receiving over $1 million a month in wholesale value of pharmaceuticals and hospital supplies," says the Rev. F. Floyd Freeston, an official of Interchurch until recently. He adds that some companies now say they must "rethink" their contributions in light of the House bill.

If "rethinking" means retrenchment—and it probably does—it "would really just cut the feet from under us," Rev. Freeston says. He terms the present arrangement "a real stroke of genius—the companies get the tax break and the hospitals get badly needed supplies."

The concern of colleges, church groups and other such beneficiaries over the House measure is fully matched by the concern of foundations. Probably the most publicized matter of concern to them is the plan to create an income tax on foundations, at the rate of 7½% of net investment income.

The foundations say the measure would simply mean that much less cash available for grants. "A tax on (foundations) is in effect a tax on their beneficiaries," comments J. George Harrar, president of the Rockefeller Foundation.

Many other provisions affecting foundations also cause considerable concern. One would generally require a foundation to give away its current income within two years at the most. In any case, its annual grants would have to amount to at least 5% of the value of its investment assets. (The 5% rate would apply next year; thereafter, the Treasury Department could adjust the rate in line with prevailing investment yields.)

Eating Into Assets

The provision is clearly designed to prevent foundations from letting their money pile up, rather than putting it to use in good works. But many foundations say that the 5% figure is unrealistically high and that maintaining it could force them to eat heavily into their assets. This, in turn, could eventually lead to the decline of many foundations, some observers say.

It should be noted, moreover, that not all grants would count toward the 5% quota. Gifts to other foundations, the most important example, wouldn't count unless the recipient classifies as a "private operating foundation," a new category proposed by the House bill.

To qualify as such, a foundation would have to spend substantially all its income directly on its charitable ends. Beyond that, it would

either have to devote 65% of its assets "directly" to its charitable purpose or have widely diversified sources of support. No one appears entirely sure what devoting assets "directly" to charity means, but it's generally interpreted to refer to physical assets actually used in a foundation's program, such as the colonial buildings at Williamsburg, Va. Few philanthropic causes have such assets.

Failing this, to qualify as a private operating foundation a foundation would have to get at least 85% of its support from not less than five tax-exempt sources or the general public. Further, no more than 25% could come from any single tax-exempt source. Foundation officials predict that many worthy causes would be hard pressed to meet these requirements. And with grant-making foundations under pressure to make their quota, failure to qualify as a private operating foundation could be fatal for a charitable cause.

"If you don't qualify, you're dead," one foundation executive says flatly. "Who's going to dip into their corpus to give you money?"

What Is a Foundation?

The restriction has even greater bite because the House bill would apparently define as foundations hundreds of organizations that have never considered themselves as foundations. For example, groups like Brookings, the Institute for Advanced Study and the Carnegie Institute have traditionally seen themselves as post-doctoral educational institutions, not foundations. As educational institutions they would not be compelled to qualify as private operating foundations to attract foundation grants. But as foundations, they would. (As educational institutions, they would also escape the other restrictions the bill would impose on foundations.)

The House measure would also bar almost all business transactions between a foundation and its benefactors. Present law generally requires "arm's-length standards" in such dealings, but critics say the requirement is vague and impossible to enforce. The contend, for example, that if a businessman can borrow from a foundation of which he is a benefactor whenever he wishes, he has an unfair advantage—even if the loan terms are the same as those that prevail elsewhere.

This new provision would probably fall mainly on thousands of small family foundations, many of which are closely linked to their founder's business interests. The bill creates a class of "disqualified person" that includes any donor who gives the foundation $5,000 or more in one year; the largest single donor in any

year; foundation officials; anyone who owns more than 20% of a corporation that is a substantial donor; many goverment officials; and members of families of such persons.

The ban on transactions by such persons would be backed up by stiff penalty taxes. Initially, a violator would have to pay an amount equal to 5% of the money involved in any such "self-dealing" transaction. A foundation official knowingly involved would be taxed 2½%, up to $10,000. But if the transaction weren't promptly undone, the penalties would jump to 200% and 50%, respectively.

Disposing of Stock

Another provision would also have a heavy impact on many foundations and businesses, some nationally known. It would bar a foundation and its "disqualified persons" from owning more than 20% of a corporation's voting stock among them. Foundations would have 10 years to dispose of present holdings in excess of 20% and would have to start the process within two years.

Critics of the present law say many businessmen use foundations to keep control of their companies. It's not uncommon for an entrepreneur to give his business to a foundation to avoid estate taxes, which could otherwise force the sale of the business, critics say. They also maintain that such businesses often are run to benefit their former owners, rather than the foundation's charitable ends.

A Treasury Department survey of 175 foundations with assets exceeding $10 million each found that 26% owned 20% or more of a corporation. At the end of 1966, foundations owned at least 20% of the voting stock of such major concerns as Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co., Hughes Aircraft Co., Kellogg Co., Duke Power Co., Eli Lilly & Co. and Sun Oil Co.

There seems little doubt that forced divestiture of such holdings would, among other things, tend to depress their prices considerably. The John A. Hartford Foundation, which owns 8,360,850 shares, or about 33% of A&P, would be put "in a very bad negotiating position," says Robert H. Mulreany, a trustee and counsel of Hartford. Unless granted special relief, "we would have to dispose of (the A&P stock) in a secondary offering at a discount."

In the future, if a foundation were given more than 20% of a firm's stock, it would have to dispose of the stock in excess of 20% within

five years. Many foundation officials fear that the provision would shut off the creation of new foundations of appreciable size.

William Benton, for one, says the 20% limit would completely disrupt his announced intention to leave his Encyclopaedia Britannica holdings to the Benton Foundation because the foundation would then have to sell the gift. Mr. Benton says he doesn't want to leave the Britannica company to his four children because "they are too goddam rich already. The are worth millions and millions." Nor would he have the company publicly owned. He fears that would make it too profit-oriented and less interested in disseminating knowledge for its own sake.

THE URBAN COALITION

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New Folder Washington Trips

Duplicate

WASHINGTON REPORT

printed every Friday in Washington, D. C.
by UAW Citizenship-Legislative Department

Vol. 9, No. 38 October 6, 1969

United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW

WEEKEND WRAPUP

Honeymoon gone . . . It's Harrington . . . "Fearless Five" . . . Jet set's SST . . . Sacred cows . . . TV licenses . . . Military debate . . . Railroads . . . Taxes . . . Green Berets.

If there was ever a **Nixon honeymoon,** it's now long gone. The sharp attacks and counterattacks on Nixon last week was a sign that Nixon can expect nothing but bitter criticism on his war policy. Sen. Church, a longtime dove, said "It isn't Nixon's war yet." But the feeling that we've gone over that same road again and again, is making many people inside Congress feel that President Nixon needs some harsh kibitizing. Witness Sen. Goodell—an upstate New York GOP conservative, now a dashing downstate liberal. He wears the longest sideburns in the Senate and he's for pulling out all U.S. combat troops by December 1970. Or witness the new Republican Senator from Illinois, Ralph Smith. He's against confirming Judge Haynsworth to the Supreme Court. And witness, that wisest man of all in the Senate, gentle Mike Mansfield, a former professor of Far Eastern history at the University of Montana, who knows more about Asia than anybody else in Congress. Mansfield thinks we ought to stop all shooting, shoot only when shot at, forget about killing and get out of that quagmire. Sen. McGovern thinks any American who thinks otherwise, ought to shoulder a musket and go over to Vietnam and do his own shooting, not ask any more American draftees to die in that sorry land. . . . Of course, the biggest political news last week was the election of **Mike Harrington,** a Democratic war critic, to a congressional seat which hadn't been occupied by a Democrat since the turn of the century; and he won against the vaunted Massachusetts Republican name of Saltonstall. That's three special congressional elections within a year which switched from Republican to Democrat: first Dave Obey's big upset win in Wisconsin, Melcher took Battin's seat in eastern Montana, now Harrington in Massachusetts. . . . The House of Representatives debate on the $20 billion defense military hardware and research budget was the likes of which Washington hasn't seen for a long time. Senate critics of the war and military spending have been more free-wheeling. In the House, there's been more hunkering down and giving the military the benefit of the doubt. Not anymore—**"the fearless five" on the Armed Services Committee** marched up the hill repeatedly all last week, and while they were easy targets, they won a lot of olive branches for their willingness to take on the military establishment. "The fearless five" are Congressmen Leggett of California, Congressman Pike of New York, Congressman Nedzi of Michigan, Congressman Whalen of Ohio, and Congressman Stafford of Vermont. They actually mustered 105 votes against the ABM on a teller vote. That's not much, but it was some kind of landmark for sanity in the House, where waving the bloody shirt often goes unchallenged. . . . **Millions and millions for the jet set,** but not one red cent for medical research, for schools, for libraries, for anti-pollution, and for ground transportation. That's what liberal members of Congress are saying about Nixon's decision to plunk down $600 million for the super-sonic transport (SST) at a time when many programs are starving for money. The SST will help a small fraction of the American people get back and forth to Europe faster—but it won't do a single thing for the people on the ground. . . . **Two of Washington's sacred cows** who are considered over the hill by most impartial observers are J. Edgar Hoover and Gen. Lewis Hershey. Rumors were flying last week

(Continued on page 8)

Fearless Five

Leggett

Pike

Whalen

Nedzi

Stafford

Is President Nixon working too hard?

Rep. Wayne Hays, D-Ohio, a well-known needler, suggested that President Nixon may be working too hard and should slow down.

Hays rose during a day-long House session on a multi-billion dollar military procurement bill to say he understood President Nixon has been deploring lack of action by the 91st Congress.

He then read to the House the President's officially-announced schedule of appointments.

9:00 A.M.—Group of at least six Republican senators.

12:15 P.M.—Harold Lee, an old friend who owns the Mandarin Hotel in Hong Kong.

12:30 P.M.—Aubrey M. Meyers, Pomona, Calif., Classmate at Whittier High School.

5:30 P.M.—Departs for weekend in Florida with Mrs. Nixon and White House staff members.

"I think when we adjourn late tonight we should pass a resolution asking the president to slow down," Hays said, to laughter that was generally among Democrats and scattered among Republicans. "No man can stand a pace like this very long."

". . . RAISE YOUR RIGHT HAND . . . !"

Nixon's appointee to the Supreme Court, notes Massachusetts Sen. Ed Brooke, "is not the distinguished jurist whom the country expected to be nominated." Brooke asked that Nixon withdraw his name. One of the damaging things against Judge Haynsworth, was his dabbling in stock transactions while sensitive cases were before his court. The Brunswick case is described below.

The latest conflict-of-interest revelation involving Nixon's nominee to the U.S. Supreme Court, Judge Clement Haynsworth, concerned the Brunswick Corporation. On Sept. 17 Senator Birch Bayh (D-Ind.) noted—during the Senate Judiciary Committee's hearings on Haynsworth's nomination—that the Judge listed 1,000 shares of stock in Brunswick Corporation.

Bayh questioned whether Haynsworth owned that stock in 1968 when he had voted on a case involving the corporation before the Court of Appeals. On Sept. 20 the Justice Department—in what seemed to be an attempt to soften any charges of injudicious conduct—issued a statement saying that Haynsworth, between the time of the actual decision in a case involving Brunswick Corporation and of the announcement of that decision, did indeed purchase 1,000 shares of Brunswick Corporation stock.

The implication in the statement was that since the decision had already been made, the Judge's actions were above reproach. However, as has been pointed out by various astute columnists and lawyers, an unannounced decision can always be amended or changed.

Haynsworth's answer when queried about the timing of this acquisition was that "it never entered my mind" that the Brunswick case was before him when he bought the stock.

This sort of indifference to judicial propriety we can do without on the top court of the land!

Millions for jet set, peanuts for people

'What's th' deadline for putting a low income family of six into a decent house?'

It is quite revealing of President Nixon's priorities for America that he has given the go-ahead for development of the Supersonic Transport (SST) and is determined to pour another $662 million into the program.

The SST will have absorbed about $1.3 billion—or perhaps more—before the test vehicles ever fly. That is to be the U.S. contribution. The manufacturers will provide about 10% and federal funds will be about 90%.

As the British and French have found out in their development of the Concorde airliner, final costs were far and away above projections and the Boeing SST project may follow that pattern.

In approving more government funding for the SST, Mr. Nixon said, "I want the U.S. to continue to lead the world in air transport." That is a view most share since the SST's will come, whether the U.S. builds them for the world's airlines or not.

The most pressing issue is not whether the SST's should be built, but who should pay for the building of them. And this is a philosophical point in which the Nixon administration has now come down on the side of federal subsidy.

During the campaign, Mr. Nixon said the "greatest failure" of the Johnson administration was "its disinclination, or inability to take on the hardest job in government"—the setting of priorities. He went on to assert that the budget needed exhaustive review and that some programs such as public works and the SST would have to be content with much less than maximum funding.

At this point, the SST seemed to be low on his list of priorities. Once in office, Mr. Nixon ordered cuts in school aid, in library money, in housing and other areas. He scuttled the urban mass transport trust fund and has ordered cutbacks in federal construction in the states. But he is now prepared to supply the funding so that private enterprise can continue with the project.

When the SST plan was first brought up, the government agreed to help underwrite the planning. But at that time the Vietnam war was not in full swing and making such a heavy drain on federal funds.

So there is a difference in demands on the budget, and the supposition had been that Mr. Nixon was planning to reduce the SST on his scale of priorities.

The administration had under discussion for a while a plan by which alternative financing might be had, and the SST be continued on funds derived from shareholdings or pool financing.

The aircraft, airline industries and Wall Street could easily provide the necessary funds for the SST development. And the question is: Why do they not do so if prospects for the super-sonic plane are so good?

It has long been a tenet of Republicanism that for government to do what private enterprise can do is a near socialistic heresy; that government should act only when private enterprise cannot do the job. Even so, President Eisenhower once referred to TVA as "creeping socialism." One might wonder what the general would have called subsidizing the SST—supersonic socialism?

—from The Nashville Tennessean, Sept. 27, 1969

PAGINATION INCORRECT

WEEKEND WRAPUP

(Continued from page 1)

that Hoover was looking for a replacement, but there was no sign that Hershey was going to step aside. . . . That bill to give **TV stations** a license to operate in perpetuity is a bad bill. Many station owners who get a license from the Federal Communications Commissions go high-hat and act like they personally invented TV and pocket all the money they can without the slightest regard for the viewing public. One of the few checks the public has on such aloof behavior is the ability of a challenger to invoke what the industry calls "the comparative hearing process" to call a station to account for failing to do its level best. Sen. Pastore is author of a bill which would lock up these licenses, and the bill ought to be opposed as a dangerous threat to the right of free speech. Nicholas Johnson, the FCC's great dissenter, is a constant target of big broadcasters who can't stand criticism. Much of the FCC work is done in a legal jargon which only broadcasting lawyers understand. Johnson has fired away in language which anybody can understand. If he left the FCC, the American people would have nobody who would ask tough questions of this fantastically rich $2.5 billion industry. . . . **The military spending bill** debate in the House last week was a farce. Only 3 hours were permitted to discuss the pros and cons of spending over $20 billion. The Senate spent 8 weeks debating the same bill. Such ramrodding tricks make a mockery out of the democratic process. The fault lies with magnolia-sniffing Armed Services Chairman Mendel Rivers of South Carolina. It is said if another military installation is put in Charleston, South Carolina, the whole city will sink into the Atlantic Ocean—such is Rivers power to collect pork for his constituents. The rest of the country pays and pays dearly for Rivers. But the 3 hour debate last week incensed such fair conservatives as John Anderson of Illinois and such party stalwarts as Tip O'Neill of Massachusetts. . . . The **railroad retirement bill** mentioned last week went sailing through Congress, with the railroad brotherhoods deeply divided. Railroad workers negotiate their contracts then try to get them approved by Congress. We'll have a special report soon on rail profits, rail failures, and rail prospects. . . **Nixon's tax proposals** took $1.7 billion from middle income families, according to Utah's Sen. Ted Moss, and gave $1.6 billion to big corporations. In the most partisan attack on the Nixon tax plans yet heard in Congress, the mild-mannered Moss said "Mr. Nixon's forgotten millionaires will appreciate and probably remember his efforts to emasculate the minimum income tax provision. The President has remembered those who financed his campaign rather than his rhetoric about the forgotten man." . . . **The military** has been taking a beating on many fronts these days. The Green Berets case is still a big mystery, a sergeant major stands accused of bilking his fellow soldiers, and the search-and-destroy missions in Vietnam (a replay of World War II and Korea tactics) have mired down in the jungle mud. It's been a rough decade for professional soldiers, and somebody someday will look for some scapegoats to explain these setbacks. Art Buchwald's counsel about an army made up of draftees is worth remembering. Buchwald warns that a military caste will arise from strictly volunteer soldiers. Better to have an army made up of guys who hate the army.

THE QUESTION BOX

Q: For years I have been buying products marked with seals of approval from magazines such as Good Housekeeping and Parents' Magazine, believing I was spending my money wisely by investing in these recommended items. I was therefore somewhat shocked to read somewhere recently that these seals do not guarantee the safety of a product. Can you give any further information on this to a very disgruntled housewife?

—Mrs. L. K., Cleveland, Ohio

A: It has only been within the past year that public attention has been drawn to the fact that these so-called "seals of approval" are not what everyone has thought they were. The man primarily responsible for bringing this to the forefront is Rep. Rosenthal (D-N.Y.)—known for his crusades on behalf of consumers—who has charged that these seals are given to the products of those companies because they advertise in those magazines. Rosenthal has said, "The seals have no public interest value and are of little value or no benefit to anyone except advertisers." He noted that 12 products advertised in Good Housekeeping have been or are currently under investigation by the Federal Trade Comstatutes." Also, Mrs. Bess Myerson Grant, New York's Commissioner of Consumer Affairs, recently accused both magazines of trying to double-cross consumers with these seals since they imply product safety yet do not have the backing of any independent or government standards of safety. More will be heard on the subject when the National Commission on Product Safety completes its hearings and submits its report to the Congress next year.

(Readers of UAW Washington Report are invited to write in questions about legislative and political matters which may have been obscured or overlooked in the commercial media).

UAW WASHINGTON REPORT
printed every Friday in Washington, D. C. by UAW Citizenship-Legislative Department
Walter P. Reuther, *Chairman*
William H. Dodds, *Director*
Frank Wallick, *Managing Editor*
United Automobile, Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, UAW
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THIS WEEK

Letters from home will decide how much tax reform we get.

NEWSPAPER

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Tax Reform Bill: Exchanging Old Inequities for New?

By RAYMOND J. SAULNIER

This proposed legislation is so long (368 pages), so complex (26 major sections with 63 subsections) and so deeply affected by loophole emotionalism that there is a danger of it being enacted without an adequate evaluation of its potential overall effects. Yet it should be clear even to a casual reader of press summaries that, as it is found in H.R.13270, the Tax Reform Act of 1969 would be seriously counterproductive.

Specifically, the bill would impair the nation's capability for achieving vigorous economic growth by a number of provisions that would reduce incentives to save and invest, including the proposed treatment of capital gains and the reduction of incentives to invest in real estate and in minerals resources. It would further inhibit growth by reducing—in some cases eliminating altogether—ways in which business concerns reward management achievement under present tax law. And the balance of its revenue effect, which would become increasingly negative between 1970 and 1972, would favor consumption at the expense of investment, thereby weakening Government efforts to overcome inflation as well as impeding economic growth.

Dr. Saulnier, professor of economics at Columbia University's Barnard College, headed the Council of Economic Advisers during the Eisenhower Administration. This article is condensed from a memorandum prepared for presentation to the Senate Finance Committee.

In addition, H.R.13270 would have a number of unfortunate effects on the structure of American institutions. It would impair the ability of state and local governments to finance public facilities independently and, in so doing, weaken their position in our present governmental structure. It would seriously impair the ability of private nonprofit institutions—colleges and universities, museums, hospitals, etc.—to obtain the private gifts on which they rely heavily.

In doing all this, and more, some of the bill's major provisions offend one's sensibility by:

- being in a number of instances seriously, unnecessarily and punitively retroactive;
- violating the long-respected distinction between capital and income in their treatment by the tax laws;
- deviating from the established principle of taxing income when it is actually received;
- deleting a whole series of still valid and justifiable incentives on the ground, apparently, that yesterday's incentive is today's loophole.

The justification for this wholesale rewriting of the tax code is that a small group of individuals in the $200,000-and-over income bracket — 154 in number — had no Federal tax liability in 1966. Whatever the merits of the case against these individuals, it must be recognized that they represent only one percent of the taxpayers in this income class. Yet in order to reach 154 individuals H.R. 13270 would adversely affect the tax status of hundreds of thousands of taxpayers, corporate as well as individual.

lower level than the tax on current income; and (v) that a capital gains tax is levied, in any case, against an increase in principal value which, the world being what it is, is typically a result largely of inflation.

No tax code can deal severely with investment gains without discouraging the investment process itself, either by lowering potential return or limiting liquidity, or both—and to discourage investment is to inhibit growth and everything that growth means for the creation of jobs and the enhancement of well-being for everyone. Yet H.R.13270 would make present taxation of capital gains more severe by:

a) extending the holding period required to distinguish between capital gain and income from ordinary transactions from six months to one year;

b) eliminating the alternative tax rate for long-term capital gains, thus raising the upper limit of the effective tax on such gains for taxpayers with a marginal tax rate above 50% from the present 27% (including surtax) to 38½% or by 40%;

c) raising the alternative rate for corporate taxpayers to 33% (including surtax) from the present 27½%; and

d) permitting only 50% of an individual's net long-term capital losses to be offset against ordinary income, up to the $1,000 limitation, in place of the full deductibility presently allowed.

Minerals Industries

One of the most capital-intensive and risk-affected industries in the United States—oil, gas and other mineral resources—would be dealt with especially severely by H.R.13270. Apart from the adverse effect on these industries from repeal of the investment tax credit and the heavier taxation of capital gains, the proposed legislation—in the case of oil and gas—would (i) reduce percentage depletion allowances from 27½% to 20% on domestic properties; (ii) eliminate depletion allowances altogether on overseas properties; and (iii) treat production payments as loans.

Among the likely effects of these proposals are the following:

a) the cost to U.S. companies of oil development would be increased substantially and, if there is anything at all to the shifting of taxes (and there must be in this case, since the profitability of oil companies in 1968 was only about the same as that of manufacturing concerns generally), the cost of gasoline at the local gas pump would be increased;

b) The cost to U.S. companies of oil development conducted overseas would be increased: (i) in all probability without increasing U.S. tax revenues; (ii) with predictably adverse effects on the strategical position of the United States in world affairs; and (iii) with adverse effects, certainly in any longterm perspective, on the U.S. balance of international payments; and

c) with a lower after-tax cash flow, oil producing companies would need to depend more heavily on external financing for oil development, a necessity that would be felt most severely by individual developers and small companies.

Management Incentives

The opportunity to reward a business executive for making a success of a company's affairs cannot possibly be anything but constructive in promoting economic growth. In this respect, the proposed 50% upper limit on taxation of earned income moves in the right direction; on the other hand, those provisions of H.R. 13270 that would limit opportunities to provide rewards other than by current income would be an obstacle to growth. Specifically, this criticism applies to:

a) the bill's treatment of deferred compensation payments, a type of forward income-averaging which, under these proposals, would be taxed not at the rate applicable to the taxpayer in the year the income was actually received but at a rate calculated, ex post, as what would have been applicable in the years in which the income was earned;

b) allowing the deduction of interest only to the extent of investment income and long-term capital gain (plus $25,000) for the acquisition of stock (for example) under a stock option program, even though the interest is a cost incurred to make an investment, the income and capital gain from which (if there is any) will be taxable in due course;

c) taxing as compensation the value of stock received in lieu of salary under restricted stock plans (except where the employe's interest is subject to substantial risk of forfeiture) despite the fact that in many instances the stock continues under restriction which prevents its sale to raise funds to pay the tax.

Municipal Securities

H.R.13270 would reduce the tax exemption accorded interest paid on state and local government securities (municipals), an exemption going back to the introduction in 1913 of the Federal income tax and grounded in Constitutional considerations, by:

a) allowing an individual to count as tax preference income (in the limited tax preference rule) an amount not to exceed 50% of total income (adjusted gross income plus tax preference income) regardless of the actual proportion of taxable to nontaxable income, thus treating some tax-exempt income as taxable;

b) requiring that deductions be allocated to nontaxable income (in the allocation of deductions rule) in the proportion of nontaxable income to total income, thus making some part of the deductions ineffective in the role for which they were originally granted.

Also, the bill would further restrict the availability and raise the cost of municipal debt financing by:

c) making capital gains on debt securities held by financial institutions taxable at the income tax rate rather than (as now) at the capital gains rate.

Having thus taken away with one hand at least part of the tax exemption explicitly offered with the other, and having reduced the incentive for financial institutions to continue investing in municipals (commercial banks hold nearly 40% of the outstanding supply), the bill then says that if a state or local government chooses to finance on a taxable basis the Federal Treasury will provide a subsidy calculated to offset the higher cost of borrowing without benefit of tax exemption.

To the extent that an erosion of the tax-exemption privilege induces the state and local governments to elect the alternative of issuing taxable securities, the proposed legislation will require the Federal Government to undertake a new and conceivably large and growing function in administering interest rate subventions.

Charitable Contributions

Finally, there are the provisions of H.R.13270 that would significantly alter the balance of private vs. government effort in various sectors of our society. It would do this by hampering the gift-raising capability of private nonprofit institutions on which every community in the nation, in one way or another, depends heavily for educational, cultural, medical and other facilities. It is especially serious that this would be done at a time when these

which they rely heavily.

In doing all this, and more, some of the bill's major provisions offend one's sensibility by:

- being in a number of instances seriously, unnecessarily and punitively retroactive;
- violating the long-respected distinction between capital and income in their treatment by the tax laws;
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- deleting a whole series of still valid and justifiable incentives on the ground, apparently, that yesterday's incentive is today's loophole.

The justification for this wholesale rewriting of the tax code is that a small group of individuals in the $200,000-and-over income bracket — 154 in number — had no Federal tax liability in 1966. Whatever the merits of the case against these individuals, it must be recognized that they represent only one percent of the taxpayers in this income class. Yet in order to reach 154 individuals H.R. 13270 would adversely affect the tax status of hundreds of thousands of taxpayers, corporate as well as individual.

As for the 154, how much Federal tax they paid in other years is typically overlooked, as is the taxes they paid over the years to state and local government. Typically, no account is taken of the income these individuals chose to forgo in achieving tax exemption, nor the amount of capital or income they gave away.

The fact that many provisions are not commented on here is not to be construed as meaning anything, one way or the other, pro or con, with respect to their specific merits. Limitations of space, time and energy have required concentration on only a few of the bill's major provisions.

Investment Credit

Permanent repeal of the investment tax credit, as H.R.13270 proposes, would remove an incentive to capital expansion and improvement that from its inception has been a constructive provision of the tax code. There may be abuses here and, if so, they should be corrected, but not by the wildest stretch of the imagination can the investment credit be regarded as a loophole in any meaningful sense. Its permanent repeal would have to be regarded as a blow at the ordinary, everyday business of improving the nation's productive plant.

Certainly, if this provision is enacted the Congress should find some means—presumably through depreciation liberalization—to make the volume of investible funds generated internally by businesses more nearly consistent with what is required for capital investment. Otherwise, the productivity and international competitiveness of American industry will suffer a damaging setback.

Real Estate

Despite the well-known tendency for investment in new construction (notably, new residential construction) to lag behind other types of investment, and despite the widely recognized and increasingly critical shortage of residential facilities, H.R.13270 would reduce certain incentives which Congress on earlier occasions deliberately incorporated into the tax law to encourage construction and rehabilitation of real property.

The proposals—which treat accelerated depreciation as if it were a device for nonpayment of taxes rather than a deliberate, Congressionally designated arrangement for the deferral of taxes—are almost certainly destined to result in (i) a smaller increase in total housing supply than would be produced by wider availability of faster depreciation; (ii) a reduced availability of housing for low-and middle-income families; (iii) inadequate nonresidential facilities needed for a balanced total neighborhood environment; (iv) less rehabilitation of existing housing, further limiting total supply; and (v) increased rents. There must be a way to prevent the tax-shelter uses of real estate—by what must be a very limited number of individuals—without these adverse and untimely effects on the whole construction and real estate industry.

Capital Gains

It is a long established feature of tax law everywhere to tax capital gains less heavily than current income. In so doing, legislators have had in mind that if there is a gain from capital in terms of appreciation of principal value, it is (i) a gain from investment of income already taxed to the individual before it could be saved and invested; (ii) that it often reflects, in whole or in part, the plowback of undistributed profits already taxed to the corporation; (iii) that the income from capital is also fully taxed as received; (iv) that capital gains are built up over time—frequently over a long time—and, with tax rates typically rising, an equitable and proper averaging process should put the capital gains tax at a

ances altogether on overseas properties; and (iii) treat production payments as loans.

Among the likely effects of these proposals are the following:

a) the cost to U.S. companies of oil develop-

b) allowing the deduction of interest only to the extent of investment income and long-term capital gain (plus $25,000) for the acquisition of stock (for example) under a stock option program, even though the in-

[redacted]

fered with the other, and having reduced the incentive for financial institutions to continue investing in municipals (commercial banks hold nearly 40% of the outstanding supply), the bill then says that if a state or local government chooses to finance on a taxable basis the Federal Treasury will provide a subsidy calculated to offset the higher cost of borrowing without benefit of tax exemption.

To the extent that an erosion of the tax-exemption privilege induces the state and local governments to elect the alternative of issuing taxable securities, the proposed legislation will require the Federal Government to undertake a new and conceivably large and growing function in administering interest rate subventions.

Charitable Contributions

Finally, there are the provisions of H.R.13270 that would significantly alter the balance of private vs. government effort in various sectors of our society. It would do this by hampering the gift-raising capability of private nonprofit institutions on which every community in the nation, in one way or another, depends heavily for educational, cultural, medical and other facilities. It is especially serious that this would be done at a time when these institutions, with few exceptions, are operating under increasingly serious financial difficulties and when demands on them by the community are heavier than ever before.

The proposed increase from 30% to 50% in the general limitation on an individual's charitable contribution deduction would be a constructive and important change, but in a number of other provisions H.R.13270 would be so technically complicated and so severe in its treatment of acts of charity and philanthropy that prospective donors would likely withdraw in bafflement if not in anguish as fund-raising personnel attempt to explain the tax implications of prospective gifts. Features of the proposed legislation that would make life more difficult for gift-supported institutions include:

a) eliminating the unlimited charitable contribution deduction now available to donors, thus making it more difficult to obtain the large gifts that frequently are the events that make a success of ambitious fund-raising programs;

b) treating as taxable the appreciation (unrealized, at that) of charitable contributions of appreciated property;

c) placing what appear to be severe limitations on the deduction available to donors in charitable remainder trusts, and charitable income trusts the remainder of which goes to a beneficiary other than a charity.

Nothing said above is meant to disparage in the least the importance of efforts to check genuine abuses of the present tax code. No one can make a case for retreating from that task. The point is we must be sure that in the cleaning-up process there is no exchange of new inequities for old ones.

We need a tax code that is fair and equitable. But we also need a code that bolsters incentive to work, to save, to invest, to take risks (and heavy risks at that) and a code that will have the kind of effect on the institutional structure of our country—the place of private enterprise in the production process, the balance of state and local vs. Federal power, and the role of private nonprofit, gift-supported institutions—that will strengthen not weaken the democratic qualities in American life.

Wash Trip.

Capitol Hill

Senate shapes tax bill under threat of veto

Within the week, the Senate Finance Committee will have finished its alterations of the House-passed tax reform bill. But ahead will be the hurdles of the Senate floor and the inevitable bartering of a conference committee. And hovering over all is the threat of a Presidential veto.

President Nixon raised the possibility of a veto several weeks ago when he told a press conference he would oppose "a revenue shortfall that is more than I believe the nation can stand." Now Administration spokesmen have picked up the warning, and have privately set the limits at around the $2.4-billion revenue loss the House-passed version of tax reform would cost.

The crucial decisions for the Senate Finance Committee will come in the next seven days. Chairman Russell Long (D-La.) will carefully postpone discussion of rate relief for low- and middle-income taxpayers until the committee has acted on areas singled out by the House to produce big chunks of new revenue: utilities depreciation, foundations, and—the matter uppermost in Long's mind—oil depletion allowances.

A challenge. But Long has already answered the President's warning with what amounts to a challenge. He predicts that even at this point it looks as if his panel will report out a bill that "will lose more money than the House bill." Long added: "But in my judgment, it will not be a bill that the President will veto. It will be the sort of share-the-wealth thing that I like. It will relieve business of several billions of dollars and redistribute it to the poor and to labor."

Russell Long has already answered Nixon's warning with what amounts to a challenge

So far, Long's committee has clamped down on multiple corporation tax breaks, tightened real estate depreciation, restored the 70% maximum income tax that the House cut to 50%, liberalized moving expense deductions, and tightened medicare reporting rules to curb excessive physicians' fees.

But the bulk of the committee's effort has taken on a distinctly pro-business coloration. This has included: deleting the House plans to tax state and local government bonds, watering down House tax increases and restrictions on hobby farms and farm cooperatives, restoring to six months the House's one-year holding period for capital gains tax breaks, amending the investment credit repeal to exclude railroad rolling stock and some aircraft builders, and reducing commercial bank tax rates.

The contest. Even with the Republican members of the committee off on separate crusades for their own tax pets, Long is firmly in control. He is expected by most observers to shape the bill so as to be in a strong bargaining position on the still potent oil-tax question. Nixon knows this, and his veto threat is seen as an attempt to have a voice when the conference committee meets to hammer out the final version.

Even so, skeptics on Capitol Hill point to a number of factors that make a Nixon veto—or the threat of one—a risky undertaking. One factor is Nixon's motive for the veto warning itself. The President is clearly worried that without at least some modest oil depletion reform, any bill passed by the Senate would be open to public criticism. He also worries that Long is well on his way to altering and adding so much to the bill that it could sink, carrying oil depletion cuts and a choice plank of the Nixon campaign record along with it. The warning is clear to Long: The President wants a bill reported out of the Finance Committee that can be repaired and shaped to Nixon standards—or else.

There is also a tactical twist to go with the warning—the White House has chosen to make its grab for control of the bill in the joint conference committee rather than on the Senate floor. Political power is a factor here, since Senate Republicans have shown no active interest in pushing the White House tax reform line in floor debate. The conference committee would bring together again the combination of House Ways & Means chairman Wilbur Mills, Representative John Byrnes (R-Wis.) and his faithful sidekick Representative James Utt (R-Calif.). This triumvirate swayed much of the house bill to their tastes. These three plus Representative John Watts (D-Ky.), who will also be in the House delegation, voted repeatedly for less stringent oil depletion cuts, and they will be in a firm position to bargain with Long and to listen to the White House at the same time.

But Nixon could stub his toe badly by both stalling for time and by raising the veto threat. It could give Long an escape route. He could overload the bill's taxpayer relief sections with the assurance that Nixon would have to take the blame of vetoing the measure if it gets out of hand.

Mansfield's role. What happens to tax reform after it leaves the Senate panel will depend on two other imponderables—Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.), and the nation's economy, which could change its course dramatically in the next few months. Mansfield has been holding as hostage—until Long reports out a tax reform bill—such Nixon "must" legislation as the extension of the 5% surtax through June, and the repeal of the 7% investment tax credit.

Mansfield said last week that the debate over tax reform "could take several weeks." The debate could be interrupted by the squabble over Supreme Court nominee Clement Haynsworth, and a number of pressing appropriations bills. Meanwhile, Senate Democrats are paying close attention to the economic weathervane to decide whether or not they should approve the unpopular income and excise tax extensions.

But Mansfield may well wind up with a hostage no one wants to ransom. If the Senate should reject or even postpone the tax extensions, two things would happen: The Nixon anti-inflation drive would be blunted, and the extra revenues which were to have financed a major part of early tax relief measures would be gone. Here again the threat of Presidential veto would boomerang, and the White House rather than Mansfield would be under pressure for risking the package.

How the Senate Finance Committee is reforming the House tax reform bill

	Annual impact on revenues Millions of dollars
Real estate: tighter rules on depreciation	+$1,300
Maximum income tax: retaining present 70% rate, instead of 50%	+200
Medicare: requiring hospitals to report payments to physicians	+1,000
Tax-exempt bonds: continuing exemption for state and local government issues	−1,800
Deferred compensation: eliminating House-proposed tax	−150
Capital gains: retaining present holding period, instead of lengthening it	−15
7% investment credit: exempting railroads, aircraft makers, and shipbuilders from repeal	−100

Weekly Trip — ~~VA~~ PA

AFL-CIO News 11/1/69

The Plague

Senate Panel Reopens Loopholes in Tax Bill

The Senate Finance Committee has restored what a House tax bill proposed eliminating—hundreds of millions of dollars in tax loopholes for businesses, banks and millionaires.

Having completed its work on the loophole-closing sections of the House bill, the committee turned its attention to the measure's tax relief sections.

Although no exact figures were immediately available, one calculation showed the committee stripped more than $500 million in proposed annual new revenue from the House bill.

More important than the amount, however, was the fact that the reduced revenue was the result of the committee's weakening of sections dealing with capital gains, the oil industry, banks and stock market investors.

The AFL-CIO had called for strengthening the House bill. But the Senate committee's actions reflected the influence of what AFL-CIO Legislative Dir. Andrew J. Biemiller termed "an army of special interest lobbyists."

The Wall Street Journal reported that "some committee sources contend that these lobbyists have, in effect, written the main sections of the bill applying to them."

Most of the loss of revenue from the House bill comes from the Senate panel's watering down of a stiffer capital gains tax, restoration of tax-exempt interest on municipal bonds, a smaller cut in the tax-free oil depletion allowance, and continuation of a padded "bad debt" tax-free reserve for banks.

On the plus side, the committee kept the maximum tax rate where it now is instead of reducing it to 50 percent as the House proposed.

The committee also rejected a House provision that would have extended present "income-averaging" to capital gains, wagering and gift income; and it improved a minimum tax provision in the House bill. Both committee actions will increase revenue and are similar to recommendations made previously by the AFL-CIO.

The committee also made changes in House provisions covering foundations. It substituted a one-fifth of 1 percent tax on a foundation's assets for a House-proposed 7.5 percent tax on investment income. It placed a 40-year limit on the life of foundations which pass out money grants rather than operate specific charitable or health programs.

Washington Trip

Public Response Needed:

Special Interest Lobbies Attack Tax Reform Measure in Senate

MANY KEY REFORMS of the House-passed tax measure now before the Senate Finance Committee are being wrecked or weakened by special interest lobbyists, labor economist Nat Goldfinger charged.

"The oil people, the Wall Street investment houses and others are on Capitol Hill in droves these days, working to preserve their own special loopholes," declared Goldfinger, director of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Research.

"The members of the U.S. Senate have to hear from not only trade union members, but from the general public back home, too," he stressed.

Questioned by reporters on the network radio interview, Labor News Conference, Goldfinger said that tax-free state and municipal bonds, oil depletion allowances and the capital gains loophole are among the areas where major reform is needed to head off loss of public confidence in the federal tax structure.

Goldfinger agreed with the revelation made on the broadcast that the oft-cited figure of 155 "zero taxpayers with adjusted gross income of over $200,000 is grossly understated." He pointed out that since much of the exempt income is not even listed on tax returns, "$20 billion . . . or maybe quite a bit more . . . is not reported at all."

EXEMPTION OF INTEREST payments on state and local bonds is "a key loophole of special privilege for wealthy families and the banks," he asserted. He labeled as "shameful," the Senate committee's restoration of the tax-free status that the House-passed bill would end.

"The oil industry," Goldfinger declared, "should be treated like any other, in terms of the right to depreciate their property—it should not be given the special privilege of depletion allowances." He said that the AFL-CIO is "willing to support, as the first step" toward eventual elimination of the loophole, reduction of the present 27 percent allowance to 20 percent.

AFL-CIO News 11-7-69

SPECIAL INTEREST LOBBYISTS are sinking or weakening many of the key reforms in the House-passed tax bill now before the Senate Finance Committee, AFL-CIO Research Dir. Nat Goldfinger, center, warned on Labor News Conference, broadcast Tuesdays at 7:35 p.m., EST, on Mutual radio. Questioning him were Eileen Shanahan of the New York Times and Lee Cohn of the Washington Evening Star.

Wash Trip

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Black

Clear copy Onion Skin

November 10, 1969

FLUORESCENT

Mr. Lane Kirkland
Secretary-Treasurer
AFL-CIO News
815 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Lane:

I have just finished reading the November 8 issue of AFL-CIO News, which included an article by David L. Perlman on the final action of the Senate Finance Committee on the Tax Reform Bill. I was appalled to find that there was absolutely no reference to the Committee's vote by 13 to 4 to prohibit foundations from making grants for voter registration drives. The effect of this racist and punitive legislation will be disastrous to black participation in the political process, especially in the South where most of the foundation funds for voter registration have been spent. Indeed the involvement of blacks in the Northern political process is also seriously affected.

AFL-CIO has for many years been our friend and partner in trying to involve black people in the political process, which makes it all the more regrettable that in the reporting of the Finance Committee's actions, AFL-CIO News failed to mention this drastic action.

In our efforts to defeat the prohibition against foundation funds for voter registration drives it is our hope that we would have your wholehearted support and

cooperation as in the past. And, also hopefully, a line or two in the AFL-CIO News apprising your membership of the seriousness of the problem. To that end, I am enclosing a statement released in Washington last week.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

cc: Messrs. Al Kehrer
Don Slaiman
Emory Via
D. L. Perlman
A. B. Miller

Wash Trip
p 3 esp.

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ROY WILKINS, Chairman
ARNOLD ARONSON, Secretary
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., Counsel
BAYARD RUSTIN, Executive Committee Chairman
CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, Legislative Chairman
JAMES HAMILTON, Compliance & Enforcement Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN, Director Washington Office
J. FRANCIS POHLHAUS, Special Consultant
YVONNE PRICE, Executive Assistant

2027 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 phone **667-1780** • New York address: 55 West 42nd St., New York 10036, phone 564-3450

MEMO: No. 18-69
November 13, 1969

TO: Participating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

A CALL TO ACTION ON ANTI-POVERTY, VOTING RIGHTS AND EQUAL EMPLOYMENT

Congress has begun to move in three areas of vital concern to the Leadership Conference - the Anti-Poverty Bill has cleared committee; the Voting Rights Act needs support in an attempt to bring it to the House floor; the bill to strengthen the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission is under closed-door consideration on the Senate side. This MEMO tells where these three bills are and what can be done to support them.

House Anti-Poverty Bill A Good One, Too

In a swift and surprising move, the House Education and Labor Committee last week voted out the Anti-Poverty Bill (H.R. 12321). The Committee's report on the bill may be filed early next week and the bill may come before the House Rules Committee soon after.

On the whole, the Committee measure, like the bill (S.3016) the full Senate approved on October 14, is a reasonably good one. It improves on the Senate bill in one very important respect: it does not contain the "Murphy Amendment" - the provision added on the Senate floor by Senator George Murphy (R., Calif.) that gives a state governor veto power over all or part of a Legal Services Program (see MEMO: 17-69, Nov. 5, 1969).

Less Money Than The Senate

The authorizations in the House Committee bill exceed the Administration's request by $295 million. The Senate authorized $584.2 million more than the Administration asked for.

Of the extra money in the House bill, $40 million would go for Job Corps and work and training programs, and $225 million for Community Action Programs -- Head Start, Legal Services, Health and Food programs and the like.

Both bills would extend the life of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) another two years.

PARTICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH
ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA SORORITY, INC.
ALPHA PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY, INC.
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS & BUTCHER WORKMEN
AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION — DIVISION OF SOCIAL CONCERN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR — CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF STATE COUNTY & MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
AMERICAN GI FORUM
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD
AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE
AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH INSTITUTE
B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN - BRETHREN SERVICE COMMISSION
CHURCH WOMEN UNITED
CITIZENS LOBBY FOR FREEDOM & FAIR PLAY
COLLEGE YCS NATIONAL STAFF
COMMITTEE FOR COMMUNITY AFFAIRS
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY
EPISCOPAL CHURCH—DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP
EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY
FRANCISCAN SOCIAL ACTION TEAM
FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL LEGISLATION
FRONTIERS INTERNATIONAL
HADASSAH
HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES AND BARTENDERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
IMPROVED BENEVOLENT & PROTECTIVE ORDER OF ELKS OF THE WORLD
INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT — AFL-CIO
INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS' UNION OF AMERICA
INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL RADIO & MACHINE WORKERS
IOTA PHI LAMBDA SORORITY, INC.
JAPANESE AMERICAN CITIZENS LEAGUE
JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE
JEWISH WAR VETERANS
LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES
LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA — BOARD OF SOCIAL MINISTRY
LUTHERAN HUMAN RELATIONS ASSOCIATION
MEDICAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL & FEDERAL EMPLOYEES
NATIONAL ALLIANCE OF POSTAL & FEDERAL EMPLOYEES — NATIONAL WOMEN'S AUXILIARY
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FOR SOCIAL POLICY & DEVELOPMENT, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGE WOMEN
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MARKET DEVELOPERS
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO BUSINESS & PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF REAL ESTATE BROKERS, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS
NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, U. S. A.
NATIONAL BAR ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL BEAUTY CULTURISTS' LEAGUE, INC.
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
NATIONAL CATHOLIC SOCIAL ACTION CONFERENCE
NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC MEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES—DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL JUSTICE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF PUERTO RICAN VOLUNTEERS, INC.
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SENIOR CITIZENS, INC.
NATIONAL DENTAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL FARMERS UNION
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS & NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS
NATIONAL FEDERATION OF TEMPLE SISTERHOODS
NATIONAL JEWISH WELFARE BOARD
NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MEXICAN-AMERICAN SERVICES
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR WOMEN
NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL
OIL, CHEMICAL & ATOMIC WORKERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
OMEGA PSI PHI FRATERNITY, INC.
PHI BETA SIGMA FRATERNITY, INC.
PHI DELTA KAPPA SORORITY
PIONEER WOMEN, AMERICAN AFFAIRS
POALE ZION
PRESBYTERIAN INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
RETAIL WHOLESALE & DEPARTMENT STORE UNION
SCHOLARSHIP, EDUCATION & DEFENSE FUND FOR RACIAL EQUALITY, INC.
SOUTHERN BEAUTY CONGRESS, INC.
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION — COMMISSION ON RELIGION & RACE
UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST WOMEN'S FEDERATION
UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST — COMMITTEE FOR RACIAL JUSTICE NOW
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST — COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION
UNITED FARM WORKERS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE
UNITED HEBREW TRADES
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH — COMMISSION ON RELIGION & RACE
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH — OFFICE OF CHURCH & SOCIETY
UNITED RUBBER WORKERS
U. S. CATHOLIC CONFERENCE — DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION
UNITED STATES YOUTH COUNCIL
UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA
UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE & FREEDOM
WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, NATIONAL BOARD
YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF THE USA, NATIONAL BOARD
ZETA PHI BETA SORORITY

The Dangers Ahead

Liberals in the House Education and Labor Committee, led by the Chairman Carl Perkins (D., Ky.) were able to hold the anti-poverty bill against crippling and weakening amendments. That will be harder to do once the bill hits the floor. It is almost certain that attempts will be made to add the Murphy restraint on Legal Services; to cut back on the extra funds; and to weaken OEO by giving more power over its programsto the states. There may also be the usual attempts to shift some of OEO's best programs to other Federal agencies.

What We Can Do

The Committee bill is as good a measure as we can get in the House. We must try and hold it against all attempts to weaken it.

You and your organizations can help by:

1. Writing those House members you feel you can reach, urging them to be present when the bill comes up, and

2. Urging them to vote against all weakening amendments, particularly those that would cripple the Legal Services program and strip OEO of power and funds.

VOTING RIGHTS BILL READY FOR RULES COMMITTEE ACTION

The bill (H.R. 4249) to extend the protections of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 for another five years beyond their expiration date of August 6, 1970, is now stuck in the House Rules Committee. Its chairman, William M. Colmer (D., Miss.) true to an old Southern tradition, is trying to keep it bottled up.

On Tuesday, November 18, the Committee will meet and an attempt will be made to dislodge the bill and get it reported to the floor. You can help by visiting friendly committee members, wiring and writing them, urging them to be present on the 18th and join the move to move the bill.

Here are the Committee members, other than Mr. Colmer:

Democrats: Ray J. Madden (Ind.), James J. Delaney (N.Y.), Richard Bolling (Mo.), Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr. (Mass.), B. F. Sisk (Calif), John Young (Tex.), Claude Pepper (Fla.), Spark M. Matsunaga (Hawaii), William R. Anderson (Tenn.).

Republicans: H. Allen Smith (Calif.), John B. Anderson (Ill.), Dave Martin (Neb.) James H. Quillen (Tenn.), and Delbert L. Latta (Ohio)

Letters can be sent, c/o U. S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515.

A SENATE MOVE TO STRENGTHEN EEOC

The Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee is expected to meet in closed session within a week or so to consider marking up S. 2453, a bill to strengthen the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission principally by giving it the power to issue cease and desist orders against violators.

At the last meeting of the Washington representatives to the Leadership Conference, it was agreed to reaffirm our support of the bill without any changes.

Clarence Mitchell, Chairman of the Conference's Legislative Committee, reported that attempts are being made to strip from the bill provisions that would transfer the Office of Federal Contract Compliance to the EEOC and would give EEOC jurisdiction over discrimination in Federal employment.

Mr. Mitchell sent the following telegram to all members of the Committee: LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS REPRESENTATIVES, MEETING FRIDAY, OCTOBER 31, WERE GREATLY CONCERNED AT REPORTS OF EFFORTS TO DELETE FROM S. 2453, THE EEOC BILL, THOSE PROVISIONS THAT WOULD TRANSFER OFCC FUNCTIONS TO EEOC AND GIVE THE COMMISSION JURISDICTION OVER DISCRIMINATION IN FEDERAL AGENCIES. ACCORDINGLY, WE UNANIMOUSLY REAFFIRM THE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE'S POSITION THAT EEOC SHOULD HAVE JURISDICTION OVER OFCC FUNCTIONS AND PROBLEMS OF DISCRIMINATION IN FEDERAL AGENCIES. WE URGE YOU TO SUPPORT S. 2453 IN ITS PRESENT FORM AND TO INSIST UPON THE INCLUSION OF THE OFCC COVERAGE AND FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT PROVISIONS.

Conference groups can help by sending their own wires. Committee members are:

Democrats: Harrison Williams, Jr. (N.J.), Jennings Randolph (W. Va.), Claiborne Pell (R.I.), Edward M. Kennedy (Mass.), Gaylord Nelson (Minn.), Walter F. Mondale (Wisc.), Thomas F. Eagleton (Mo.), and Alan Cranston (Calif.)

Republicans: Jacob K. Javits (N. Y.), Winston L. Prouty (Vt.), Richard S. Schweiker (Pa.), William B. Saxbe (O.), and Ralph Smith (Ill.)

A BLOW TO VOTER REGISTRATION DRIVES

In the name of tax reform, the Senate Finance Committee has dealt a devastating blow to private foundation support of voter education and registration drives.

The House-passed bill (H.R. 13270) was hard enough on voting. It would restrict foundation grants to voter registration and education programs which cover five or more states and whose support comes from five or more tax exempt organizations, with not more than 25 per cent coming from any one organization. The programs of the Southern Regional Council and the League of Women Voters were specifically mentioned in the House report as the kind that would still be eligible for grants. Worthwhile programs that do not encompass five states would be excluded from such assistance.

The Senate Finance Committee has deleted from the bill that portion that would allow any private foundation funds to be used for voter registration drives. Even a group like the Southern Regional Council would no longer qualify for aid. Programs that helped add hundreds of new Negro voters to the rolls will no longer be supported.

In a telegram of protest to members of the Senate Finance Committee, the National Board of the YWCA put the issue squarely: "This action discriminates against black and other minority people who need assistance in assuming the obligation of citizenship. By nullifying broad-based citizen efforts in voter education we are strongly convinced this provision will further erode confidence that our democratic system works for the benefit of all."

What You Can Do

There are many provisions in this complex bill that are of particular concern to Leadership Conference organizations. We hope all organizations will

write their Senators to change this flat prohibition on support for campaigns to extend the right to vote. The Tax Reform Bill is expected to be taken up when the Senate finishes with the debate on the Haynsworth nomination.

A MILLION MORE FOR FAIR HOUSING ENFORCEMENT

The Senate Appropriations Committee on November 6 reported out an appropriations bill for the Department of Housing and Urban Development that includes $6 million for enforcement of the fair housing law in Fiscal Year 1970. That is one million more than the House approved. The Administration asked for $8 million. Any attempt to increase the appropriation further will have to be made on the Senate floor.

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Top D.C. Folder

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1969

Group Says Tax Bill Perils Black Vote

By JAMES T. WOOTEN
Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Nov. 18—An organization instrumental in registering more than a million Negro voters is fighting for its life against legislative attempts to end its seven-year existence.

The Voter Education Project, largest group of its kind in the nation, would be penniless and impotent if a proposed ban on foundation support of its activities becomes law as part of a Senate tax reform bill.

The ban, which was inserted in the House version of the bill by the Senate Finance Committee, was described by the organization's spokesmen as a "blatantly defensive maneuver by Southern Senators who are disturbed and frightened by the growing black vote."

Vernon E. Jordan Jr., director of the organization, has called the committee's provision "punitive" and "racist in its effect."

'Black Voter Depletion'

Marvin Wall, research director for the organization, described the provision yesterday as "a black voter depletion allowance," an apparent jibe at the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, Senator Russel B. Long, Democrat of Louisiana, who has actively opposed the reduction of oil depletion allowances.

"This is an emasculation of the V.E.P. and the token progress made in the past few years," John Morris, an executive of the group complained yesterday. "If this provision becomes law, it will not make any difference what action is taken on the Voting Rights Act," he added.

Mr. Morris was referring to the voting Rights Act of 1965, which suspended literacy tests in six states and provided protection for prospective Negro voters.

The act, which expires next summer, had been the premise for the organization's activities in the last five years.

In Capital Today

The logic adopted by members of the organization's staff, as expressed by Mr. Morris, is that, regardless of whether the act is extended, the ban on foundation funds for voter registration would cripple all progress in this area.

Mr. Jordan was in Washington today to confer with members of the United States Commission on Civil Rights. Other staff members are attempting to marshal liberal forces against the bill's provision.

Spokesmen for the organization disclosed yesterday that the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, a coalition of civil rights organizations, has started to lobby against the proposed ban. Officials of the Voter Education Project are to meet Friday in New York City with representatives of several church social action departments to map strategy against the bill.

The Senate Finance Committee announced Oct. 27 that it had deleted that portion of the House-approved tax reform measure that would allow private foundation funds to be used for voter registration drives.

Under provisions of the House bill, the organization would have been able to continue serving as a conduit for foundation funds to smaller groups involved in voter registration activities in dozens of Southern communities. The bill passed by the House limits the use of foundation funds to support such activity but does not categorically prohibit such support.

The organization opposes both the House and the Senate measures but "could live with the less restrictive" bill passed last August by the House, according to one spokesman.

If the Senate approves the tax reform bill, conference committee action will be required to iron out differences in the two measures.

THE WASHINGTON POST

Tuesday, Nov. 18, 1969

Voter Unit Hits Curb on Foundations

By a Washington Post Staff Writer

ATLANTA, Nov. 17—Senate committee efforts to bar tax-exempt foundation support for Negro voter registration drives were condemned today as a "devious trick to emasculate the voting rights act."

The broadside against the Senate Finance Committee proposal was leveled by officials of the Southern Regional Council's Voter Education Project, which funds virtually all voter registration drives in the South.

The project in turn is supported almost entirely by foundation grants. Without foundation support, special assistant John Morris declared, the project's $600,000-a-year program would be out of business.

A consortium of 11 tax-exempt foundations has settled upon the voter project as the vehicle for all voter registration support in the South. The project allocates the money to such organizations as the NAACP and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference for individual drives.

House-passed tax-reform legislation specifically would have permitted the project to carry on the work it has conducted since 1962. But the version approved by the Senate Finance Committee last week would ban all foundation support for voter drives.

"It's a 'black voter depletion allowance'," the project's research director Marvin Wall, added.

Reg Murphy - Editor
11-19-69 Atlanta Constitution

Knives Sharpened For Registration

The long knives, sharpened by seven years of grinding, have cut savagely into Negro voter registration efforts in the South. Recovery will come within the next few weeks or not at all.

The Senate Finance Committee wielded the knives. The committee voted 13-4 to forbid future tax-exempt foundation grants to voter registration projects. That action, if it stands in the Senate and in the conference committee with the House, would stop the work of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council.

Vernon Jordan, the intelligent and articulate director of the VEP, believes the full Senate will reverse the committee action. But he may be too much of an optimist.

For the Senate will take up the tax reform bill, which includes the funds cutoff to voter registration units, shortly after it finishes debate on the confirmation of Judge Clement Haynsworth to the United States Supreme Court. Political passions are likely to run high then. They may not be helpful to the VEP cause.

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In an oblique way, the Finance Committee action is a compliment. It is a way of saying that Negro voter registration has been rising at a dismaying rate in the eyes of the Southern segregationists—and those who would fashion Southern strategies.

Overall Negro voter registration has gone up dramatically in the 11 Southern states involved. From 1,480,000 registered black voters in 1962, the total has increased to over 3,112,000. For blacks of voting age, only 29.6 per cent registered in 1962. Now over 62 per cent are registered.

Obviously, those increases have had impact. There were 78 black elected officials in the region in 1965. There are more than 500 now.

Some Southern counties have begun to share power between the races (Hancock County in Middle Georgia is an example) and other counties have elected black officials (Greene County in Alabama is one instance). That is dramatic evidence th the system can be made to work.

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
5 FORSYTH ST. N.W.
ATLANTA, GA. 30303
522-7495

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Jordan insists, however, that the Senate action "is directed accurately and in deadly fashion against those who need help . . . Black people in the South cannot continue to make the sort of registration gains they need to make without organized registration programs. These organized registration drives would not have existed, and cannot exist, without generous foundation support."

He has begun to fight back. He thinks the Senate may reject the action of the Finance Committee. He has spent much of his time in Washington trying to rescue the program.

"There are many people in the nation today—young whites as well as blacks—who feel that the American political system is not really open to their aspirations," Jordan said. "There are many who will see in this action of the Senate Finance Committee a determination to slam shut the door to political participation which only in the last few years has been opened to black people in the South."

The reasonable response is to reverse the Senate Finance Committee action. The knife should be aimed at tax loopholes, not political participation.

EV - Wash Trib

Senate Prepares to Act

Major Tax-Reform Legislation Recovers Momentum, Could Be Ready for President's Signature by Year-End

By FRED L. ZIMMERMAN
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — After a near-stall in the Senate Finance Committee, major tax-reform legislation has regained momentum and could be through Congress by year-end.

Although weaker in many ways than its House counterpart, the massive reform and relief bill that cleared the Finance Committee on schedule Friday is strikingly similar, in broad outline, to the historic measure that passed the House last August.

Committee Chairman Long (D., La.) said in an interview that he believes this structural similarity will minimize the number of big conflicts between the House and Senate versions and thus help produce fairly quick compromise and final passage.

That assumes, of course, that the area of disagreement between the two bills isn't widened further by adoption of weakening amendments to the committee's measure on the Senate floor. The full Senate seems likely to toughen rather than weaken the bill, however, bringing it even more into line with the House version.

The bill could go to the Senate floor in a couple of weeks, and some Congressional leaders believe it may be ready for President Nixon's signature by the end of the year. Treasury Secretary Kennedy, in a statement, urged the Senate to consider the bill "at the earliest possible date."

Impact of Panel's Version

Ignoring several of the Administration's most basic requests, the committee wrote a bill that ultimately would raise $6.5 billion a year through higher taxes on the wealthy and on various industries. This added revenue would help make possible about $9 billion of rate reductions and other tax breaks, mainly for low and middle-income persons.

When fully effective in 1979, the committee's bill would raise $365 million less than the House measure through loophole-closing provisions and would grant $305 million less in tax relief.

Like the House bill, the committee's measure would produce a long-term net revenue loss of about $3.4 billion a year and [illegible]

Comparison of the Impact Of Both of the Tax Bills

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

WASHINGTON—Here is a comparison of the overall impact of the Senate Finance Committee's tax bill with that passed by the House, for calendar years 1970, 1971 and 1979.

The "reforms" include a variety of loophole-closing items, as well as repeal of the 7% investment tax credit, which ultimately will bring in more than $3 billion. The "relief" provisions include rate reductions, increases in both the regular and the minimum standard deductions, and lower tax rates for single persons. The figures are in millions of dollars.

	1970	1971	1979
Finance Committee			
Reforms	+3,895	+4,580	+6,490
Relief	−1,492	−5,363	−8,968
Revenue effect	+2,403	− 783	−2,478
House			
Reforms	+4,140	+5,050	+6,855
Relief	−1,692	−6,787	−9,273
Revenue effect	+2,448	−1,737	−2,418

earned income, and it sharply limited the House bill's proposed liberalization of the income-averaging provision in current law, which allows a taxpayer with unusually large earnings in a single year to spread the income over several years for tax purposes.

To reform advocates, the committee bill's biggest defect may be its failure to touch the tax-exemption of interest on state and local bonds.

The House bill would establish a Federal subsidy arrangement to encourage state and local governments to issue taxable, rather than tax-exempt, bonds. It also would provide for an indirect tax on interest from currently tax-exempt bonds in certain cases. Under a barrage of lobbying, the Senate committee junked both these features in its first day of drafting.

The committee went much easier than did the House on the oil industry, banks, savings and loan associations, stock-market investors, and conglomerates engaged in mergers

sion that isn't in the House bill. Foundations would be taxed, for the first time, at the rate of 0.2% of assets; the House bill's tax, based on investment income, would bring in about twice as much revenue. Existing foundations and related persons couldn't own more than 50% of a corporation's voting stock, compared with 20% in the House bill. A foundation would be required to distribute every 12 months all of its income, or an amount equal to 50% of its assets, whichever is greater. Foundations would be totally prohibited from participating in voter-registration drives.

—A newly popular method of avoiding some taxation would be curbed through a tightening of the tax treatment of pension-plan contributions made by doctors and lawyers who establish so-called "professional service corporations." Such a corporation would be allowed to deduct up to 10% of each employe's earned income, or $2,500, whichever is less, as a contribution to a pension plan.

Extension of Surcharge

Additionally, the bill includes several items that were part of a measure that passed the House last June 30 to continue the income-tax surcharge for 12 months. These items were sidetracked when the Senate decided to continue the surtax for only six months.

Among them are proposed repeal of the 7% credit for business equipment purchases, retroactive to last April 18, and a one-year postponement in the phased reductions scheduled to begin next Jan. 1 in telephone and automobile excise taxes.

The reform bill also includes the sidetracked portion of the surtax, which would be extended under the bill for the first half of 1970 at 5%. This feature may lend impetus to the effort to achieve enactment of the reform bill by Dec. 31, the date when the current 10% surtax is scheduled to expire.

The Finance Committee is widely regarded as friendly territory for lobbyists, and early last month it looked as if they would succeed in gutting the bill.

Some Republican members had suggested it might be wise to slow down consideration of the bill and forget about trying to meet the scheduled reporting date of last Friday. Advocates of delay succeeded in persuading the committee to send to the Senate floor as a separate measure the proposed repeal of the investment tax credit, thinking that its approval would lessen pressure for tax reform. But Senate Democratic leader Mansfield of Montana refused to let it come to a vote.

Liberal Democrats on the committee, who had been calling loudly for tax reform in speeches all year, were absent from the initial drafting sessions, which consisted mainly of decisions to junk key provisions of the House bill. Committee sources reported that an anti-reform bloc led by five Republican Senators was controlling the bill's fate.

In the final few days of drafting, the situation suddenly changed. The liberals began attending the meetings, and the committee's bill took on a tougher tone. Some sources said the change reflected the committee's concern about criticism it was receiving in the press

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Tax Reform Legislation Moves Ahead, Could Be Effective by Year-End

That assumes, of course, that the area of disagreement between the two bills isn't widened further by adoption of weakening amendments to the committee's measure on the Senate floor. The full Senate seems likely to toughen rather than weaken the bill, however, bringing it even more into line with the House version.

The bill could go to the Senate floor in a couple of weeks, and some Congressional leaders believe it may be ready for President Nixon's signature by the end of the year. Treasury Secretary Kennedy, in a statement, urged the Senate to consider the bill "at the earliest possible date."

Impact of Panel's Version

Ignoring several of the Administration's most basic requests, the committee wrote a bill that ultimately would raise $6.5 billion a year through higher taxes on the wealthy and on various industries. This added revenue would help make possible about $9 billion of rate reductions and other tax breaks, mainly for low and middle-income persons.

When fully effective in 1979, the committee's bill would raise $365 million less than the House measure through loophole-closing provisions and would grant $305 million less in tax relief.

Like the House bill, the committee's measure would produce a long-term net revenue loss of about $2.4 billion a year and an eventual increase in corporate taxes of about $4.8 billion. The Administration, wanting to avoid these two results, had asked the committee to trim the House bill's revenue loss to no more than $1.3 billion and its corporate tax increase to no more than $3.5 billion.

To accomplish the latter goal and to correct what it termed the House bill's "bias against investment in favor of consumption," the Treasury had proposed to the committee a reduction in the regular corporate income-tax rate to 46% from 48% over a two-year period, starting in 1971. This was to have been accompanied by a cutback in the proposed tax relief for individuals.

Many Congressional Republicans viewed the proposal as a political monstrosity, and it reportedly was never even brought up for formal discussion during the committee's 16 days of closed drafting sessions.

Tax-Relief Benefits

Instead, the committee adopted a package of tax-relief provisions nearly identical to those in the House Bill. Benefits in the committee's measure include:

—Rate reductions of 5% or more for all individual taxpayers. The cuts would take effect in 1971 and 1972. The bulk of the reduction would come in the second year instead of being spread evenly as it is in the House bill. The rate cuts would cost the Treasury $4.5 billion a year, when fully effective.

—A gradual increase in the regular standard deduction that is used by taxpayers who have insufficient deductions for itemized returns. Currently 10% of adjusted gross income with a $1,000 maximum, the standard deduction would rise—as in the House bill—to a 1972 level of 15%, with a $2,000 maximum. This would cost the Treasury $1.4 billion a year, but would simplify the tax-collection process appreciably by increasing to nearly 70% from the current 58% the number of taxpayers using the standard deduction.

—A "low-income allowance" of $1,100 to replace the minimum standard deduction of $200, plus $100 for each personal exemption up to $1,000. This means taxation would begin at the point where an individual's adjusted gross income exceeded the $1,100 allowance plus the total of his $600 personal exemptions. When fully effective in 1972 (rather than in 1971, as in the House bill), the allowance would remove 5.2 million returns from the tax rolls and would reduce taxes due on another seven million returns, all at a cost to the Treasury of about $2.6 billion.

—A new, reduced rate schedule for single persons, designed to assure that a single person having the same taxable income as a married couple wouldn't pay taxes more than 20% higher. This provision, identical to a Treasury recommendation, would cost $445 million a year, compared with the $600 million cost of its more generous House counterpart.

The committee deleted the House bill's proposed maximum tax of 50% on an individual's

Finance Committee

	1970	1971	1979
Reforms	+3,895	+4,580	+6,490
Relief	−1,492	−5,363	−8,968
Revenue effect	+2,403	− 783	−2,478
House			
Reforms	+4,140	+5,050	+6,855
Relief	−1,692	−6,787	−9,273
Revenue effect	+2,448	−1,737	−2,418

earned income, and it sharply limited the House bill's proposed liberalization of the income-averaging provision in current law, which allows a taxpayer with unusually large earnings in a single year to spread the income over several years for tax purposes.

To reform advocates, the committee bill's biggest defect may be its failure to touch the tax-exemption of interest on state and local bonds.

The House bill would establish a Federal subsidy arrangement to encourage state and local governments to issue taxable, rather than tax-exempt, bonds. It also would provide for an indirect tax on interest from currently tax-exempt bonds in certain cases. Under a barrage of lobbying, the Senate committee junked both these features in its first day of drafting.

The committee went much easier than did the House on the oil industry, banks, savings and loan associations, stock-market investors, and conglomerates engaged in mergers.

As in the House bill, two industries are singled out for special treatment. Through masterful lobbying that focused on the need to alleviate a boxcar shortage, railroads are to get a depreciation bonanza estimated to cost the Treasury nearly $1 billion in the next five years alone; the railroad industry apparently is the only one that will come out ahead from passage of the legislation.

Real-Estate Industry Hit

Conversely, the real-estate industry appears due to get hit the hardest, as both versions of the bill seek to close down a widely used tax shelter. Taxes on real-estate investors would be increased about $1 billion a year under the stiffer depreciation rules contained in both measures.

Here are some of the bill's other major provisions:

—A "minimum income tax" of 5% would be imposed on all income over $30,000 that an individual or corporation received through 12 specific arrangements that currently have preferred tax status. The plan is broader and simpler than its House counterpart and would raise $700 million of revenue a year. Among the items covered are ones related to long-term capital gains, oil depletion and intangible drilling expenses, bank bad-debt reserves, stock options and several types of fast depreciation.

—Use of the 25% maximum alternative tax rate on long-term capital gains would be permitted only on gains of less than $85,000 for single persons or $140,000 for married persons; the House bill would completely eliminate the alternative rate for individuals. The committee agreed with the House decision to raise to 30% from 25% the alternative corporate rate on capital gains, but the committee rejected the House provision lengthening to one year the current six-month holding period that's required before an asset's sale is eligible for capital-gains treatment.

—The 27½% oil-depletion allowance would be reduced to 23%, rather than 20% as in the House bill. The committee left untouched all other mineral depletion allowances, which the House bill would reduce by about one-fourth. The committee junked the House bill's limitations on use of the foreign-tax credit, which mainly is applicable to the oil industry. It concurred in the House bill's elimination of the tax advantages inherent in mineral production payments, a frequent financing method of the oil and gas industry.

—The relatively mild tax treatment of commercial banks and other financial institutions would be tightened, but not by as much as in the House bill. For example, commercial banks, currently taxed at about 23% of income, would be taxed at a 25% rate under the committee bill instead of the 30% rate in the House measure. The tighter taxation mainly would come through a restriction on deductions for bad-debt reserves.

—Most big tax-exempt foundations would be limited to a 40-year life from now on, a provi-

tions." Such a corporation would be allowed to deduct up to 10% of each employe's earned income, or $2,500, whichever is less, as a contribution to a pension plan.

Extension of Surcharge

Additionally, the bill includes several items that were part of a measure that passed the House last June 30 to continue the income-tax surcharge for 12 months. These items were sidetracked when the Senate decided to continue the surtax for only six months.

Among them are proposed repeal of the 7% credit for business equipment purchases, retroactive to last April 18, and a one-year postponement in the phased reductions scheduled to begin next Jan. 1 in telephone and automobile excise taxes.

The reform bill also includes the sidetracked portion of the surtax, which would be extended under the bill for the first half of 1970 at 5%. This feature may lend impetus to the effort to achieve enactment of the reform bill by Dec. 31, the date when the current 10% surtax is scheduled to expire.

The Finance Committee is widely regarded

about criticism it was receiving in the press

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Continued From Page 3

and in Congress. Others said it resulted from an awareness that the bill would have to raise considerable revenue through higher taxes to make possible the tax relief that taxpayers were expecting.

On Friday, the committee added several provisions that aren't in the House bill. One would eliminate the requirement for filing tax returns by about 10 million persons who don't owe taxes. Another would allow an employe, such as a student working part-time, to certify that he doesn't expect to owe any taxes and thereby to be free from having his wages withheld.

The committee also adopted an amendment offered by Sen. Long to establish a small claims division in the Tax Court, and to give Tax Court judges the same powers, such as issuing subpoenas and contempt citations, as district court judges.

The committee voted to allow two exceptions to repeal of the investment tax credit, although each had been voted down in earlier sessions. One decision, on a motion by Sen. Harris (D., Okla.), would make the tax credit available to a Uniroyal Inc., tire plant at Ardmore, Okla. The other would benefit a Mobil Oil Corp. plant at Joliet, Ill.

A committee aide said the Mobil amendment, offered by Sen. Bennett (R., Utah), "is one that Sen. Dirksen would have offered if he had been here." The late Mr. Dirksen, an Illinois Republican, was a Finance Committee member.

Tax reform in Washington depends entirely on how much you care about it

Congress is working on tax reform right now—and this is something which hits your pocketbook, indeed every paycheck.

Washington is full of special interest lobbyists looking out for the tax loopholers. The oil industry has lobbyists swarming in Washington these days to save the oil depletion allowance (which costs the U.S. Treasury some $1.5 billion a year).

What are you as a hardworking taxpayer going to do about all this? If you sit back and don't worry—the tax loopholes will stay and your taxes will change very little.

But if you demand action in Washington, watch the fur fly.

Below are the 100 U.S. Senators who must soon vote on the Senate floor on a series of tax reform roll calls which will decide how many loopholes are going to be plugged, how much more or less the rich will pay in federal taxes, and what precisely will happen to your own tax bill in the years ahead. If you really care about unfair taxes, you ought to write each one. If thousands upon thousands of American taxpayers rise up and tell Congress what's on their mind—you can be sure Congress will get the message and act accordingly.

Aiken, George D. (Vt.)
ALLEN, JAMES B. (Ala.)
Allott, Gordon (Colo.)
ANDERSON, CLINTON P. (N.M.)
Baker, Howard H., Jr. (Tenn.)
BAYH, BIRCH E. (Ind.)
Bellmon, Henry (Okla.)
Bennett, Wallace F. (Utah)
BIBLE, ALAN (Nev.)
Boggs, J. Caleb (Del.)
Brooke, Edward W. (Mass.)
BURDICK, QUENTIN N. (N. Dak.)
BYRD, HARRY F., JR. (Va.)
BYRD, ROBERT C. (W. Va.)
CANNON, HOWARD W. (Nev.)
Case, Clifford (N.J.)
CHURCH, FRANK (Idaho)
Cook, Marlowe W. (Ky.)
Cooper, John Sherman (Ky.)
Cotton, Norris (N.H.)
CRANSTON, ALAN (Calif.)
Curtis, Carl T. (Nebr.)
DODD, THOMAS J. (Conn.)
Dole, Robert (Kans.)
Dominick, Peter H. (Colo.)
EAGLETON, THOMAS F. (Mo.)
EASTLAND, JAMES O. (Miss.)
ELLENDER, ALLEN J. (La.)
ERVIN, SAM J., JR. (N.C.)
Fannin, Paul J. (Ariz.)
Fong, Hiram (Hawaii)
FULBRIGHT, J. WILLIAM (Ark.)
Goodell, Charles E. (N.Y.)
Goldwater, Barry (Ariz.)
GORE, ALBERT (Tenn.)
GRAVEL, MIKE (Alaska)
Griffin, Robert P. (Mich.)
Gurney, Edward J. (Fla.)
Hansen, Clifford P. (Wyo.)
HARRIS, FRED R. (Okla.)
HART, PHILIP A. (Mich.)
HARTKE, R. VANCE (Ind.)
Hatfield, Mark (Oreg.)
HOLLAND, SPESSARD L. (Fla.)
HOLLINGS, ERNEST F. (S.C.)
Hruska, Roman L. (Nebr.)
HUGHES, HAROLD E. (Iowa)
INOUYE, DANIEL K. (Hawaii)
JACKSON, HENRY M. (Wash.)
Javits, Jacob K. (N.Y.)
JORDAN, B. EVERETT (N.C.)
Jordan, Len B. (Idaho)
KENNEDY, EDWARD M. (Mass.)
LONG, RUSSELL B. (La.)
McCARTHY, EUGENE J. (Minn.)
McCLELLAN, JOHN L. (Ark.)
McGEE, GALE W. (Wyo.)
McGOVERN, GEORGE (S. Dak.)
McINTYRE, THOMAS J. (N.H.)
MAGNUSON, WARREN G. (Wash.)
MANSFIELD, MIKE (Mont.)
Mathias, Charles McC. (Md.)
METCALF, LEE (Mont.)
Miller, Jack (Iowa)
MONDALE, WALTER F. (Minn.)
MONTOYA, JOSEPH M. (N.M.)
MOSS, FRANK E. (Utah)
Mundt, Karl E. (S. Dak.)
Murphy, George (Calif.)
MUSKIE, EDMUND S. (Maine)
NELSON, GAYLORD (Wis.)
Packwood, Robert W. (Oreg.)
PASTORE, JOHN O. (R.I.)
Pearson, James B. (Kans.)
PELL, CLAIBORNE (R.I.)
Percy, Charles H. (Ill.)
Prouty, Winston L. (Vt.)
PROXMIRE, WILLIAM E. (Wis.)
RANDOLPH, JENNINGS (W. Va.)
RIBICOFF, ABRAHAM A. (Conn.)
RUSSELL, RICHARD B. (Ga.)
Saxbe, William B. (Ohio)
Schweiker, Richard S. (Pa.)
Scott, Hugh (Pa.)
Smith, Margaret Chase (Maine)
Smith, Ralph (Ill.)
SPARKMAN, JOHN J. (Ala.)
SPONG, WILLIAM B., JR. (Va.)
STENNIS, JOHN (Miss.)
Stevens, Ted (Alaska)
SYMINGTON, STUART (Mo.)
TALMADGE, HERMAN E. (Ga.)
Thurmond, Strom (S.C.)
Tower, John G. (Tex.)
TYDINGS, JOSEPH D. (Md.)
WILLIAM, HARRISON, A., JR. (N.J.)
Williams, John J. (Del.)
YARBOROUGH, RALPH (Tex.)
Young, Milton R. (N. Dak.)
YOUNG, STEPHEN M. (Ohio)

(Democrats are capitalized, Republicans are in upper and lower case)

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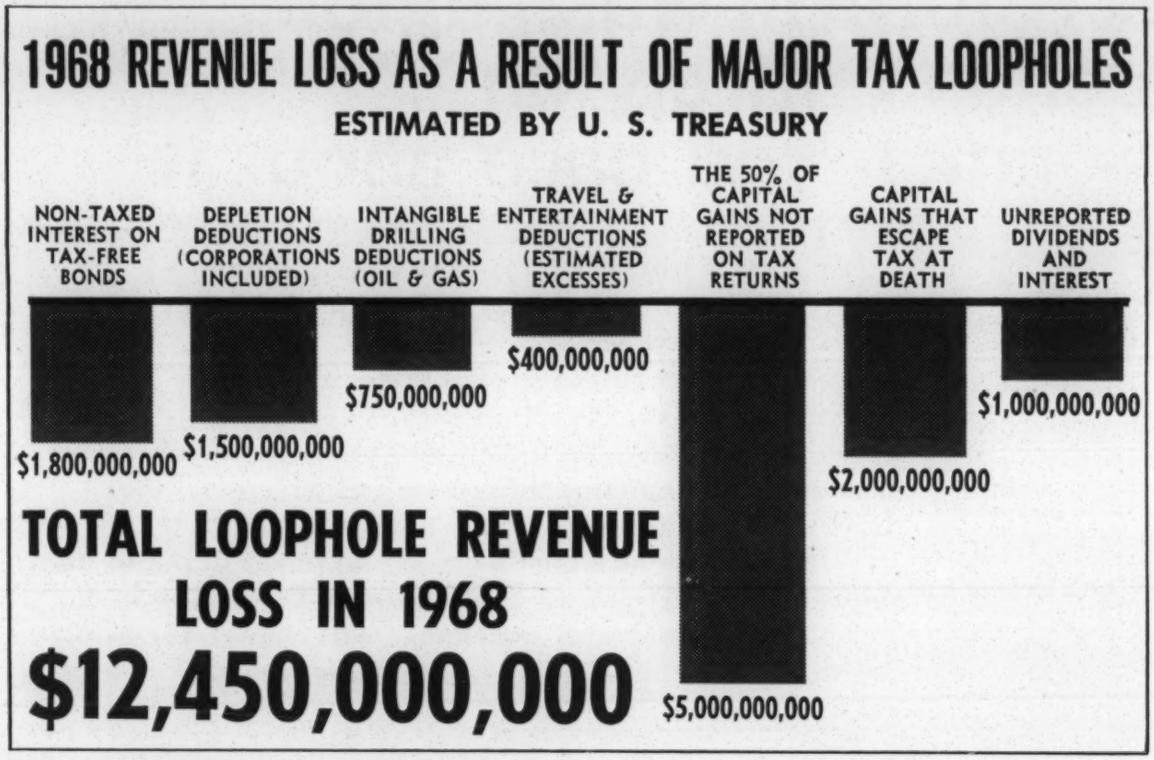

National Committee on Tax Justice proposals for tax reform would eliminate or severely limit the "tax favors" represented by the major loopholes listed above as a means of equalizing the federal income tax burden.

If you punch a time clock, your tax is taken out of every paycheck. Yet there are people in this country who take advantage of big tax loopholes and do not pay a single cent of tax until the following April.

The tax reform bills which are before Congress will correct some of these injustices. Sen. Paul Douglas and UAW President Walter Reuther are heading a national committee to make the wealthy people of the United States pay their fair share.

But more mail must come from back home. Every U.S. Senator must hear from you—all 100 of them.

Only in this way will the Senate know that Americans want a tax system which is based on equity and fairness.

Sen. Robert Griffin
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sen. Griffin:

Congratulations on your election as Republican whip in the Senate.

I am angry about tax loopholes and am writing to ask your help. Former Sen. Paul Douglas says there are $12.4 billion worth of tax loopholes which can be plugged. Yet the House bill plugs only $1.6 billion. Can't you and the rest of the Republicans do something about this?

Every cent I make is taxed every time I get a paycheck -- yet very rich people pay less tax or no tax and they don't even sweat for their money.

I ask you very sincerely -- what are you and the rest of the Republicans going to do to plug the tax loopholes so that people like me get a tax break and the rich pay their fair share?

Sincerely,

A UAW Worker

How to write a letter to Congress:

It's very easy to write a letter. Write simply and to the point. Don't threaten. A short, sincere letter is best. If you can cite a personal experience, so much the better. Address your letters as follows:

Congressman or Senator So-and-So
House or Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C.

A SAMPLE LETTER tells simply and politely what you want. Letters like this make a favorable impression on the most conservative lawmaker. A groundswell of support for tax reform will swing over many middle-of-the-roaders

"So, the Common People Say You're Pussyfooting on Tax Reform! And What, Indeed, Is Wrong With That?"

The men and women who make up the Congress of the United States will listen to the people back home, if the people at home make their views known. That means—letters, phone calls, meetings, telegrams, and visits. Let your Congressman and Senators hear from you.

The Senate Finance Committee is listening to testimony on tax reform right now. The House has passed a bill (better than most expected). The House bill can be made better, or it can become worse. It depends a lot on what you do back home.

If you're really mad about tax loopholes, the Senate can improve the tax reform bill. So get out a pen or pencil and write to Congress this evening without delay. It's just that simple. If a cascade of mail comes from home, tax reform will emerge from the 91st Congress as a real accomplishment.

How Nixon's tax bill hurts you

Here's how the Nixon rich man's tax bill compares with the tax reform bill which passed the House earlier this year, showing how much tax relief you get and how much more the Nixon tax bill would cost you:

Your adjusted gross income	Your tax bill now	Your tax under the House bill	Your tax Nixon tax bill	How much more money you'd have House bill	How much more money you'd have Nixon bill	Why House bill is better—the difference
$ 4,000	$ 140	$ 65	$ 81	$ 75	$ 59	**$ 16**
$ 4,500	$ 290	$ 200	$ 253	$ 90	$ 37	**$ 53**
$ 7,500	$ 687	$ 576	$ 616	$111	$ 71	**$ 40**
$10,000	$1,114	$ 858	$1,012	$256	$102	**$154**
$12,500	$1,567	$1,347	$1,447	$220	$120	**$100**
$15,000	$2,062	$1,846	$1,951	$216	$111	**$105**

Sent also to: State Councils
Selected Interagency
Foundations

Tax Reform 27.1

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

August 29, 1969

To: Members of the Southern Regional Council

From: Paul Anthony

Attached is a draft of our statement of concern about the tax reform bill now being considered by the Senate Finance Committee. I would welcome your reactions to this document and any suggestions you can offer.

-o-

enclosure - 1.

DRAFT - Not for Distribution

A STATEMENT BY THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL TO THE UNITED STATES SENATE COMMITTEE ON FINANCE RE. HR 13270

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The Southern Regional Council is an organization formed in 1944 for the purpose of contributing generally to the development of the region and more specifically to race relations within the region and the nation. Our five incorporators were Bishop Arthur Moore of Georgia; the late Dr. Howard Odum of the University of North Carolina; the late Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University; the late Dr. Charles Johnson, president of Fisk University; and the late Mr. Ralph McGill, publisher of the Atlanta Constitution. The Council consists of one hundred distinguished Southerners, black and white, Protestant, Catholic and Jew. There is maintained in Atlanta an office and a staff of approximately forty persons. As indicative of our interests we have on that staff, or use as consultants, specialists in urban planning, manpower resources, health and nutrition, community organization, and related areas. We emphasize in our work research and publication on those matters which we feel most pertinent to the region. We also sponsor special projects such as the Voter Education Project, which has been the subject of some interest to the Congress in the formation of this bill.

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Our concern about HR 13270 arises from our belief that the bill before you jeopardizes a valuable and unique operation by which our society is served. That operation is the partnership which has been created between private tax-exempt foundations and private tax-exempt agencies. We are confident this partnership has been to the public good. And, it is important that a significant part of the needs and the stimulation of the private sector are served by private funds, under private control, apart from the undue involvement of government.

Before we cite those particulars of the bill which most concern us, we should like to make two general observations:

(1) For twenty-five years the Southern Regional Council has recognized that we enjoyed the benefit of tax-exempt funds in proper exchange for certain restrictions on the use of those funds. For instance, our implementation of the requirement that no substantial portion of our efforts be partisan has been to attempt to see that <u>no</u> portion of our activity is political. We have attempted to operate within the spirit of the law as

well as the letter of the law. We are confident this is true of many other agencies. We do not appear before you to request that the existing regulations and laws which have created this method of operation and our reasoning be altered.

(2) It may be that the present tax laws have allowed individuals and groups to abuse those laws by creating so-called "foundations" for personal gain rather than to serve the public interest. We believe the Congress is justified in seeking to stop those abuses. Our concern is that honorably conceived and legally operated foundations -- and those whom they support -- not be punished and unduly restricted because of activities of others.

Our particular concerns with HR 13270 are as follows:

(1) Sec. 306 - Tax on Private Foundation Investment Income.

While the precedent may be ominous, the proposed 7½% tax probably would neither significantly alter foundation operations nor add substantially

to the public treasury. The true effect would be to reduce by 7½% those funds available to the private agencies. These private tax-exempt groups are, therefore, those really being taxed. This must be recognized by those who believe that there are limitations on the capability of the public sector and that there is, therefore, an important role for private agencies.

(2) Sec. 4945(c)(1) - Taxes on Taxable Expenditures.

It is extremely important to note that this section of the bill removes from the current Internal Revenue Service regulations the requirements that no substantial part of a tax-exempt organization's resources be used in partisan political activity or in support of a candidate for office. Rather, there is substituted excessive stipulations to preclude any political activity.

We have been told this has been done because some tax-exempt agencies have abused the present regulations by engaging in substantial

partisan political activity. These abuses may have occurred. But, if they have it has not been because of the inadequacy of current laws and regulations, but rather because of the failure of adequate enforcement of those laws and regulations.

* * *

While we subscribe completely to the concept that tax-exempt funds should not be used for partisan purposes, we are gravely concerned, for instance, by the wording in the proposed legislation, "any attempt to influence legislation through an attempt to affect the opinion of the general public or any segment thereof,..."

Literally interpreted, we believe this provision would prevent responsible agencies now engaged in serious research and publishing from making any meaningful comments on the society in which we operate. We assume, for instance, that at best the Council could publish statistics on migration from the region, but not offer opinions on the causes or impact of that migration. We assume that, at best, we could publish a medical report on hunger and malnutrition, but not offer remedial proposals. We assume we could

publish statistics on black-white registration, but not offer any analysis of processes which affected that registration. We would not expect, and do not request, that we be allowed to propose specific legislation nor to support or oppose legislation being considered. However, under the provisions of this bill we assume that regardless of the effort and integrity we invest in forming them, we could not share our opinions with "the general public or any segment thereof."

It is in the public interest that agencies such as the Southern Regional Council be allowed not only to collect information but analyze and comment on that information. Our publications have been used extensively by the media, by scholars and others, and they have figured in the deliberations of the Congress. This contribution to public consideration and to public debate is, we believe, not only valuable, but non-partisan.

We have been upheld by the courts of Georgia in that opinion. In 1963 the Georgia Department of Labor informed the Council that we had been held taxable by virtue of their interpretation that we had a point of view, shared it with the public, and, thereby, engaged in "propaganda" and influenced legislation.

In Court, the State readily accepted the fact that the Council did not lobby, did not support or oppose any specific legislation, nor any candidate for public office. Rather, the State introduced as evidence a collection of Council publications and rested its case on the statement of the executive director that these publications were circulated to the general public.

The Superior Court found in favor of the Council and that decision was appealed to the Supreme Court of the State of Georgia. That Court unanimously upheld the decision of the lower court. We would like to quote the following statement from the Court's decision, Williamson vs SRC, Inc., 223 Ga. 179:

> "If the word 'propaganda' is given the broad meaning that it is any dissemination of ideas, then no religious or educational institution could qualify under Code Anno. 54-657(h)(7)(H), since a substantial part of the activities of such institutions is the dissemination of ideas and beliefs. Under the constitutionally protected right of freedom of speech, an organization cannot be penalized for disseminating ideas and beliefs which are not opposed to our system of

government, even though such ideas may not meet with the approval of all of the people in the area in which they are advanced."

* * *

We submit that the process of public dialogue and the dissemination of ideas is essential in a democracy. We submit, further, that such dialogue should be especially encouraged, not prohibited, by organizations that have established themselves in that society.

(3) Sec. 4945(d)

We are grateful that the report of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives specifically recognized the Council as an agency which could -- subject to the information they had available -- engage in programs in support of voter registration.

Within this section of the bill, however, and perhaps more importantly elsewhere in the bill, there are requirements that certain programs can receive no more than 25% of their support from any one source. There are

implications to this stiuplation which may not be readily apparent.

The most important of these are:

(a) There are still relatively few foundations which are willing to support programs of social reform. These foundations and the programs they have supported should be commended, not discouraged, for venturing substantially into new areas since frequently these programs -- like the Council's Voter Education Project which could not have come into existence under this provision -- have made an important contribution to the public welfare.

(b) Occasionally an unusually imaginative foundation has had the courage and foresight to support exclusively, or almost exclusively, a new group which has promise and a sound idea. We know of a number of now established agencies -- many of which now enjoy the financial support of federal, state, or local governments -- which would not be

in existence had one foundation been limited to providing no more than 25% of a beginning budget.

Subject to other proper considerations, there is no more rationale to restricting a foundation to a maximum of 25% support for a deserving effort than restricting an agency of the federal government to the same limitation on any publicly funded program.

(4) Sec. 4945(f) - Expenditure Responsibility

This section would require that foundations be "fully responsible" for the use of grants made. While the three requirements under this section would, on the surface, seem to be reasonable, there are serious consequences to these requirements if they are literally enforced. We believe the enforcement of the three requirements of this section of the bill would be severely damaging to foundations and cause recipients to loose a substantial degree of their independence and autonomy. It would also probably mean that the smaller foundations would have to cease giving to those affected by this provision, since they

have neither the staff nor the resources to meet these requirements.

Please do not misunderstand us. We are for the full and complete reporting on the use of tax-exempt funds. During the 25 years of our existence the great majority of our support has come from foundations. During the current year the Council will receive support from at least fourteen foundations totalling more than a million dollars. During all this time and dealing with foundations, large and small, we have never known an instance where a foundation staff did not satisfy itself beforehand as to the pertinence of our request and our competence to administer any funds granted. Nor, have we known of an instance where this process was not further reviewed by the foundation board. Further, we always at least annually issue a full audit of our expenditures and a complete report on our activities for the foundations and other interested parties.

However, the current situation is that the Internal Revenue Service is charged with determining whether or not an agency is tax-exempt and this serves as a guide to foundations. Earlier, we made a request to the IRS regarding our own process of granting funds to other agencies and in a letter dated March 22, 1960 the IRS stated:

(1) "If you make a distribution of your funds to an organization which presently has exemption as a charitable or educational organization described in Section 501(c)(3) of the Code, there is no further obligation on your part to satisfy yourself as to the use of the funds distributed.

(2) "Contributions made by you to organizations, which have not established an exempt status for Federal income tax purposes, will not jeopardize your exempt status if the contributions are made and used only for one or more of the exempt purposes specified in Section 501(c)(3) of the Code. In such an event you should use reasonable care in ascertaining that the contributions will be used only for an exempt purpose and you will be able to substantiate that fact if called upon to do so by the Internal Revenue Service."

We submit this is a workable and efficient method. The burden of requiring foundations to be "fully responsible," as interpreted in the bill, would be harmful to all concerned.

Small foundations, with small staff, do not now generally give to non-tax-exempt agencies because they do not have the resources for the necessary supervision, and few large foundations make such grants because the requirements are too burdensome. Under this bill, small foundations would likely have to treat currently exempt organizations as they have non-tax-exempt ones in the past; simply removing them from their list of potential recipients of funds.

Equally disastrous, from the standpoint of all concerned, large foundations would probably have to be so vigorous in complying with these provisions,including their own on-the-spot staff supervision and auditing of their funds being spent, that they would in effect become the supervising grantee as well as the grantor. It is not an exaggeration to state that under these conditions, the independent tax-exempt agency staffs become employees of the donating foundations and the boards of those tax-exempt agencies become bystanders. We urge you to give the most serious consideration to the implications of this situation.

In conclusion, we believe it most important to stress that this bill, as it relates to foundations and those whom foundations support, is widely regarded to be punitive against those agencies and those foundations dealing with social reform, poverty, and minority affairs.

There are those agencies, of which the Southern Regional Council is one, that have attempted not only to contribute to the general welfare but to bring into reality the potential and the promise of this nation for all of our people. In a sense, it could be said we occupy the middle ground; recognizing need, tragedy and aspirations on the one hand, and holding on the other hand a deep faith in the ability of this society and this government to be the means by which wrongs can be corrected and the wholesome society created.

In this critical time of crisis, polarization and misunderstanding we urge you, do not cripple -- as this bill would do -- those agencies which, with increasing difficulty, are attempting to occupy that middle ground where the faith remains that the capabilities and intent of our government and our society can be equal to our promises.

-END-

August, 1969

Tax Reform 27.1

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5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.

THE EDITOR
c/o LETTERS TO THE EDITOR DEPARTMENT
THE WASHINGTON POST
1515 "L" STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

NOVEMBER 3, 1969

WE ARE DISTURBED BY YOUR EDITORIAL OF SUNDAY ABOUT THE TAX REFORM BILL,WHICH SEEMED TO GIVE BLANKET APPROVAL TO THOSE PORTIONS OF THE BILL WHICH NOW HAVE EMERGED FROM THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE.

ON MAY 18, YOU DEPLORED A PROVISION IN THE TAX REFORM BILL WHICH WOULD PROHIBIT FOUNDATIONS FROM "ENGAGING IN ACTIVITIES DIRECTLY AFFECTING POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS." THEN YOU NOTED THAT THE LANGUAGE CONTAINED MORE THAN MET THE EYE, AND ADDED: "STRIPPED OF ITS FINERY, IT IS DISCLOSED AS AN ATTEMPT TO FORBID THE VOTER REGISTRATION DRIVES WHICH PRODUCED SUCH STUNNING POLITICAL UPSETS IN CLEVELAND AND A FEW OTHER PLACES UP NORTH AND ALL OVER THE SOUTH, WHERE ONLY WHITE FOLKS USED TO GO TO THE POLLS.... VOTER REGISTRATION DRIVES ARE DIRECTED MAINLY AT THE POOR AND THE UNEDUCATED -- AND

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2. In any event the Telegraph Company shall not be liable for damages for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for the non-delivery, of any message, whether caused by the negligence of its servants or otherwise, beyond the actual loss, not exceeding in any event the sum of five thousand dollars, at which amount the sender of each message represents that the message is valued, unless a greater value is stated in writing by the sender thereof at the time the message is tendered for transmission, and unless the repeated-message rate is paid or agreed to be paid and an additional charge equal to one-tenth of one per cent of the amount by which such valuation shall exceed five thousand dollars.

3. The Telegraph Company is hereby made the agent of the sender, without liability, to forward this message over the lines of any other company when necessary to reach its destination.

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MOST OF ALL, OBVIOUSLY, AT HITHERTO DISFRANCHISED NEGROES. THE PURPOSE OF THESE DRIVES IS TO ENLARGE PARTICIPATION IN THE DEMOCRATIC&RR& PROCESS."

AMONG THE PORTIONS OF THE BILL WHICH WERE FINALLY APPROVED LAST WEEK BY THE FINANCE COMMITTEE WAS ONE WHICH DOES NOT EVEN HAVE TO BE "STRIPPED OF ITS FINERY" IN ORDER THAT ITS IMPORT MAY BE KNOWN. IT SPECIFICALLY PROHIBITS THE USE OF FOUNDATION MONEY FOR VOTER REGISTRATION DRIVES.

THIS BEING THE CASE, WE DO NOT UNDERSTAND HOW THE POST CAN NOW GIVE BLANKET APPROVAL OF THE TAX REFORM PROPOSALS WHICH NOW HAVE EMERGED FROM THE FINANCE COMMITTEE. YOUR EDITORIAL SUNDAY DEALT ENTIRELY WITH THE TRUE TAX REFORM ASPECTS OF THE TAX BILL. WHAT WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT IS NOT TAX REFORM, BUT A MATTER WHICH IN REALITY HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH TAX REFORM BUT WHICH IS IN THE TAX

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REFORM BILL. WE HEARTILY APPROVE OF TAX REFORM EFFORTS. WE STRONGLY DEPLORE YOUR APPROVAL, AT LEAST BY IMPLICATION, OF ASPECTS OF THE BILL WHICH YOU EARLIER HAD CALLED "QUITE DISCRIMINATORY" AND HAD RIGHTLY CALLED NOT A REFORM EFFORT BUT A REVENGE EFFORT. WE WISH THAT IN SOME SUBSEQUENT EDITORIAL YOU WOULD CLARIFY WHETHER YOUR POSITION ON THAT PART OF THE BILL HAS INDEED CHANGED. WE ASSUME IT HAS NOT, BUT THE EDITORIAL OF SUNDAY LEAVES THE IMPRESSION THAT IT HAS.

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

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THE TAX STRUCTURE OF THE SOUTHERN STATES:

Tax Structure

27.2

An Analysis

By Dr. Eva Galambos

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dr. Galambos is a research consultant specializing in fiscal problems. She resides in Atlanta, Georgia.

Resources Development Center Publication No. 1 — November, 1969

Price .50 cents each; bulk rate .40 cents each.

THE TAX STRUCTURE OF THE SOUTHERN STATES:

AN ANALYSIS

By Dr. Eva Galambos

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This study was prepared under the editorial direction of SRC's Information and Research Department in collaboration with SRC's Resources Development Center.

INTRODUCTION

The Southern Regional Council has for many years concerned itself with economic problems in the region. In vivid, often eloquent prose, writers have described the hunger of children, the demoralizing effects of unemployment and poverty on adults. We have examined restrictive welfare regulations in the southern states and documented efforts of the poor to solve their problems through self-help programs. Special projects have been created to assist in manpower development, community organization.

The study which follows grew out of a conviction that state and local governments in the South were not adequately equipped because of outmoded tax structures to deal with a host of unmet public needs in a multitude of areas. Public officials, including governors and mayors, tacitly concede this, it seems to us, when they plead insufficient funds to put major reform measures into operation. Oftentimes, of course, such a response is used as a convenient excuse for inaction, but there likely is, as the study here illustrates, considerable truth in it. This should give no one satisfaction, for the question remains one of commitment to the public welfare, not just as it relates to the implementation of state and local programs, but to the more basic problem of tax reform as well.

Dr. Galambos's study illustrates that the southern states are bound to a regressive system of taxation, which is to say a system that puts a disproportionate share of the tax burden on middle and lower income citizens. Moreover, the study illustrates that the same states do not take full advantage of more progressive tax sources (such as, for example, personal and corporate income taxes). Why this should be is beyond the scope of the present study. However, one would be remiss not to observe that regressive taxation and inadequate states services seem directly to coincide. It is in the South, for instance, that public education suffers the most from insufficient financing. It is in the South that public assistance to welfare recipients is the least. It is in the South that living conditions in mental and penal institutions are the most wretched.

A study such as this, suggesting generally how a more equitable tax system might be achieved, has two basic concerns—equity for the sake of simple justice and, finally, a means to make the South a more livable region for all.

Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

Major State and Local Taxes

1

At the outset, a definition of terms is in order. The most widely accepted standard of equity in taxation is ability to pay. This is the criterion upon which the federal income tax system is based. In the language of the tax experts, it is a *progressive* system of taxation, which means simply that tax rates increase as income increases. Sales taxes, on the other hand, are typical of *regressive* taxation which means that the impact of the tax decreases as income rises.

Although various states and local governments place different emphasis on available tax measures, the important revenue sources are common to most of them. These include: (1) general and specific sales taxes; (2) income taxes (personal and corporate); (3) licenses; and (4) property taxes. The latter has become almost entirely a source for local governments. Both levels of governments use the other major sources of revenue.*

The Regressive Sales Tax

The general sales tax increasingly is the single most important source of state revenue. In 1950, the general sales tax raised 15.1 per cent of total state taxes nationally. In 1967, this proportion was 27.9 per cent. The general sales tax, it must be emphasized, is a retail tax on the consumer, with the hardest impact on the poorest groups. Its regressive nature is clearly evident: A large family with a low income may spend all it earns, and perhaps more by borrowing. A three per cent sales tax, therefore, hits all of this family's income which is spent on actual goods. A wealthy family, on the other hand, may save a considerable part of its income. There is no sales tax on savings. Thus a three per cent tax on the spending by the latter family represents less than a three per cent tax on its income. A little arithmetic illustrates the heavier burden on the lower income family when the tax is measured against income, instead of just consumption:

	Family A	*Family B*
Family Income	**$3,000**	**$30,000**
****Family Expenditures**	**3,600**	**20,000**
Three Per Cent Sales Tax on Expenditures	**108**	**600**
Per Cent Sales Tax is of Total Income	**3.6%**	**2%**

*State laws and statistics relating to the various tax categories represent the latest available information through June, 1969.
**For illustrative purposes, rents (which are not subject to sales tax) are not considered in this example.

This is not an unrealistic outcome. When expenditures were checked against income levels in Georgia, the Georgia sales tax was found to vary from 4.7 per cent burden on families with less than $1,000 income to 1.8 per cent for incomes of $15,000 and over.***

Not only are lower income families penalized by paying a higher percentage of their income in sales taxes, but *larger* families are also hit harder. The more children, obviously, the higher will be food, clothing, and every other bill. The income tax gives consideration for larger families by allowing commensurate personal exemptions. The sales tax works just the opposite.

In recent years *local governments* have also gone to the general sales tax as a revenue source. Sixteen states (eight of them southern) now permit local governments to use the sales tax and by 1969, 2,756 cities and over 400 counties levied such taxes. In some areas, the local and state sales tax together exceed five per cent.

Selective sales taxes are another important source of state revenue. These are sales taxes on specific products such as gasoline, cigarettes, and alcohol. The gasoline tax (there are both state and federal taxes on every gallon of gas) is the most important selective sales tax. Selective sales taxes are also regressive. A family with $20,000 income is not likely to buy ten times as much gas as the $2,000 income family, so that the gasoline tax represents a lower percentage of the higher income.

For both state and local governments, regressive sales taxes represent a greater proportion of total taxes than taxes that are based on ability to pay (income and death taxes. *In 1967, general and selective sales taxes represented 58 per cent of total state taxes. Individual and corporate income and death taxes together represented only 25 per cent.*

The growing importance of the regressive sales tax at the *local* government level is revealed by its growth from only one per cent of all local taxes in 1940, to the seven per cent level in 1962. In the same period, the "local income" or payroll tax went from a paltry one-half per cent in 1940 to only one per cent in 1962.

The general tendency in state and local governments has been to lay an excessive burden on poor people by favoring regressive taxes, and to spare the higher income families by going easy on progressive taxes. This tendency as we shall now see has been particularly conspicuous in the southern states.

***Robert Cannon and Donald Escarraz, "Sales Tax Equity: Selective Sales Taxes," University of Georgia, 1968 (mimeographed).

State and Local Income Taxes

Income taxes, on individuals and corporations, and estate and inheritance taxes, accounted for roughly one-fourth of all state taxes in 1967. Together these taxes, which in varying levels of progression are based on ability to pay, account *for less than half the revenue states obtained from the regressive general and selective sales taxes.* Most state income tax laws are mildly progressive. Slightly higher tax rates apply to the higher income brackets, but the increase in rates is not nearly so steep as in the federal income tax structure. State corporation income tax laws usually provide a flat percentage rate, although a few levy mildly graduated rates. The most common maximum rate is five per cent, well below the present 48 per cent federal rates on taxable corporate income in excess of $25,000 (not counting the surtax).

Some form of levy on income has been adopted by local governments in eight states. Such taxes are used extensively in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky. Twelve of the 43 largest cities use them (New York, Detroit, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Baltimore, Kansas City, Cincinnati, Columbus, Toledo, Louisville, and Washington, D. C.). Local taxes are usually levied at a flat percentage rate, and therefore are proportional and not progressive. Often they do not allow personal exemptions, as is true in federal and state income tax laws. Although New York, Maryland, and Michigan do permit personal and dependent exemptions, a graduated (or progressive) rate is applied only in New York City, and in Baltimore, where the tax is "piggy-backed" to the existing state progressive income tax law, and administered at the state level.

Some refer to such taxes as "income taxes." This is misleading. "Payroll tax" is a more adequate description. Under a typical municipal payroll tax, the wages and salaries of employed individuals and the net profits of unincorporated businesses are taxed at a flat rate (often one per cent). This covers all earnings of the typical wage earner, who usually has no income other than his salary. The payroll tax does not touch interest, rent, or dividends, which comprise considerable portions of higher level family incomes. Thus a payroll tax, which often masquerades as an ability-to-pay tax, may end up to be as regressive as a sales tax.

To illustrate, a one per cent payroll tax on a worker's wages could actually cost him more than a one per cent sales tax. Typically he will spend one-fourth of his salary on rent. There is usually no sales tax on rents. Thus while the one per cent sales tax may apply to three-fourths of this income, the one per cent payroll tax would apply to his *total* salary. If food and medicine are exempted from the sales tax, the burden of the payroll tax in comparison to the same per cent sales tax becomes even heavier on wage earners in the lower brackets.

2 The Burden of The Sales Tax In The South

It is ironic that the lowest income states make the greatest use of those taxes which weigh most heavily on the poor. While the average state raises 27.9 per cent of its taxes through the general sales tax, Mississippi, with the lowest per capita income in the nation, manages to raise 41.8 per cent of its taxes through a state and local five per cent sales tax. Out of a 1967 per capita average annual $1,777 income in Mississippi, the annual sales tax expenditure was $54.83 per capita. This compares to $45.28 in the United States (as a whole), from a national per capita average $2,959 income in the same year.

Looking at the sales tax burden in relation to income, in Mississippi, $31.00 goes for sales tax for every $1,000 of personal income received in the state, in comparison with $15.46 for every $1,000 personal income throughout the United States.

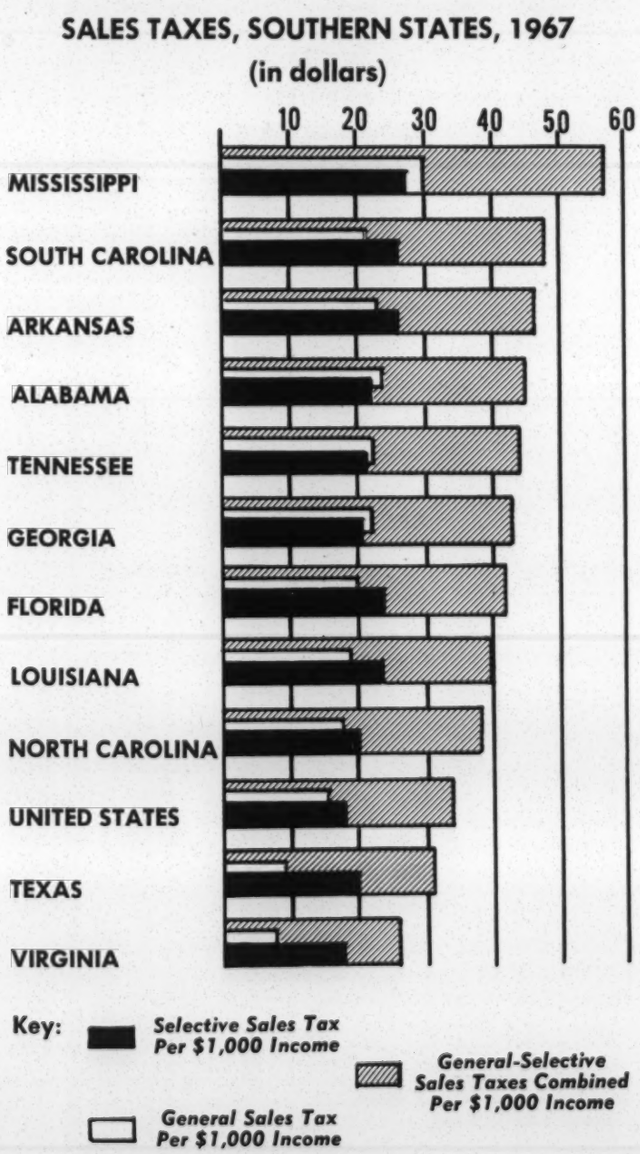
The sales tax burden in the southern states is shown in Table I. Five southern states had a higher per capita sales tax bill in 1967 than the United States average of $45.28. It might be expected that per capita sales taxes in the South would be lower, since incomes are generally lower than in the rest of the country. But the contrary is true. The burden of the sales tax is fully revealed when each state's sales tax bill is compared with the total personal income in that state. Column 2, Table I, shows each state's sales tax bill per $1,000 of personal income in that state. Nine of the eleven southern states had a higher share of income going to sales tax than the United States average. Only Texas and Virginia showed a lower sales tax bill per $1,000 personal income. These two states ranked among the top three southern states in personal income. Regressive taxation removes a higher percentage of spending power in the poorer southern states, and is a contributing factor in the cycle which keeps the income level depressed.

TABLE I

Sales Taxes, Southern States, 1967

	General Sales Tax			Selective Sales Taxes			General-Selective Sales Taxes Combined		
	Per Cap.	Per $1000 Income	As % of State Taxes	Per Cap.	Per $1000 Income	As % of State Taxes	Per Cap.	Per $1000 Income	As % of State Taxes
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
U. S. (all states avg.)	$45.28	$15.46	27.9	$48.97	$16.62	$30.2	$94.25	$32.08	58.1
Alabama	48.25	23.55	35.4	47.42	23.14	34.7	95.67	46.69	70.1
Arkansas	45.02	22.55	31.2	49.17	24.63	34.1	94.19	47.18	65.3
Florida*	50.18	19.52	34.3	59.56	23.17	40.7	109.74	42.69	75.0
Georgia	53.60	22.86	36.2	48.19	20.55	32.55	101.79	43.41	68.8
Louisiana	39.89	17.73	21.2	49.58	22.03	26.28	89.47	39.76	47.1
Mississippi*	54.83	31.00	41.8	47.26	26.72	36.04	102.09	57.72	77.9
North Carolina	40.71	17.81	24.0	47.21	20.96	28.22	87.32	38.77	57.2
South Carolina	43.72	21.43	28.8	55.04	26.98	36.20	98.76	48.41	64.9
Tennessee	48.47	21.88	36.6	46.01	20.77	34.76	94.48	46.25	71.4
Texas*	23.86	9.50	19.4	51.52	20.50	41.93	75.38	30.00	61.4
Virginia*	19.21	7.48	13.7	46.34	18.05	33.08	65.55	25.53	46.8

*Increase in sales tax went into effect after 1967.
Source: U. S. Department of Commerce, *State Government Finances in 1967.*



Sales tax rates in effect in southern states are shown in Table II. The highest rate is five per cent in Mississippi, where one per cent of the tax is rebated to cities. Many areas in Alabama also pay five per cent, where the four per cent state rate is augmented by local option sales taxes of one per cent. Some Alabama municipalities even levy a two per cent sales tax on top of the state four per cent rate. Fourteen states in the United States and the District of Columbia exempt food and 23 plus the Capital exempt medicines. Such exemptions reduce the burden of the sales tax on lower income families for whom necessities represent the major budget item. In the South, only Texas and Florida exempt both food and medicine. North Carolina and Virginia exempt medicine. Thus among southern states, the ones with generally higher per capita incomes are more generous in exempting necessities from the sales tax. The states with more poor people make fewer allowances.

The recognized regressiveness of the sales tax has prompted a number of non-southern states to allow compensating credits under *income taxes,* and rebates to families whose income is so low that no income tax is paid. For instance, Colorado permits each person a $7.00 credit against family state income tax, and a $7.00 rebate per person where no income tax is owed. The $7.00 represents the sales tax which would have been paid at three per cent on $235 worth of groceries.

In Iowa, the credit and rebate are progressively higher as family income is lower. These credits and rebates compensate, in some measure, for regressive comprehensive sales taxes, even where food is not exempt. The mathematical example on page 7 clarifies its operation.

Under the Iowa plan, the "progressive" rebate has transformed a regressive sales tax into a proportional burden on income. The use of these credits and rebates

TABLE II

General Sales Tax Rates in Southern States, April, 1969

	State Rate	Local Government Rate	Exempts Food	Exempts Medicine
Alabama	4%	½-2%		
Arkansas	3%	1%*		
Florida	4%	none authorized	x	x
Georgia	3%	none authorized		
Louisiana	2%	½-2%		
Mississippi	5%	cities are rebated 1%		
North Carolina	3%	1%		x
South Carolina	4%**	none authorized		
Tennessee	3%	1%		
Texas	3.25***	1%	x	x
Virginia	3%	1%		x

*Only one city levies the local sales tax.
Source: Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *State and Local Finances, Significant Features, 1966 to 1969*, Nov., 1968, p. 69.
**Increased from 3% to 4% in 1969 session of state legislature.
***Increased from 3% to 3.25% in 1969 session of state legislature.

	Family A (Four Persons)	Family B (Four Persons)
Income	$3,000	$30,000
Expenditures	3,600	20,000
Three Per Cent Sales Tax on Expenditures	108	600
Less Credit or Rebate ($12 x 4)	48	None where taxable income exceeds $7,000
Net Sales Tax	60	600
Net Sales Tax as Per Cent of Income	2%	2%

is a recent development and relatively unknown in southern legislative halls. Two southern governors proposed tax packages in 1969 which included such measures: Governors Maddox and Rockefeller in Georgia and Arkansas. In the absence of familiarity with this idea, and without strong support by union, civil rights, and consumer groups, the innovative concept was dealt instant death by the legislators in Georgia.

No discussion of sales taxes is complete without considering special interest exemptions. Proponents of such exemptions often can point to no broad equity principle to justify their request. However, where equipment and materials are ingredients in the production of final consumer goods, the mechanics of the economic system probably make exemption of such items desirable, from the consumer's viewpoint. For instance, the sales tax requires the consumer to pay three per cent on the price of a dozen eggs.* If the poultryman were required to pay three per cent on the feed for his hens, he would likely pass this extra cost to the consumer, who would then pay three per cent plus a hidden tax on his dozen eggs.

It is important that exemptions be granted only for machinery and materials designed specifically for the manufacture of a certain product. Thus a typewriter, which is incidental to any business but is not designed specifically for the manufacture of a product or the rendering of a taxable service, would be subject to the tax. The tractor on the farm would be exempt.

Mississippi is the only southern state which has a multiple stage sales tax, or one that taxes both wholesale and retail sales.

Most exemptions, other than the pyramiding variety described above, favor one or another group of consumers. For example, exemptions of many services (beauty and barber shops are a common example) favor individuals who make use of those services over those who tend to buy actual goods. Generally, upper income groups spend more on services than lower income groups. Therefore, exempting services accentuates regressivity. If a sales tax is combined with the credit-rebate proposal, the likelihood is greater that all taxpayers will be treated equally, without escape hatches for their particular spending idosyncrasies.

Selective Sales Tax

The regressive nature of selective sales taxes was documented in 1968 in a study of Georgia taxes.** Georgia selective sales taxes amounted to two per cent of income for families below $1,000 per year, and only one per cent of income for families earning $15,000 and over.

The average per capita burden of selective sales taxes in all the states in 1967 was $48.97. In three of the eleven southern states, the per capita burden exceeded the national average. In the United States in 1967, the

*The three per cent figure here is used for illustrative purposes only since it is the rate applied in the majority of the southern states.

**Robert Carl Cannon and Donald Ray Escarraz, "Sales Tax Equity: Selective Sales Taxes," University of Georgia, 1968 (mimeographed).

average state selective sales tax burden per $1,000 personal income was $16.62. In each of the eleven southern states, the burden per $1,000 personal income exceeded the national average. The burden in relation to income was greatest in Mississippi and South Carolina, two states at the bottom in per capita incomes.

The full burden in southern states of regressive general and selective sales taxes combined is shown in columns 7-9, Table I. The average combined sales tax bill in the United States is $32.08 for every $1,000 personal income. In Mississippi, it is $57.72. In all southern states, execpt Texas and Virginia, the burden is higher, relative to income, than the national average. It is emphasized that southern states (1) have lower incomes, and (2) out of lower incomes, take a higher share in regressive taxes than the average state. The actual rates of the southern states on cigarettes, gasoline, and alcohol are shown in Table III.

TABLE III

Major Selective Sales Tax Rates, April, 1969

	Cigarette (Cents per pack)	*Gasoline (Cents per gallon)*	*Alcohol (Dollars per gallon)*
Alabama	10	7	(state owned)
Arkansas	12½	7½	2.50
Florida	15	7	3.75
Georgia	8	6½	3.75
Louisiana	8	8	1.68
Mississippi	9	7	2.50
North Carolina	—	7	(state owned)
South Carolina	6*	7	2.72
Tennessee	8	7	4.00
Texas	15.5**	5	1.68
Virginia	2.5	7	(state owned)

Source: U. S. Department of Commerce, *State and Local Finances, Significant Features, 1966-1969.*
*Increased from 5 to 6 cents in 1969 session of the state legislature.
**Increased from 11 cents to 15.5 cents in the 1969 session of the state legislature.

3 Income Taxes in the South

State Personal Income Tax

The heavy emphasis southern states place on regressive taxes coincides with their lesser reliance on progressive taxes, or taxes based on ability to pay. In most southern states, income taxes are not as important in the state's revenue structure as is true nationally. In 1932, only four per cent of taxes in the 48 states were derived from personal income taxes, while in 1967 this had risen to 15.4 per cent. Thirty-eight states presently levy a state income tax, producing an average of 22.4 per cent of all state taxes in those states. Among these 38 states are nine southern states. Texas and Florida have no state income taxes.

The percentages income taxes represent of southern tax structures are shown in Table IV. In line with national state tax trends, this percentage has grown. However, in Mississippi, it produces only 3.4 per cent of all state taxes. In Tennessee, where it applies only to dividend and interest income, it raises only 1.7 per cent of all state taxes. The income tax is of major importance in the tax structures of only two southern states: Virginia and North Carolina.

Income tax collections, relative to total available income, are generally lower in the southern states than for all states levying an income tax. Statutory tax rates, exemptions, and definitions of taxable income vary considerably from state to state. Therefore, the comparison of each state's income tax receipts per $1,000 personal income gives a clearer illustration of income tax effort than is appparent in a reading of tax rates alone. Column 4, Table IV, shows that the average amount of state income tax in the 36 states levying the tax in 1967 was $13.33 per $1,000 of personal

TABLE IV

State Personal Income Tax Collections, 1967

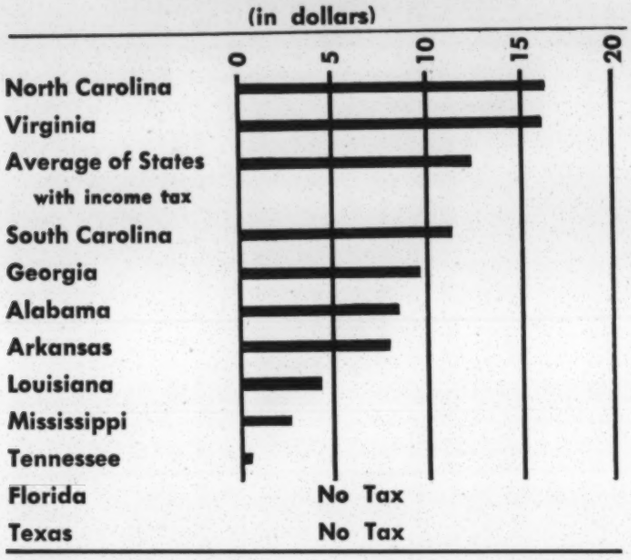
	Percentage of Total State Taxes			*Per $1000 Personal Income, 1967*
	1952	*1963*	*1967*	
Average of States With Income Tax	9.3%	13.4%	22.4%	$13.33
Alabama	n.a.	9.2	12.0	8.01
Arkansas	4.2	7.4	11.0	7.93
Florida		no tax		
Georgia	7.0	11.2	15.1	9.47
Louisiana	n.a.	3.6	5.2	4.35
Mississippi	4.8	3.6	3.4	2.50
North Carolina	13.1	17.7	22.4	16.66
South Carolina	8.2	12.4	15.8	11.80
Tennessee*	2.0	1.9	1.7	.01
Texas		no tax		
Virginia	14.8	31.4	30.3	16.55

*Applies only to dividend and interest income.
Source: Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *Tax Overlapping in the United States*, 1964 and U. S. Department of Commerce, *State Government Finances in 1967.*

STATE PERSONAL INCOME TAX COLLECTIONS

Per $1,000 Personal Income, 1967

(in dollars)



income. Seven southern states make a lower effort than this average. Only two southern states—North Carolina and Virginia—make an effort exceeding the average. For every $1,000 personal income, North Carolina obtains $16.66 in state personal income taxes, and Virginia, $16.55.

State income tax rates generally have much less progression (or increasing rate) in the higher income brackets than is provided by federal income tax law. Yet 13 states do progress to rates ranging from eight per cent to 14 per cent at the highest brackets, and two additional states are tied to the federal rates, which are quite progressive. Table V shows that no southern state has a rate exceeding seven per cent at the highest income bracket where progression of rates terminates.

To determine the progressiveness of an income tax, one must not only examine rates, but also the income bracket where progression stops. If State A applies a five per cent rate to all net taxable incomes over $10,000, but State B progresses to a six per cent rate for taxable incomes above $15,000, and State C to a seven per cent rate above $25,000, State C has the steepest progression. Twenty of the 38 income tax states, including five southern states, terminate progression of rates at or below the $10,000 bracket of net taxable income. Seven income tax states continue progression of rates as high as, or above, the over-$25,000 bracket. Included are three southern states. The net taxable income brackets where progression of rates ceases are shown in Table V.

There is considerable variation in allowable personal exemptions under the 38 state income tax laws. Sixteen states use the $600 basic personal exemption as in the federal law. The rest use substantially higher exemptions. Southern states are among those using the higher exemptions. Mississippi has the highest exemption, allowing $4,000 for a single taxpayer, and a total of $6,000 in a joint return. High personal exemptions permit lower income families or large households to avoid or reduce income tax liability. Moreover, generous personal exemptions have the effect of introducing a degree of progressivity into a state income tax which might have little progression in tax rates. However, high personal exemptions may not be compatible with other fiscal aims.

Where citizens are attempting to reform a regressive tax structure that is heavily dependent on sales taxes, they must necessarily place more weight on income taxes as revenue raisers.

Deductibility of federal income taxes from state income is another provision which offers the illusion of state income tax relief, but in reality provides a greater cushion to higher income taxpayers. Federal income tax law already permits deductibility of state income taxes, together with other state and local taxes. Where state income tax law then also permits state deduction of federal taxes, the taxpayer enjoys double deductibility. But the value of this deductibility is greater for the wealthy. It reduces the rich taxpayer's state tax by a higher percentage than the poorer man's. The following example shows the greater reduction for the higher brackets:

Taxable Income	*State Tax Rate Where Federal Tax is Not Deductible*	*Effective State Tax Rate Where Federal Tax Rate is Deductible*	*Reduction* of State Rate by Deductibility Clause*
$ 10,000	10%	9.5%	5%
$200,000	10%	3.2%	68%

*Since state tax is also deductible from federal tax, the larger relative state reduction becomes a lower relative deduction for federal purposes. This results in a partial offset against the regressive effect of the deduction of the federal taxes for state income tax purposes. Advisory Commission for Intergovernmental Relations, *Tax Overlapping in the United States, 1964*, Washington, D. C., 1964, p. 131.

TABLE V

Top Bracket Income Tax Rates, April, 1969

	Highest Rate In State Income Tax Law Per Cent	*Progression of Rates Ends at Taxable Income Level Over:*
Alabama	5	$ 5,000
Arkansas	5	25,000
Georgia	6	10,000
Louisiana	6	50,000
Mississippi	4	5,000
North Carolina	7	10,000
South Carolina	7	10,000
Tennessee	6	(applies only to interest and dividends)
Virginia	5	20,000

Source: Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *State and Local Finances, Significant Features, 1966-1969*, Washington, D. C., 1968.

TABLE VI

Ability To Pay Taxes in the Southern States, 1967

	Percentage of All State Tax Collections: Personal Income Tax	Corporate Income Tax	Death Taxes	Inheritance Tax	Gift Tax	Estate Tax
U. S., Average, All States	15.4%	7.0%	2.5%	38 states	12 states	49 states
U. S. Average, States With Tax	22.4	9.3				
Alabama	12.0	6.2	.5	no	no	pick-up
Arkansas	11.0	8.9	.2	no	no	pick-up
Florida	no tax	no tax	1.3	no	no	pick-up
Georgia	15.1	9.7	.5	no	no	pick-up
Louisiana	5.2	5.0	.8	yes	yes	pick-up
Mississippi	3.4	5.5	.5	no	no	estate
North Carolina	22.4	11.7	1.6	yes	yes	pick-up
South Carolina	15.8	11.0	.7	no	yes	estate
Tennessee	1.7	8.4	2.3	yes	yes	pick-up
Texas	no tax	no tax	2.0	yes	no	pick-up
Virginia	30.3	7.8	1.3	yes	yes	pick-up

Source: U. S. Department of Commerce, *State Government Finances in 1967* and Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *State and Local Taxes, Significant Features, 1966-1969,* Washington, D. C. 1968.

Of 18 states that allow deductibility of federal taxes for state income tax purposes, three (Alabama, Louisiana, and South Carolina) are southern states.

The amount of revenue produced by a state income tax depends largely upon the effectiveness of enforcement procedures. In recent years, more states have entered into cooperative agreements with the federal government for income tax information and enforcement. The superior enforcement procedures of the federal government insure a higher compliance than most state agencies. Some southern states have not yet availed themselves of cooperative efforts with the federal authorities, and until they do, their collections on state income taxes will not reach full potential. The use of federal taxable income criteria is another recent trend in various states. This is a step in the direction of "catching" as much income as possible under state law. It also simplifies filing procedures for taxpayers.

The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations recommends that a state income tax should produce at least 20 per cent of the federal personal income tax collections in that state.* The Commission found only one southern state (North Carolina) which met its standard of productivity.

Local Personal Income Tax

Only one southern city (Gadsden, Alabama) uses a city income tax. Although talk is heard everywhere of local revenue needs, and of providing cities with authority for new taxes, the talk is mostly of increased sales taxes.

In order to prevent proliferation of new income taxing units in every small locality, local income taxes can be "piggy-backed" to existing state income taxes, collected at the state level, and returned to the localities imposing the tax. This method is entirely consistent with local option, since the decision to levy the tax remains in the hands of local voters. Only the chore of collecting the revenue is delegated to existing state income tax units. The "piggy-back" local option approach has the added advantage of using a comprehensive tax base, including interest, dividends, and capital gains. This procedure makes the tax more progressive than the payroll tax.

Moreover, the local income tax applies to commuters working in central cities, and thereby enables the cities to derive revenue from suburban residents employed in the metropolitan core.

Corporate Income Tax

Forty-one states** and the District of Columbia levy a corporate income tax. Three of these states added corporate income taxes in 1967 (Michigan, Nebraska, and West Virginia). Corporate income taxes in 1967 represented seven per cent of all state tax collections. The percentage has remained steady during the 1960's. State corporate income tax rates are moderate and result in collections which annually average less than

*Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *State and Local Taxes, Significant Features, 1968,* Washington, D. C., 1968, p. 6.

**This includes South Dakota where the tax is applicable only to banks.

10 per cent of federal corporate income tax collections. In contrast to the 48 per cent federal rate on corporate income above $25,000, state rates range from one per cent to 11 per cent. Thirty-two states levy a flat rate on all corporate income.

Of the eleven southern states, only Texas and Florida levy no corporate income tax. The percentages corporate income taxes represent of local tax collections in the southern states are shown in Column 2, Table VI. The corporate income tax generally produces about the same percentage of state collections in southern states as elsewhere in the nation.

Although five per cent is the single most usual rate, 23 states levy a rate (either flat or at the upper brackets) exceeding five per cent. Only three southern states have rates in excess of five percent, Georgia, Arkansas, and North Carolina, all three at six per cent. Rates for the southern states are shown in Table VII.

Deductibility of federal corporate income tax from state income tax meets the same objections which were discussed under personal income taxes. It produces a greater relative reduction of state corporate tax for large, prosperous corporations than for marginal operations. Only two southern states (Alabama and Louisiana) permit this double deductibility. Tennessee, however, permits a related practice of deducting the state corporate tax itself in computing state tax liability.

TABLE VII

State Corporate Income Tax Rates, April, 1969

	Flat Rate or Rate on Lowest Bracket of Net Income:	*Rate at Highest Bracket of Net Income:*
Alabama	5% - flat	
Arkansas	1% - $3,000	6% over $25,000
Georgia	6% - flat	
Florida	none	
Louisiana	4% - flat	
Mississippi	3% - $5,000	4% over $ 5,000
North Carolina	6% - flat	
South Carolina	5% - flat	
Tennessee	5% - flat	
Texas	none	
Virginia	5% - flat	

Source: Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *State and Local Taxes, Significant Features, 1966-1969*, Washington, D. C., 1968.

Death Taxes

There are three major types of state death taxes: estate, inheritance, and gift taxes. The estate tax is levied on the *property* of the deceased. The inheritance tax applies to the portions of the estate going to each beneficiary, and the gift tax prevents evasion of inheritance taxes by transfer of property prior to death. These taxes are all based on the proposition that an inheritance constitutes a windfall, and that there is greater justification for taxing wealth an individual has been *given* than income for which he worked. Death taxes are usually thought of as progressive levies, because higher rates apply to larger legacies. However, the true principle of ability-to-pay is not completely followed, because the size of the recipient's own income does not affect the rate on the inheritance left to him. A poor man who inherits a sum pays the same tax as a rich man who is left an equal amount.

Federal tax law on estates has steep progression of rates. It provides that on estates above $60,000, portions of the state tax may be credited against the amount owed the federal government. The portion allowed for credit varies inversely with the size of the estate. Under the credit provision, the state tax on large estates reduces the amount owed to the federal government. In some instances, the state estate tax does not impose a new or additional burden not already produced by the federal law.

The percentages death taxes represent of total state tax collections are shown in Column 3, Table VI. Southern states all obtain a lower percentage than is true nationally. The lower proportions result partly from fewer and smaller estates in southern states. However, they may also reflect more generous tax laws.

The most generous possible provision of a state tax is to levy a tax equal only to the amount which may be credited towards the federal tax. In this manner, the estate pays to the state an amount equal to what it may subtract from federal liability. Beneficiaries are taxed nothing extra. Only four states in the nation are so generous: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, and Georgia, which levy what is called a "pickup" tax. They have no other inheritance or gift taxes. Two additional southern states, South Carolina and Mississippi, levy estate taxes that are only slightly less liberal to the state than the minimum "pickup" tax.

The remaining five southern states supplement estate taxes with either inheritance or gift taxes, or both. Table VI summarizes death taxes in the southern states. Of 38 states with inheritance taxes, five are southern. Of 13 states with gift taxes, five are southern.

Death taxes will not produce substantial new revenues, even if the southern states were all to adopt each type of tax and exceed the minimum "pickup" estate tax. Southern states need to examine their death taxes not so much with the primary purpose of increasing revenue, but rather of promoting equity. The absence of gift taxes is one of the more obvious loopholes permitting evasion of death taxes by transfer of property.

4 Taxes On Business

In comparing taxes levied on business and those levied on consumers, two pitfalls must be considered: (1) taxes initially levied on business may not all be absorbed by business. *(A corporate license fee, for instance, is a cost of business and depending on consumer demand for the product of the corporation, this cost may be shifted, completely or partially, to the consumer in the form of higher product prices. The same is true of a public utility gross receipts tax which in effect usually turns out to be a selective sales tax on the consumer.);* and (2) differences from state to state in the percentages of tax collections directly from business may not necessarily reflect differences in burdens on business. (State A, raising 20 per cent of its total taxes in the form of "business taxes," in contrast to State B which obtains only 15 per cent in this manner, may just happen to have more business.)

The percentages of total taxes that southern states collect by direct levies on business are given in Table VIII. These include two gross receipt taxes (insurance and public utility); license taxes levied on corporations, public utilities, alcoholic beverages, and amusement establishments and on occupations and business; and corporate income and severance taxes.*

Table VIII shows the percentages of total state tax collections each source of business tax represents, and the total percentage from these sources in each state. These taxes produced 17 per cent of state tax collections in the United States in 1967. The only southern state where this percentage is substantially lower is Florida. This state levies neither corporate income, nor severance tax, and prides itself on the low proportion of "business taxes."**

In Texas, the other southern state without a corporate income tax, the severance tax produces almost 17 per cent of state taxes, and brings the total percentage of state taxes from business to 27.6 per cent. Louisiana also has a severance tax, which produces almost one-third of all its taxes. Other southern states, lacking

*Severance taxes are levied on removal of natural resources. They are geared to the oil, gas, and minerals removed or sold, and are levied against the firms removing the resources from the ground.
**Florida Development Commission, *Florida Taxes*, 1968, p. 23.

TABLE VIII

Business Taxes As Percentages of State Taxes, 1967

	All States Avg.	*Ala.*	*Ark.*	*Fla.*	*Ga.*	*La.*	*Miss.*	*N.C.*	*S.C.*	*Tenn.*	*Tex.*	*Va.*
Insurance Gross Receipts	2.8	2.6	2.3	3.0	2.4	2.5	3.1	2.6	2.6	3.7	3.2	3.2
Public Utilies Gross Rec.	1.9	1.1		1.6		1.4	.1	5.0	1.9	.5	2.1	4.1
Corporate Licenses	1.9	2.6	.5	.6	.4	3.1	2.3	1.6		2.7	4.4	.3
Public Util. Licenses	.1	.1	.2	*		*	.1		.5	*		
Alcohol. Licenses	.4	.3	.1	.2	*	.2	*	*	.2	*	.2	*
Amusement Licenses	*		*					*	.1	*		
Occupat. Licenses	1.1	1.0	.8	4.3	.8	1.7	1.4	2.3	1.6	3.6	.8	1.7
Corporate Income	7.0	6.2	8.8		9.7	5.0	5.5	11.7	11.0	8.4		7.8
Severance	1.8	.4	1.6	*		31.2	3.6				16.8	*
Total**	17.0	14.3	14.4	9.7	13.3	45.1	16.1	23.4	17.8	19.0	27.6	17.1

*Denotes less than .1%.
**Total may not add up because of rounding.
Source: Calculated from U. S. Department of Commerce, *State Government Finances in 1967.*

these natural resource bounties, produce from 13 per cent to 23 per cent in "business taxes."

Despite the growth of business generally in the United States, the proportion of total state and local taxes derived from business declined 2.2 per cent from 1957 to 1962.* Table 9 shows that four southern states had a decline in business taxes, as a percentage of total state and local taxes, exceeding the national decline. The lesser role played by business taxes is a result both of deliberate attempts by state and local governments to lighten the load on business, and of the lower elasticity of business taxes in keeping pace with economic expansion, as compared to personal taxes. A business license, for instance, usually is a fixed amount and does not produce more revenue as business expands. In contrast, a retail sales tax automatically produces more revenue as business grows.

Some state and local governments have deliberately sought to lighten the load on business in their competitive race to attract new industry. Although there is no unanimity on the importance of business taxes as an influence on plant locations, most economists conclude that tax differentials are outweighed by other considerations in plant location decisions. Southern states have been among the most active competitors in the race to give new industries tax concessions and favors. Of 13 states with constitutional provisions permitting state and/or local tax exemptions to new industry, five are southern states (Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina). Five to ten-year property tax moratoriums are granted by these states. In some instances, the new business is exempted from all property taxes, including school taxes. In that case, the burden of providing schools for the additional children brought into a community as a result of a new plant falls on traditional tax sources. Usually it means increased taxes on homeowners and previously established businesses. In 1965, the Alabama new industry exemption provision was estimated to have cost state and local governments from $500,000 to $1 million in property tax levies.** Louisiana goes so far as to permit a "Council on New Industry" to lure new establishments by negotiating contracts to meet the best tax offer received in any competing state!

Industrial development by public authority bond issues is another inducement used by states in the competitive race for new business. An industrial development authority, as a public body, usually enjoys exemptions from property taxes. When it brings an industry (oftentimes a large and powerful corporation) to a particular locale, the authority *leases* building property to the firm which is then absolved of property taxes. This constitutes a further subsidy to private business over and beyond the financing aid extended through the public authority bond issues. All southern states, except Florida and Texas, now permit industrial authority bond financing.***

(It is noteworthy that Mississippi, the state with the earliest provision for industrial development bond financing, ranks lowest among the southern states in terms of manufacturing jobs, while Florida, without this crutch, has had the most rapid expansion of such jobs.)

The outcome of most tax subsidies to lure business is to invite retaliatory action by neighboring states. The result is that nothing has been gained by securing a supposedly favorable business tax climate. Yet lost revenue must be compensated by higher personal taxes. Concessions and tax abatements also inflict discriminatory effects between new and established business firms.

TABLE IX

State and Local Taxes on Business*, as a Percentage of Total Taxes, 1957-1962

	1962	1957	Change 1957-1962
U. S.	31.7	33.9	−2.2
Alabama	24.1	25.7	−1.6
Arkansas	23.0	26.6	−3.6
Florida	29.4	30.6	−1.2
Georgia	26.7	25.4	+1.3
Louisiana	53.3	48.0	+5.3
Mississippi	33.0	32.5	+ .5
North Carolina	29.4	32.5	−3.1
South Carolina	26.6	28.0	−1.4
Tennessee	26.9	26.2	+ .7
Texas	45.2	52.0	−6.8
Virginia	33.6	36.5	−2.9

*Excluding employment taxes
Source: Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *State and Local Taxation, and Industrial Location*, Washington, D. C., 1967, p. 38.

*Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *State-Local Taxation and Industrial Location*, April, 1967, p. 38.

**Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *State-Local Taxation and Industrial Location*, Washington, D. C., 1967, p. 47.

***North Carolina's industrial authority provisions were ruled unconstitutional. Recent federal legislation restricts tax-free industrial development revenue bonds to small issues to accommodate small businesses. In some localities, the firms holding the lease with industrial development authorities are paying fees in lieu of property taxes. The practice is one that should be encouraged wherever business concerns lease properties from public bodies who are exempt from actual property taxes.

5 The Property Tax

Although its role as a *state* tax measure has almost disappeared, the property tax in 1967 still constituted 66 per cent of all revenue obtained by *local* governments from their own sources. It is levied primarily on real estate, although many types of personal property are taxed in various jurisdictions.

Table X shows for the southern states, and the United States average, various comparisons on property tax data; each comparison shows that property taxes in the South are low. Nationally the per capita property tax in the average state in 1967 was $132.81. All the southern states are well below this. For nine states, the per capita figures are less than half of the national average.

With lower available incomes (from which property taxes ultimately must be paid) it is to be expected that southern states per capita property taxes should be lower than the national average. To determine "effort" in relation to lower incomes, by expressing the property taxes per $1,000 personal income, the property tax effort of the southern states still shows up dismally low. The national average is $45.27 in property tax per $1,000 personal income. Only three southern states exceed a $30 effort; two of these exceed a $40 effort.

When each state's effort is expressed as a percentage of the national effort (the index of effort, as shown in Column 4, Table X), seven southern states make less than a two-thirds effort. Effort, it must be remembered, is already expressed in terms of available income.

Still another comparison illustrates the lower level of property taxation in southern cities. Table XI lists median "effective tax rates" on fully taxable houses (without homestead exemptions) in various large cities. The "effective" tax rate is the tax bill expressed as a percentage of the value of the property. This comparison avoids the problem encountered when millage rates are compared on equal value properties that carry unequal assessment percentages. Only three southern cities (all in Florida, where the homestead exemption is $5,000) of 19 southern cities surveyed by the Bureau of the Census had average effective property rates of three per cent or more in 1966. A three per cent effective property tax rate is generally considered to approach upper economic limits, although effective rates exceeding four per cent are levied in many New Jersey communities. Tax rates in the vicinity of two per cent in effect in most large southern cities, cannot be considered "confiscatory" by any economic yardstick.

Property taxes are generally considered to be regressive largely because the value of the housing unit con-

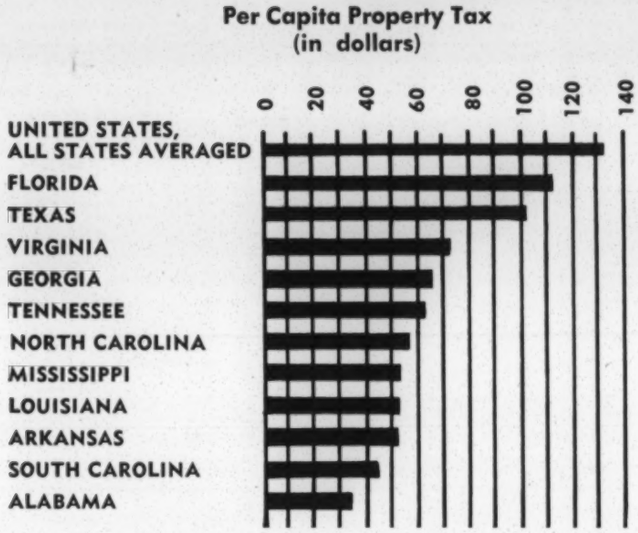
TABLE X

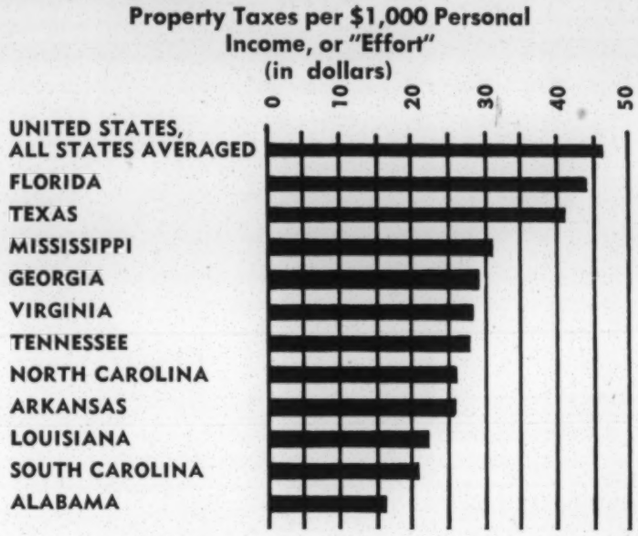
The Property Tax in the Southern States, 1967

	Property Tax as Percent of: State & Local Revenue From Own Sources 1966-67	Property Tax as Percent of: Local Revenue From Own Sources 1966-67	Per Capita Property Tax 1966-67	Property Taxes per $1000 Personal Income "Effort" 1966-67	Index of Property Tax Effort
United States, All States avg.	35.4%	66.3%	$132.81	$45.27	100
Alabama	13.2	29.2	34.12	16.65	37
Arkansas	20.2	56.3	51.23	25.65	57
Florida	30.9	54.4	113.15	44.02	97
Georgia	23.2	52.9	68.81	29.33	65
Louisiana	15.0	45.0	52.51	23.25	51
Mississippi	20.4	48.9	54.36	30.73	68
North Carolina	21.1	62.6	58.62	26.04	58
South Carolina	16.9	58.2	42.28	20.69	46
Tennessee	23.4	51.7	62.96	28.46	64
Texas	34.8	66.4	104.91	41.74	92
Virginia	25.0	56.6	74.20	28.91	64

Source: U. S. Department of Commerce, *Government Finances, 1966-67.*

THE PROPERTY TAX IN THE SOUTHERN STATES, 1966-67





stitutes a lower percentage of higher incomes than of lower incomes. A study of Florida taxes, for instance, makes the following estimate of income-housing value relationships:

Gross Family Income	*Ratio of Value of House to Gross Family Income*	*Value of House*
$ 1,475	6.10	$ 9,000
3,053	3.08	9,400
4,443	2.32	10,300
5,757	2.02	11,600
7,141	1.72	12,300
8,806	1.56	13,700
11,542	1.39	16,000
16,092	1.31	21,000
35,941	1.25	45,000

Source: Peat, Marwick, Mitchell, and Company, *Report on the Revenue System of State and Local Government in Florida*, November, 1968, pp. vii-6.

TABLE XI

Effective Property Tax Rates in Southern Cities, 1966

	Median Effective Tax Rate, Fully Taxable House
Birmingham, Ala.	.92
Little Rock, Ark.	1.18
Miami, Fla.	3.07
Jacksonville, Fla.	3.38
Tampa, Fla.	3.56
Atlanta, Ga.	1.47
Columbus, Ga.	1.26
New Orleans, La.	.95
Jackson, Miss.	2.37
Winston-Salem, N. C.	1.34
Charlotte, N. C.	1.49
Chattanooga, Tenn.	1.92
Knoxville, Tenn.	2.10
Nashville, Tenn.	1.33
Dallas, Tex.	1.48
Houston, Tex.	1.79
Ft. Worth, Tex.	2.32
Richmond, Va.	1.51
Norfolk, Va.	1.18

Source: U. S. Department of Commerce, 1967 *Census of Governments, Taxable Property Values*, Vol. 2.

Property taxes, being tied to the value of the house, therefore, constitute a lower percentage of higher incomes than lower ones.

The homestead exemption, instead of alleviating regressivity of the property tax, accentuates it. Lower income groups are more likely to be tenants than homeowners. On rental property there is no homestead exemption. In the absence of a glut of housing on the market, the landlord shifts the property tax to the tenant in the form of higher rent. The tenant ends up paying the property tax, without the benefit of the homestead exemption, while the homeowner, who is likely to earn a higher income, in effect enjoys an exemption which the law does not grant him. Moreover, the property owner is allowed to deduct his tax on the property from income to reduce his income tax liability. The tenant, although he usually ends up paying the tax, may not deduct it for income tax purposes.

Only nine states still use the homestead exemption. Three of them (Alabama, Texas, and Minnesota) apply it only to state property taxes, where it has almost no value. The remaining six states, listed below, apply it

State	*Value of Homestead Exemption*	*Applies to All Local Taxes*	*Applies to Some Local Taxes*
Florida	$5,000	x	
Georgia	2,000		x
Hawaii	1,500*	x	
Louisiana	2,000		x
Mississippi	5,000		x
Oklahoma	1,000	x	

*Plus part of the next $3,500.

Source: Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *The Role of the States in Strengthening the Property Tax*, Vol. 1, June, 1963, p. 78.

to all or some local government taxes.

The defense of the homestead exemption is that it provides relief to low income families and retired individuals on small pensions, owning their homes. However, the homestead exemption is not selective and certainly not the best solution for a welfare problem. It provides the same relief to those who don't need it. The tax credit is a better mechanism for providing tax relief to lower income groups. Minnesota and Wisconsin both allow relief to poorer homeowners in the form of credits against incomes taxes, and rebates if the credit exceeds the amount of income tax liability. The credits vary depending on family income, and the amount of property tax paid. Both states recognize that a tenant's rent also includes the owner's property tax, and therefore they allow tenants a credit, geared to their rental payments.

Homestead exemptions are not the only property exemptions which erode the tax base. Throughout the nation there is a proliferation of exemptions: to veterans, senior citizens, and the handicapped; to educational and religious groups; to fraternal, benevolent, and women's associations; to new industrial and special-purpose businesses. Exemptions constitute a constant and growing drain on the tax digests of local governments. The incongruity of an exempted church parking lot, used commercially during the week but for church purposes on Sunday, points up the irrationality of special benefit exemptions. Exemption for a veteran who owns a house favors him over another who owns stock. Exemptions in effect are subsidies and often they tend to get lost from public view.

Exempted institutional property is largely concentrated in central cities and leaves the remaining property tax base to carry the added burden of exemptions. In Dade County (Miami), it is estimated that property worth $130 million is exempted, not counting church and government property.* A constructive answer to the current clamor over high property tax rates might be a complete public inventory in each area of all tax-exempt property, with a subsequent evaluation of each exemption.

The greatest failure in the equitable administration of property taxes lies in the unequal assessment levels for different types of properties. This may come about through unequal valuation practices and unequal assessment percentages.

The valuation of a piece of property is the determination of its market value. Where assessors do not keep up to date on changing values, new property tends to be valued at current market values, but old properties are not updated to rising values. Application of assessment percentages to outdated values extends the inequities. An example to clarify this problem follows:

	Old House: Sold for $25,000 in 1968	*New House: Sold for $25,000 in 1968*
Valuation for Tax Purposes	**$20,000**	**$25,000**
Prescribed Assessment Percentage	**40%**	**40%**
Assessed Value on Tax Digest	**$ 8,000**	**$10,000**

In effect, the assessment of the old house is 32 per cent, instead of the prescribed 40 per cent, as applied on the new house.

In the above example, at least the same prescribed assessment ratio (40 per cent) was applied to both pieces of property. Obviously if different assessment ratios had been applied, the inequity from outdated valuations would be magnified. Ironically, in some states, attempts have been made to classify property into various groups, and to apply *different* assessment ratios. This provides a semblance of legality in extending favoritism to owners of one type of property over those with different classes of property. In Tennessee, court decisions interpreted the existing constitution to require equal assessment ratios for all types of properties. In order to avoid equal application, Tennessee, in 1968, amended its constitution to include different classes of property and to assess the farm class at 20 per cent, residential at 25 per cent, industrial and commercial at 35 per cent, and utilities at 45 per cent. The effect of this classification is to grant different favors to various property owners, with the greatest favor going to the rural areas.

A similar proposal to classify property failed in Alabama in 1967. Although the other southern states do not go so far as Tennessee in granting outright legislative favoritism to different groups, all the states in effect grant a property tax subsidy to farm and vacant landowners through unrealistically low valuations by assessors of farms and vacant lots.

Table XII shows the result of United States Bureau of Census comparisons of tax digest values with market values (or effective assessment ratios) for residential, farm-vacant, and commercial or industrial properties. In each state, the effective assessment ratios are much lower for farms and vacant lots than for any other kind of property. In Alabama, for instance, the average residential property checked in the study was on the tax books at 22 per cent of its sales value. The average farm, however, was listed at only nine per cent of its sales value. Although farmers are granted favored treatment throughout the United States, their relative subsidy in southern states is higher.

The only southern state where effective assessment ratios for farms exceed the average for the United States is Florida, where a 1965 court decision held that

*Atlanta *Journal-Constitution*, January 26, 1969, p. 1-F.

TABLE XII

Assessment Ratios by Types of Property, 1967

	Average All Types of Property	*Residential*	*Acreage & Farms*	*Vacant Lots*	*Commercial and Industrial*
U. S. Statewide	32.6	34.9	17.8	24.1	33.9
(SMSA)*	32.1	35.6		24.9	33.4
Alabama Statewide	19.1	22.4	8.8	17.6	11.0
(SMSA)	22.3	24.0		19.0	12.5
Arkansas Statewide	12.2	16.0	6.7	6.8	14.9
(SMSA)	16.4	17.6		14.2	15.2
Florida Statewide	68.9	78.1	32.0	44.4	57.2
(SMSA)	71.5	79.8		49.6	63.3
Georgia Statewide	34.9	39.3	13.2	22.1	24.5
(SMSA)	38.2	40.8		20.5	23.8
Louisiana Statewide	17.1	18.0	10.0	9.7	18.2
(SMSA)	17.8	18.6		9.3	18.8
Mississippi Statewide	13.5	16.6	7.9	10.8	14.3
(SMSA)	18.8	19.7		9.9	
North Carolina Statewide	48.0	53.3	23.9	32.1	52.6
(SMSA)	53.5	58.6		32.1	58.6
South Carolina Statewide	5.0	5.3	3.6	4.3	5.2
(SMSA)	5.3	5.5		3.5	5.7
Tennessee Statewide	26.2	28.9	11.6	21.9	23.7
(SMSA)	35.2	36.3		25.5	28.6
Texas Statewide	19.1	21.6	10.6	15.7	19.6
(SMSA)	20.4	22.3		14.7	20.8
Virginia Statewide	29.9	33.7	14.1	25.1	26.6
(SMSA)	32.9	35.4		21.5	23.1

*Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area.
Ratios are obtained from properties sold during the year of the survey.
Source: U. S. Department of Commerce, *1967 Census of Governments, Taxable Property Values*, Vol. 2.

all property must be assessed at 100 per cent of its market value.

Although low farm income is the customary plea to justify lower farm assessments, the fact is that such assessments not only help the small farmer, but provide tax shields for more wealthy landowners who are thus allowed to shift local tax burdens back upon the state. Southern states, as we have noted previously, usually respond to any need for increased revenue by raising sales taxes.

Current suggestions to reduce property tax rates with offsets in increased sales taxes are advantageous to the large landowner, but of no help to the average homeowner, as the following example indicates:

	Owner of 10,000 Acres of Farmland	*Owner of $25,000 Home*
Assessed Value	$1,000,000	$10,000
Value of Five Mill Property Tax Reduction	5,000	50
Offsetting Increase of One Per Cent Sales Tax on $8,000 Annual Expenditures	80	80
Net Tax Change	$ 4,820 Reduction	$ 30 Increase

The lower effective assessment ratios on vacant lots, relative to all property, illustrate the lower tax burden enjoyed by suburban landowners. Low tax bills on suburban lots with rising values permit owners and speculators to hold the land off the market, and thereby further increase the price of land. *Tax policy in this way abets land speculation and increases the cost of housing.*

Table XII also shows that effective assessment ratios within metropolitan areas invariably exceed the assessments on a statewide basis, for similar type properties. This is another indication that rural local governments do not administer the property tax as fairly as the urban centers. Where state aid to various local programs is provided as a result of a county's unwillingness to raise sufficient revenue through equitable property assessments, the county in effect is allowed to parlay poor tax administration into a subsidy from urban areas.

Improved assessment practices throughout each state (most knowledgeable observers agree) will depend largely upon the availability of professional non-elected assessors. Small local governments are financially unable to attract such personnel. Moreover, impartiality of assessments may be more easily obtained from officials less closely tied to the politics of small local jurisdictions. State training and supervision, with strict qualifying standards of appointed assessment personnel, and reorganization of small assessment districts into areas large enough to afford qualified professionals might be a means to bring about more equitable property assessments.

6 Charges and Fees for Services

In addition to taxes, governments at all levels make charges for various services to obtain additional revenue. Examples at the state level are state park admission fees from campers or tolls for new highways. At the local level, general revenue (which excludes money derived from the sale of water or other utilities) includes a variety of charges of which inspection fees, golf course and swimming pool admissions, and auditorium rentals, are a few examples.

Table XIII summarizes the role of charges and miscellaneous revenue as a revenue source for state and local governments. Local charges constitute a higher percentage of *local* revenue in all the southern states than the national average, except in Virginia. It is also important to consider charges relative to lower incomes in the southern states. Column 4 shows that charges and miscellaneous revenues per $1,000 personal income exceed the national average of $25.63 in nine of the southern states. Only North Carolina and Virginia have lower charges relative to available income than the national average.

The data show that generally it is local governments, rather than state governments, which are laying the heavier stress on charges in the southern states. This reflects the failure of most southern states to permit local governments to levy taxes sufficient to obtain revenues. It is also indicative of the inadequate sharing of state taxes derived from other sources.

TABLE XIII

The Role of Charges and Miscellaneous Revenue in State and Local Governments, 1966-67

	Charges and Miscellaneous Revenue as a Percentage of Revenue from Own Sources for:			*State and Local Govt. Charges and Misc. Revenue per $1000 personal Income*
	State & Local Governments	*State Governments*	*Local Governments*	
United States, All States, avg.	19.5%	15.5%	23.5%	$25.63
Alabama	25.6	15.2	42.9	32.29
Arkansas	21.5	11.4	39.7	27.24
Florida	25.0	11.7	36.0	35.68
Georgia	24.3	11.8	40.6	30.77
Louisiana	25.6	23.1	31.1	39.84
Mississippi	26.0	16.9	39.4	39.15
North Carolina	19.6	12.2	35.6	24.24
South Carolina	21.2	14.5	37.7	25.90
Tennessee	21.4	10.5	34.6	26.04
Texas	24.1	18.9	29.4	28.93
Virginia	19.3	17.3	21.9	22.28

Source: U. S. Department of Commerce, *Government Finances, 1966-67.*

CONCLUSIONS

The review of the various taxes and tax structures of the southern states has shown that many major taxes bear little relationship to the ability-to-pay principle. General and selective sales taxes weigh most heavily on the poor. Property taxes are no respecters of poor families or senior citizens, and corporate income tax structures fail to meet generally accepted standards of progressivity.

Three major approaches would tend to correct inequities of the present southern tax structures:

(1) Increased use of the income tax with more progressive rates at both state and local government levels provides the major possibility of reform of southern tax structures which now lean heavily on regressive sales and property taxes.

(2) Sales and property taxes, as major revenue producers, are not likely to be abandoned by governments hard pressed for revenue. Tax credits and rebates offer an alternative to offset the regressive effects of property and consumer taxes on low income families.

(3) Equalized property assessments would not only raise the revenue potential of this tax source, but distribute the tax burden more equitably.

Student dissent

SEMINAR ON MANPOWER POLICY AND PROGRAM

"Sissies! Where's Your Anti-School Spirit?"

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American Student Activism in Comparative Perspective

by Seymour Martin Lipset

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION

Student Dissent

Youth: protest and the democratic process

by Tom Kahn

What's with these crazy kids? That's the way the question usually gets posed nowadays—as if some alien and mysterious force had suddenly appeared in our midst, some inexplicable phenomenon for which there is no precedent in the annals of western civilization.

And it must be admitted that some of the antics of some of the New Youth (everything today is New) seem so far out as to defy rational analysis. Take the weird costumes, for example, or the fascination with identity-changing chemicals, or any of the other systematic and self-conscious efforts to exchange old personalities for new.

Yet like it or not, the young are here, in droves, and they will make their mark felt on the labor movement as on every other major institution in American life. Many of them are young workers who are just coming into trade union ranks. They often have special problems and they need to be educated and trained for future leadership. They are a great challenge to the labor movement.

Many others are college students who will be the writers, journalists, professors, politicians and other public opinion molders of tomorrow. How they think and feel will be an important factor in the future of the liberal-labor coalition in national politics. Moreover, as the economy—and in turn the collective bargaining process—becomes more complex, unions will increasingly find it necessary to draw on the skills of college-trained experts.

So the young are important.

The first thing to be said about the young in America is that there are so many of them. Thanks to the post-World War II baby boom, nearly half the entire population is now 25 years of age or younger.

The ways, interests and tastes of young people have always constituted a kind of subculture; today it has grown into a mass culture—and a mass market. In music and clothes, radio and TV programming, commercials and advertisements, books and magazines, the accent is on youth. Our very vocabulary and the way we use it has been forever transformed. Thus quantitative reasons alone would dictate that this current younger generation, whatever its distinctive characteristics, would have a tremendous impact on the rest of society.

The second point is that today's youth are the best educated of any in the nation's history. There are nearly 6 million students in the colleges and universities today, compared with only 3.5 million in 1960. Moreover, a larger proportion of young people are going to college than ever before. About one out of every two high school graduates will apply to college this fall.

One doesn't have to be a sociologist to recognize that education can be a source of friction between the generations. It has become a legend that every Ameri-

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Henry Wilhelm, Black Star

New Youth. SDS, small but vocal, takes to streets of Chicago in Election Day demonstration last November.

can father wants his son to have a better education than he had and to get a better job. But it is also true that once junior has read a little Plato or Aristotle (not to mention Karl Marx), there sets in a "communications gap" (as it is now euphemistically called), which in turn leads to a "generation gap."

And yet, it seems to me, the phrase "generation gap" has been overworked, used alike by despairing parents and their rebellious children to describe their troubles with each other. Like most cliches that begin by trying to explain everything, it ends up explaining nothing. After all, there must always be a generation gap, since nature decrees that parents must be older than their children. It is also in the nature of things that each generation is smarter and healthier than the last and that it has access to the lessons accumulated by the last. The phrase "generation gap" doesn't tell us what the gap consists of. It is like saying, "Tomorrow we will have weather."

Wide generational gaps have appeared before in American history. One thinks of the gap separating the immigrant father from the first-generation son, a classic American drama that has been unfolding for over a century; and one thinks of the transition from the rural South to the urban North, a process that continues to disrupt families, to make fathers and sons strangers to each other, the products of different worlds.

Yet none of these dislocations seems to have produced so sharp an intergenerational separation as we are now witnessing. Why? One perceptive writer has tried to sum it up this way:

". . . the train ride from an Iowa cornfield to Chicago was never so far as that from the Depression to the postwar world. . . . The transformation has been astounding. Go back home sometime and take a look —a real look. Most of the buildings are gone, almost all of the homes have been gutted—and then refurbished with the contemporary paraphernalia of Consumerism. Most striking of all, this is a national fact. North, South, East and West, inside the home and on the street—all the same. The fact of the matter is that several hundred national corporations have remade this nation physically since the war and on standard patterns. With their advertising culture, especially as purveyed through street signs and television, they have gone far to remake us spiritually as well. Imagine a human being who never knew anything but this perfected order of life; imagine your son." *

In other words, a marvelously inventive technology and an expanding economy have combined to produce extraordinary physical and social changes in American life. Agricultural mechanization has sent millions of people from the farms into the cities; millions of others have migrated along new highways from the central cities into sprawling suburbs. A growing number of Americans—and their children—found themselves enjoying a new prosperity as the ranks of the middle classes swelled.

Of course, not all Americans shared in this postwar prosperity. Unemployment reached high levels during the Eisenhower years in the absence of government programs to counteract the loss of jobs from technological change, and conditions of life in the slums and ghettos continued to deteriorate through neglect. But it was not from the families of displaced workers or slum dwellers that the New Youth emerged. They were cradled, by and large, in the affluence of the middle classes and many of their most basic attitudes and drives can be understood only in this context.

(If the term "New Youth" is conventionally reserved for the offspring of the affluent middle classes, it is nonetheless obvious to anyone who reads the newspapers and watches television that there is also a New Youth in the black ghettos of America and that they constitute the backbone of much of the current "Black Power" militancy. This, however, is a subject for another article.)

* David T. Bazelon, "A Writer Between Generations," Commentary magazine, February 1969.

Invisible Youth. Dispersed through the community, many young people live quietly, hold jobs, raise families.

But there is a very large number of youths who do not fall into this highly-publicized category. Not all youth are middle class; not all go to college. A good half of the young go directly from high school into the labor market. They marry, establish households, have children, go to work in factories and offices, and join unions.

Today these seem to be the Invisible Youth. Nobody writes articles about them; there are few studies of their habits, attitudes and life styles. For this there are probably several reasons.

First of all, the Invisible Youth are residentially and occupationally dispersed: they do not live in clusters and they are diffused throughout the industrial and clerical workforce. The New Youth, on the other hand, are institutionally concentrated in colleges and universities, segregated, so to speak, by age and largely by social class. They are consequently more conspicuous—and easier to study. It also happens that they are closer, physically and in other ways, to those who do the studying, namely, academic sociologists and other adult intellectuals.

Another probable reason for the lack of attention paid the Invisible Youth is that all of us tend to be more interested in what is new and different in our society than in what we take to be commonplace. It seems to be true that what is new and different—in the way of inventions, values and cultural styles—is acquired first by society's chief beneficiaries, the well-to-do and their children. New fashions, whether in clothes, ideas or behavior, are slower in reaching the children of workers. The latter seem to follow more closely in the familiar footsteps of their parents and are therefore presumed to be less interesting objects of study.

Yet it is possible to peer beneath the veil of darkness that enshrouds the Invisible Youth and perceive some general features. We will find that there are some characteristics that they share with the New Youth and some in which they are quite different. What they share are the products of a common generational experience; what they do not share are the products of a common class experience.

One thing that both groups share is a non-experience—non-experience of the Great Depression. Having myself just turned 30 and, therefore, having no memory of the economic collapse, I am convinced that this is the great dividing line between the generations. (Although I have gone through periods of personal poverty, and thus try not to be reckless with my paycheck when it comes, I do not have the same frugal attitude towards money, the same saving instinct, that my parents have. I may worry about the economic policies of the Nixon Administration, but deep down I do not really fear that the economic bottom can fall out from under me—a fear that lingers among people who suffered through the Depression.)

Among the New Youth, as we shall see, this non-experience of the Depression often takes the form of a lack of interest in the material aspirations and needs of ordinary people. Among the Invisible Youth, who generally have had a harder time of things, it takes a different form, one which is familiar to older trade unionists—a lack of identification with, and appreciation for, the past struggles and achievements of the labor movement. These struggles and achievements were won before the young worker entered the labor market and he cannot see how his life was transformed by his union. For him, the union is simply an instrument for winning periodic wage hikes and even in this he may feel it is not doing a good enough job.

There is some evidence of a growing resentment among young workers, a feeling that they are being left out of the "affluent society." While not caught in the extremes of poverty, they feel the pressure of all the expenses that are involved in beginning a family. They feel the pinch of inflation, they have a hard time finding a home they can afford, they have

no savings to fall back on in an emergency, etc. And all the while the TV commercials and newspaper advertisements keep beckoning them into the world of Florida vacations, color television sets and other luxurious sensations. All of this breeds a restlessness, a fear of becoming marginal to "the action," that I suspect is behind the recent tendency of many young workers to vote down contracts negotiated by their union leaders.

This same fear of being left behind while others are "making it" also accounts for why young workers appeared to be especially vulnerable to the demagoguery of George Wallace during the 1968 election campaign. Wallace articulated the belief of a considerable minority of less-than-securely-affluent working people that they were being made to bear the burden of financing a war on poverty and improving conditions for Negroes while their own needs were being ignored. Whether or not this belief was grounded in fact, it is true that without sufficiently massive government programs in the fields of job creation, housing, education, health care, etc., initial efforts to alleviate poverty can touch off a scramble between the have-nots and the have-littles over scarce resources. Thus the votes that Wallace picked up from young workers cannot be attributed to racism pure and simple. They must also be seen, at least in part, as an expression of rebellion—a misguided rebellion, to be sure—against the circumstances of relative economic insecurity.

This is something the New Youth find hard to understand. Not having experienced economic hardship, they often demonstrate a cavalier insensitivity to the material aspirations of others, including the Invisible Youth. (With all the talk about the "generation gap," we are apt to forget that there are gaps within generations as well as between them.) This is especially true of many young radicals who, having abjured economic motives for themselves, cannot abide them in others—and who consequently have made themselves what must be the first generation of radicals in American history who are fundamentally out of sympathy with the organized working class movement.

Similarly, it is noteworthy that many New Leftists who have joined community organizing projects among the black and white poor have not focused primarily on economic reform. Rather their goal, for the poor, has been greater "participation in the decision-making process." They have been more interested in "community control," "self-determination" and "decentralization" than in massive government programs to destroy the ghettos, abolish slums and provide adequate funds for public education.

Sometimes, of course, this emphasis on "participatory democracy" springs from certain theories about political action—as when New Leftists try to get higher payments for welfare clients, not mainly to alleviate their immediate poverty but to destroy the welfare system by overloading it, in the hope that it will give way to some form of guaranteed income. (The trouble with this tactic is that if it fails the consequences of wrecking the existing system will be suffered not by the young middle-class radicals but by the poor themselves.)

Very often, the young activists seem blind to the fact that the poor are really more interested in escaping from poverty than in joining committees and experiencing the dubious pleasure of endless meetings and discussions. They are more interested in changing their economic status than in overcoming the "powerlessness" that the young radicals insist is the root of their problem.

When the New Left talks about powerlessness, it is

John Gordon Empire, Black Star

Student confrontation. Delegates to Students for a Democratic Society conference find themselves the target of ridicule.

hard to avoid concluding that they are in fact projecting onto the poor their own strongly felt grievance, one that grows out of their own economic and cultural backgrounds. More than one observer has noted that a high proportion of New Leftists come from permissive, upper-middle class families, usually of a liberal persuasion. Their parents did not scold or spank; they reasoned. Democratic discussion took the place of nakedly exercised authority; family decisions were arrived at collectively, not by decree.

As such a youngster grows up, however, he is confronted with the hard reality that society is not organized along the lines of his family. Authority is clear-cut and often peremptory—in the form of policemen, bosses, bureaucrats, the military and even professors. And none of these authorities has as his primary purpose the flowering of the youth's individual personality. The youth's bewilderment, then indignation, is not a put-on. It is genuine.

His distrust of authority applies not only to the outside world but also to his own organizations or movement, where ostensibly there are to be no leaders, no spokesmen, no discipline—just everybody doing his own thing. Indeed, the New Leftist resents hierarchy in his own movement most of all, for nothing is worse than authority that is masked by democratic forms. That, after all, was the trickery, the hypocrisy, of his parents.

But family upbringing is only one factor in the molding of the young activist. Two other factors must be looked at: the condition of higher education and the overall social and political climate in the country.

The Colleges and Social Change

The enormous growth of higher education in the post-Sputnik years has created serious problems for colleges and universities. The old-fashioned notion of the university as a training ground for leisured gentlemen—a liberal arts education was intended for young men at liberty, that is, free from the necessity of work—had to give way before the onrush of new waves of students. Instead of small, cloistered seminars, the students found themselves in large, crowded lecture halls. Instead of intimate contact with famed professors, they encountered graduate assistants and instructors wired for sound. The famed profs were confining their teaching to small groups of graduate students or else they were busy on research projects.

What the students found, in short, were impersonalized, bureaucratized and computerized institutions which, to make matters worse, often insisted also on exercising an almost parental control over the young—the principle of "in loco parentis" (in place of the parents).

An adolescent reared in a permissive family is not apt to enjoy petty rules and regulations in any case; but when they are administered by an impersonalized institution through a regimentation that denies his individuality and in a unilateral way that denies his maturity, trouble is in the making. And, without going into detail, one must recognize that many of the precepts of college administrators were indeed outmoded, remnants of an earlier American culture and its values which had been radically transformed.

Another sharp criticism could have been made of the colleges and universities throughout the 1950s and early 1960s, but it did not come to light until a year or two ago: Institutions of higher learning were doing little or nothing in the way of programs for working class or slum youth, black or white. If academia had opened its aristocratic doors to the great white middle classes, it seemed prepared to go no further.

All these conditions pointed to the need for far-reaching university reform. Yet throughout the 1950s, the campuses were relatively quiescent. The complacency and apathy of the Eisenhower years were reflected among the students—the "silent generation," they were called. McCarthyism (Joe) had frightened many academicians into intellectual conformity. It took momentous events off the campus to reawaken reformist zeal on the campus; and, ironically, under the pressure of these events, the most active students bypassed meaningful university reform and plunged into other issues. Even now it is clear that the upheavals that have been rocking the campuses in recent months are aimed less at changing educational policies than at altering the institutional relationships of the university to external forces and issues.

Foremost among the events that reawakened the campus was, of course, the sit-in movement launched by southern Negro students in early 1960. Its significance lay not only in its spotlighting of an enormous social injustice, racial segregation, but in the lesson it seemed to convey that students, utilizing direct action, could by themselves bring about institutional change. For many young people, this was a deeply personal revelation, one that suggested an effective shortcut around the cumbersome political process. (It did not then occur to them that there were profound social, economic and political reasons why lunchcounter segregation would yield to direct action, that a great many complex forces had to converge before this tactic could become successful, and that not all forms of inequality and injustice could be rooted out in the same way.)

The next "event" was the belated discovery of poverty. For the first time, many young people began to see the vital connection between segregation and economics, between race and class. They perceived that the ghettos were products not only of color barriers but of poverty, too, of a maldistribution of wealth, of decades of social neglect. They saw that the poor were white as well as black and brown; and they began to grasp the full consequences of the do-nothing and do-wrong policies of the Eisenhower years—subsidies to the rich, technological unemployment, deteriorating housing, suburban sprawl and a swelling backlog of unmet needs in mass transit, education, medical care, etc.

To the labor movement, these facts come as no surprise; fighting poverty is its day-to-day business. But to the idealistic children of affluence, the discovery of

vast economic inequality in America, of the coexistence of extreme wealth and extreme poverty, came as a shock.

Whereas the labor movement, out of its long experience, had developed a broad, comprehensive social and economic program for a more democratic distribution of wealth, the response of the students was moral outrage.

And whereas the labor movement had created economic organizations through which the collective power of the have-nots could be mobilized to get more, many of the young activists, concluding that American society was fundamentally corrupt, sought to divest themselves of their middle-class origins by going to live among the poor in the slums, sharing their conditions of life and their freedom from the corruptions of prosperity. Just as radical intellectuals in the 1930s tended to idealize the proletariat, so did many of the New Radicals of the 1960s find the poor possessed of a warehouse full of unique virtues and strengths. (Of course, the best of the young activists came to see that poverty does not ennoble but corrupts, and they are much the wiser and more valuable for their experience in the slums.)

The third major "event" in the shaping of the modern student movement was the war in Viet Nam. There is no need to discuss here the pros and cons of American policies in Southeast Asia, except to say that the problems there must strike any intelligent democrat as exceedingly complex.

For many of the New Youth, however, they were not complex at all. After all, how could a racist society, in which the rich were getting richer and the poor poorer, be anything but imperialist in its foreign policies? We have seen that America is not a genuine democracy; how can we believe the government when it says the Viet Cong is totalitarian? Et cetera, et cetera. Thus went the strange logic that led some young people (a tiny minority, to be sure), who bravely fought in the struggle for Negro voting rights in Mississippi, to march in demonstrations with the flag of the Viet Cong, which does not believe in free elections. And, of course, there were always Old Leftists around —Stalinists, Maoists, Castroites and assorted fellow travelers—to encourage a simple-minded anti-Americanism along with the notion that "the enemy of my enemy is my friend."

Rebellion and Response

So far we have been talking about the students as if they were one ball of wax. Of course they are not, although I believe the trends and attitudes I have been describing have affected most young people in one way or another. But it is time to start making some distinctions.

There are approximately 23 million Americans between 18 and 24 years of age. About 8 million of them are either now in college or have already been there. Of these 8 million, according to the January issue of Fortune magazine, 40 percent are defined "mainly by their lack of concern about making money." They would prefer to teach or perform other social services than to pursue careers in business or the lucrative professions.

In other words, while there has been a marked growth of social idealism on the campuses, the majority of students—60 percent—pursue the conventional materialism.

Of the other 40 percent, Fortune estimated two-thirds were in favor of draft resistance and two-thirds also thought it appropriate to engage in civil disobedience. Thus, of the 8 million college youth, about 2 million—or 25 percent—may be said to look favorably on radical forms of protest.

This does not mean, of course, that there are 2 million New Leftists around the campuses. The term "draft resistance" covers a wide range of activities—all the way from counseling youth to become conscientious objectors to burning draft cards or running off to Canada. It is perhaps not surprising that, considering the unpopularity of the Viet Nam war and the many criticisms that have been leveled at the draft, by hawks and doves alike, there should be large numbers of students who would look with favor upon those of their peers who engage in "draft resistance." Nor should we be surprised that there are lots of students who simply don't want to let their lives be interrupted by military service.

Similarly, the philosophy and practice of "civil disobedience" has a long tradition in America that far predates the New Left. Civil disobedience that is governed by non-violence, by respect for the civil liberties of others and by a willingness to accept the consequences of breaking the law as a sign of respect for law—that is, civil disobedience of the kind practiced in the early days of the civil rights movement—is a far cry from the violent, obstructionist and undemocratic tactics of confrontation that have characterized recent New Left campus demonstrations.

Bearing these distinctions in mind, one may safely estimate that of the 2 million college young who "look favorably on radical forms of protest," the majority do so from a vantage point that could be described as liberal or democratic-radical rather than as New Left. Thus I would doubt that more than 10 percent of the college population identifies with the New Left, and even for most of them the identification is more passive than active.

This does not mean that many liberal students are not sometimes attracted to the New Left. For the latter are relatively well organized and are able to respond to issues and events more rapidly than their less fanatical peers. Unfortunately, the New Left, because of the publicity given to its increasingly extremist tactics, will continue to serve as the self-appointed spokesman for this generation of students—until the liberal majority can be organized into a more coherent and effective force on the campus.

For the fact is that you cannot beat a movement with no movement. A return to the apathy of the 1950s is no answer. Indeed, the current New Left is largely a product of that apathy. Had conservatism

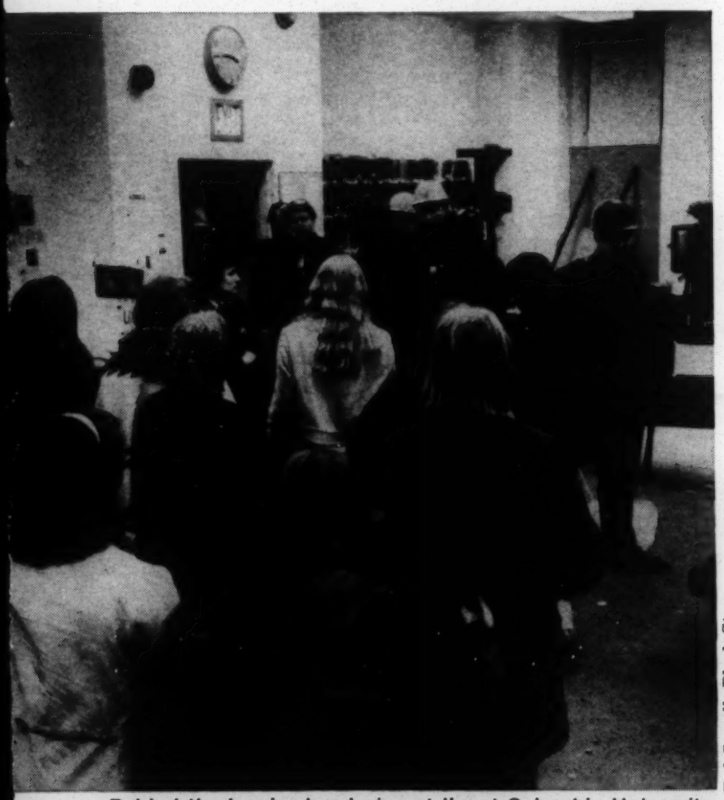
and complacency not dominated the campuses in the 1950s, there would have emerged during that decade an intermediary generation of idealistic and democratic liberals and radicals—who would now be in their mid-30s—who could have tutored and guided the young radicals of the 1960s. If there is a generation gap, one of the reasons for it is that there is in fact a "missing generation" and it was smothered by the "silent generation."

If "calming the kids down" is no real solution, neither in the final analysis is repression. Strong measures must be taken to prevent a handful of students from obstructing the rights of the majority. But a sustained policy of repression may well strengthen the hands of the extremists as well as transform the institutions of higher learning into armed camps in which real education becomes impossible. Moreover, it is in the nature of repression that it is contagious and that it can create a climate in which reactionaries who are anti-labor, as well as anti-New Left, can flourish and acquire respectability.

What is needed is not less student organization and activity, but more—of the right kind.

There are grounds for optimism. There are signs of disintegration in the New Left and there are promising efforts under way to provide alternative routes for students interested in democratic social change.

When Students for a Democratic Society, the most important New Left organization, was formed in the early 1960s, it proclaimed its independence from old dogmas of the Left and opened up an umbrella for student radicals of all kinds. Rejecting the rigid ideologies and sectarianism of the "Old Left," it adopted a kind of populist vocabulary and was hailed as the voice of a new spirit among the young, an authentic indigenous radicalism growing out of an intimate involvement in the problems of modern American society.



Ted Cowell, Black Star

Behind the barricades during strike at Columbia University.

Starting out with a few hundred members, SDS grew rapidly, riding the wave of the new radicalism. It now claims some 30,000 members, a claim difficult to substantiate or deny. But, paradoxically, as its membership begins to peak, SDS finds itself torn by internal factionalism, immersed in the most infantile political sectarianism and increasingly isolated from the liberal forces both on and off the campus.

There isn't space here to describe in detail how SDS got to this point, but the process can be summed up like this: Having begun with a broad liberal-radical appeal, the organization consistently rejected a majoritarian strategy for change; in its eyes, the unions had been corrupted by prosperity and the liberals were hypocritical; the agents of social change would be the students themselves or students in alliance with the poor.

If there was a kind of romantic charm in this approach, it also contained the seeds of a dangerous elitism, a prescription for social change by militant minorities. The result was predictable. The history of American radical movements suggests that when they reject coalition with the broad-based mass liberal forces in the country, they end up in a ditch on the side of the road, their frustration generating ever more desperate tactics and extremist ideologies.

This is where SDS is today. A number of its chapters have been taken over by the Progressive Labor Movement, the voice of Maoism in the U.S. The "first generation" of SDS leaders (now about 30 years old) are themselves somewhat appalled to see SDS conferences given over to raucous faction fighting among Maoists, Castroites, anarchists and assorted "crazies."

Another sign of disintegration is that in the last couple of years a good many New Left activists have dropped out of politics altogether for the pleasures of hippiedom. At the same time, SDS itself seems to have taken on more and more of the characteristics of the hippies and yippies, including a taste for the bizarre and theatrical. Their version of radical politics seems to be degenerating from a commitment to transforming society to a delight in shocking it. This in itself could be a source of humor, were it not that a hateful violence has been added to their arsenal of devices designed to petrify the bourgoisie.

In this connection, it should be mentioned that SDS has failed to attract or win the respect of young black extremists who adhere to the view of Franz Fanon that violence is a healthy purgative on the road to revolutionary manhood. The young black militants prefer to run their separate organizations and look

with mild contempt upon the white militants from the suburbs.

What may prove more troublesome to the New Left than its internal difficulties is the external opposition it has begun to face on the campuses. A couple of years ago, few liberals and democratic-radical students were willing to take on the New Left. Although disturbed by its alienating tactics and its mindless revolutionary rhetoric, they tended to regard it, with resignation, as the wave of the future or at least the near future; and besides, they felt, the real problem on campus was not activism, however misguided, but the apathy and indifference of the majority.

There are signs that this is changing as a growing number of young people, while sympathetic to the need for social change, including university reform, recognize that the results of New Left action are counter-productive, that they invite not progressive reform but repressive disorder. They also see—at campuses like the University of Connecticut, San Francisco State College, Brandeis and the University of Wisconsin—that the New Left activists are all too willing to trample on the civil liberties and academic freedom of others. Thus at the University of Connecticut some 2,000 students signed petitions demanding stern action against the few score demonstrators who seized campus buildings and obstructed education for everyone else.

The New Leftists will no doubt contend that opposition to them springs from conservative, careerist or apathetic students, but the facts are otherwise.

The national student group that has most effectively and consistently challenged the New Left has been the Young People's Socialist League, the youth affiliate of the Socialist Party of the late Norman Thomas, which can hardly be described as right-wing. The YPSL has vigorously attacked the go-it-alone confrontationist line of SDS, with its overtones of elitism and violence, and has urged students to join in the building of a democratic, majority movement for social change based on a coalition of liberals, labor and the civil rights movement. The YPSL also has pushed a strong position against racial segregation, including the black nationalist and "black power" varieties.

Students of the "democratic left" have not confined themselves, however, to ideological warfare with the New Left. They also organized young people into new forms of practical action. Thus, in the winter of 1967-68, the United States Youth Council—representing a wide range of student organizations, including the NAACP Youth Council, the College Young Democrats, the Young Christian Movement and the YPSL—launched a project called "Frontlash '68." Its purpose was to involve young people in alliance with labor to combat the racial backlash and to help expand political participation through voter registration and education in poor and working class communities.

With the help of several adult groups—the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education, the A. Philip Randolph Institute and the League for Industrial Democracy—"Frontlash" set up voter education projects in ten cities and suburban areas in the states of California, New York, Michigan, Ohio and Massachusetts. In Los Angeles and Long Island, especially, the "Frontlash" effort was largely responsible for the reelection of liberal congressmen.

The "democratic left" groups have been growing, recruiting both from the ranks of the disillusioned New Left and from among that 40 percent of the student population for whom the pursuit of the fast buck is not the highest aim in life. Many of this latter group entered mainstream politics for the first time in the 1968 primaries and elections. Troubled by the unresolved problems of the society, worried about what the next four years of the Nixon Administration may bring, yet "turned off" by what they have recently seen of the New Left, these young people can make a valuable contribution to the reconstruction of American society in the decades ahead.

But if they are to succeed, they need help in organizing and in getting their point of view across on the campuses of the country. They want and need the counsel and assistance of adults who have experience in the struggles for a more democratic social and economic order. They need, perhaps above all, to be able to relate their own needs and ideals to the larger issues that affect the daily lives of American working people.

Of all the institutions of American life, I believe the labor movement has the most to offer these young people who want a meaning and sense of purpose in their lives, who want to join in the building of a better society. Historically, the labor movement has found valuable allies among idealistic and socially conscious young people. That alliance was weakened by the conservatism of the 1950s and shaken by the rise of the New Left. Now is the time to begin anew the rebuilding of the bridge.

Most students take conventional course, shy from protest.

Student Protest

Collision on campus

Student revolt spurs protests by businessmen

As trustees, alumni, or employers, executives are caught in university crossfire. Some blame administrators, and threaten to cut aid

After Cornell storm, student leader Edward Whitfield discusses pact with acting dean Ernest F. Roberts, Jr.

The U. S. businessman is listening with increasing concern this spring to the shrill voice of dissidence rising from the American campus. He has to, because, like it or not, he's involved.

More and more, from Harvard to Stanford, he, his business, and even his principles are coming under fire. Anti-war factions condemn his defense work, and plague his recruiters. If he's a trustee, he is suspected of maintaining the university as an employment pool for the "military-industrial complex." Black militants are quick to add the charge of racism.

This week, whether they be trustees, alumni, or simply never-wents, U. S. businessmen were reacting with varying degrees of dismay to the campus revolt—and particularly to the racial overtones of an ugly week at Cornell University in which black students holed up with guns, and a cross was burned KKK-style in front of a black women's dormitory.

While many businessmen recognize merit in some of what the students say, they bridle at the violence of recent protests. Their concern was echoed in high places when President Nixon, addressing the U. S. Chamber of Commerce earlier this week, condemned "lawlessness" on campus, and declared its time for the colleges "to have the backbone to stand up against this kind of situation." His Chamber audience applauded long and loudly.

An education. Certainly, the businessman most deeply immersed in university affairs currently is Robert W. Purcell, chairman of Cornell's trustees and chairman of the finance committee of the International Basic Economy Corp. Since the explosion at Ithaca, N. Y., he has spent 90% of his working time on the problem. It has been an education, he feels, for all concerned.

"In a situation as complex and tense and fast-moving as this one, where firearms appeared for the first time on a campus," he says, "the Cornell administration was faced with a whole new and unprecedented situation which no one was trained to handle. Looking back, everyone might say to himself that perhaps if they'd done a little differently we would have had a better result."

His fellow trustee, New York advertising executive H. Victor Grohmann, is frankly relieved that Cornell survived without actual bloodshed or even interruption of classes. Toward the rebels he takes an elder's view: "They'll grow up someday."

The cost. Will the trouble hurt Cornell? "No question about it," Purcell says gloomily. He is particularly concerned about the impact it may have on contributions, and he is not alone.

George E. Smith, president of Atlanta-based J. M. Tull Industries, Inc., says: "I think what is happening in the colleges may result in their losing a lot of the businessmen's support. Businessmen are beginning to lose their enthusiasm."

The University of Pittsburgh's chief trustee, William H. Rea, chairman of Oliver Tyrone Corp., real estate developers, fears similar consequences for U. S. higher education in general. "It's very expensive to run," he says, "and if the public, which holds the final purse strings, cuts off support, everyone will lose, and we'll be playing into the hands of the destructive anarchist group."

Reaction. If the campus radicals, such as the aggressive Students for a Democratic Society, view businessmen with distaste, businessmen are quick to declare the feeling is mutual. B. J. Bandy, executive vice-president of Coronet Industries, Inc., Dalton, Ga., snaps: "I am convinced they should be put in jail—or under it."

Dillard Munford, chairman of Jackson-Atlantic Co., Atlanta, and a trustee of predominantly Negro Morris Brown College, is particularly irked by rebel professors. "They're about to wear out this academic freedom bit," he says. "I think life, perhaps, is too easy for them."

A Cleveland businessman, who pooh-poohs the intellectual pretensions of SDS and others, declares: "The main problem is that too damned many kids are going to college these days. In years past, these kids left high school and went into the Army or to apprentice butcher's school or something. Now they go to college. It's little wonder they want to burn the place down."

Positivism. The University of Pittsburgh's Rea separates the black dissidents from the rest, and feels their complaints are legitimate. He also sees some merit in changes other students

Troubles on the U. S. university scene impinge on the businessman directly in his role as college trustee, alumnus, or just as community leader. The turmoil also hits him in at least two other areas:

- As a recruiter of new talent for management ranks, the businessman returns from a year on campus and reports business more or less as usual **Page 30**
- As an industrial employer, he worries about reports that student dissidents plan a summer 'work-in' to convert his plant force to radical change **Page 31**

seek to make in the American university. On the other hand, he says: "The SDS is an organization that is not going to go away. The best way for students and faculty themselves to overcome it is to discredit it by pushing positive programs." The prospect of this happening, however, he finds "not encouraging."

Donald S. Bittinger, president of the Washington Gas Light Co. and a trustee of American University, makes no bones about it: He considers SDS "just a bunch of anarchists," and sees no sense in dealing with them, now or ever. "I wouldn't hire a member of SDS under any circumstances," he declares.

Balance sheet of blame

Generally, businessmen lay the campus troubles as much to the permissiveness of administrators as to the radical students, and would like to see discipline tightened all around.

"Have a sensible set of rules," advises Mark Shepherd, Jr., president of Texas Instruments, Inc., Dallas, and a trustee of Southern Methodist University, "and then be firm about maintaining them."

"I am deeply concerned over university heads who have, in some instances, abdicated their responsibility for control," says Eugene P. Berg, chairman and president of Bucyrus-Erie Co., South Milwaukee. "Whatever the faculty votes, that's the way it's done. That's a poor way to run a railroad."

Hard line. A business favorite among university administrators is Maurice B. Mitchell, chancellor of the University of Denver and former president of Encyclopaedia Britannica, judging from how often he is asked to address business meetings. Mitchell established his no-nonsense reputation when Denver students attempted a sit-in at the registrar's office. Mitchell declared, "The proper length of a sit-down strike is about five minutes," and called the police.

His trustees are solidly behind him. One, Denver businessman Richard H. Olson, says: "We've seen around the country what can happen when these things are not handled properly."

In their role as trustees, many businessmen do not consider campus discipline their direct responsibility, but rather that of the administrators. Houston businessman Gardiner Symonds, a trustee of both Rice and Stanford Universities, detects among his business associates "a mounting irritation and impatience with the inability of administration and faculty to come to grips with the problems."

Stanford has had its problems. Spearheaded by SDS, students ousted recruiters of Dow Chemical Co., whose products include napalm, a prime target of anti-Vietnam war protesters. Mysterious fires have twice burned a building under construction for the Naval ROTC. Former President J. E. Wallace Sterling's office was put to the torch.

Embattled trustees. Lately, Stanford's activists have turned their guns on the trustees, and in January disrupted a board meeting, demanding an end to military-related research at the university and at its Stanford Research Institute. Last week, U. S. marshals carted away classified material from the university's Applied Electronics Laboratory for safekeeping.

The pressure resulted in a face-off between a five-man panel of trustees and student activist spokesmen. It was a disaster for the trustees. They were asked, among other things, if they would make the resources of the university and their companies available to those opposing the U. S. in Vietnam, and at one point were urged to resign "and let the community replace you with men who will lead by strength of their vision and not by their power."

A failure to communicate

While most businessmen agree that improved communication between business and students is needed, efforts at face-to-face talks have been generally disappointing. A session called in St. Louis last week to discuss campus unrest drew 200 students, educators, and clergymen, but only 65 businessmen. The arrangers say they asked 1,200 companies to come.

Indications that the next generation of managers may take a keener interest in the changes being worked on the campuses and U. S. society in general were evident last week at Harvard Business School. A symposium on campus ferment, at which President Nathan M. Pusey made his first public appearance since student unrest flared at Harvard a couple of weeks ago, drew some 1,200 members of the business school community.

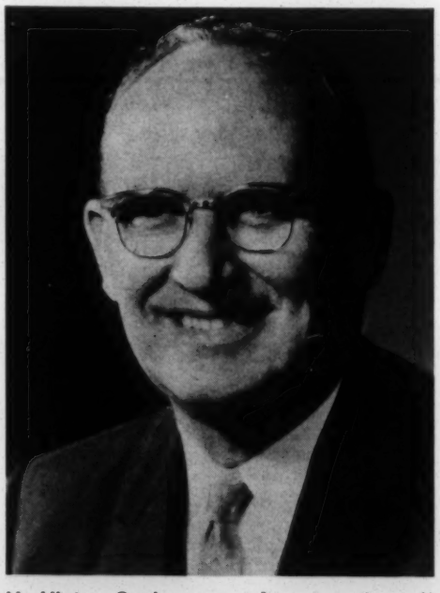
How to cope. Presumably, the B-school graduates will have to cope with the campus activists when, if ever, they and their ideas enter the business world, a prospect many businessmen view with mingled hope and despair. Max Palevsky, president of Scientific Data Systems, Inc., remarks: "It certainly bodes ill for industrial discipline. If this kind of irrationality spreads to industry, it would be disastrous."

H. Russell Smith, president of Avery Products Corp., on the other hand, says: "I think they [the students] will become responsible with maturity. I think there will be more push for the bright ones who come into industry to have responsibility, and industry is going to have to be responsive to that."

Robert W. Purcell, top Cornell trustee, gives campus crisis 90% of his time.

"What happens to these people when they get into business," J. E. Finley, Continental Oil Co.'s group vice-president for North American exploration and production, believes, "depends on what happens to the economy. Ideals don't get as much attention in depressions as in good times."

All things being equal, he expects the students will bring their ideals with them, and perhaps make the business world a more exciting, if chancier, place. "These people aren't going to spend all their extra time on the beaches," he says.



H. Victor Grohmann, adman on Cornell board, is relieved bloodshed was averted.

Student Protest

Will SDS crash plant gate?

Indications that students plan summer 'work-ins' stir concern in industry

SDS headquarters is in building at right on bleak Chicago street.

Industry is receiving disturbing warnings that campus unrest may spread this summer to plants, under the direction of Students for a Democratic Society. The Illinois Manufacturers' Assn. recently sent its members a special bulletin alerting them to SDS plans for "a summer work-in."

"The Students for a Democratic Society is apparently preparing to try to branch out into manufacturing plants," the association warned. "Employers should be alert to the problems posed by this program, and should make plans as to the best manner of handling suspected troublemakers."

Alliance. The "program" mentioned by the association is intended, according to an SDS manual, to close ranks between "intellectual students" and "the largest section of the population—the workers." An SDS bulletin urges students to end their isolation. "We should not and cannot remain in our 'ivory tower' . . . SDS is planning a program that will help students get summer jobs in an attempt to break down barriers for a student-worker alliance."

The organization suggests the kind of job to look for (places that have several hundred workers, the majority white if the SDS member is white, black if he is black); how to get a job (try not to mention you are a student, if you take an aptitude test don't show off, don't dress like a slob or hippy), and what to expect and do in the plant.

"Don't be shocked by racist remarks of the white workers, by confused political impressions, pro-war talk, 'keeping up with the Joneses' talk. If the workers understood racism, the war, middle-class morality, capitalist manipulation, etc., things would not be the way they are," the SDS says.

"We can't expect wild things in three months, but we can begin . . . Try to make friends and get addresses and phone numbers . . . to contact them again later," says SDS.

Question. An attempt to find out more about SDS's plans produced nothing concrete or startling. The national headquarters in Chicago emphatically denied any knowledge of a national program for a summer work-in. A girl in bell-bottom jeans in the Skid Row office of SDS scoffed: "Kids have been getting summer jobs with the working class ever since 1964. It's nothing new." Others said that a national program would be against SDS policy. "Ours is a participatory democracy," explained a member.

In other parts of the country, SDS leaders said much the same thing. In Ohio, leaders said, "it's in the investigation stage."

"We're kind of putting this together collectively," said Bernie Donanberg, an SDS leader—but not a student—at Ohio State University. "We're trying to figure out how many can participate, how many we can put up in a plant community, and so forth." He added: "Most of us would be getting jobs anyway."

In Philadelphia, a Temple University SDS group conceded that it has some plans to enter industry "quietly" this summer and "talk to the workers about the ABM, the war in Vietnam, and racism." But the group, which claims 30 members, doesn't plan demonstrations.

Talking. In other cities, small but militant SDS groups say they are considering work-in programs, but that they don't intend to create trouble. The aim is to talk to workers and enlist their support for "positive" programs. One SDS leader said, "Our efforts will be educational only, for our own benefit mostly. We will not implement strikes, but if they are going on we will get involved and support them strongly. We believe that one of the biggest problems workers face today is the corruption of union bosses."

The SDS attitude toward unions, and a wariness of youth rebellion generally, have earned the organization a cold shoulder from unions. Labor has its own internal problems with young members—ambitious, impatient with seniority systems, generally more militant. Union leaders see "some threat," as one put it, in SDS getting into plants to meet labor's young militants.

The United Auto Workers is a target of black militants across the country. This week, when 500 of them at Mahwah, N. J., closed a Ford Motor Co. plant over an alleged racial slur, a militant SDS leader was on hand quickly—offering support. Unions see it happening again, wherever there's discontent, during work-ins.

Worries. Employers agree. According to E. Edgerton Hart, executive vice-president of the Illinois Manufacturers' Assn., the SDS program is "insidious . . . It's well organized whether SDS wants to admit it or not."

Hart and many employers are concerned that wariness of SDS job-seekers could cause hardships for "the good kids" who want and need jobs. "Who will be willing to take chances?" he asks.

Still not known is when the work-in program was first drafted. Some reports trace its origin to an SDS conference last December. But copies of the SDS plan are known to have existed as long ago as last summer, when some SDS strategists were talking—as now—of linking the "intellectual" and the "proletariat." One SDS leader called the present plan "an old program with a new blue ribbon."

Business Week reporters in a number of cities said they found a lot of talk and not actual planning. Reported one: "When we asked about work-in plans, one SDS leader thought a minute and said, 'Why the hell not? We've got to be doing something, anyway.' "

SPC

Southern Taxes Not Related To Principal

11-17-69

The State

ATLANTA, Ga. (AP) — An Atlanta research consultant, specializing in fiscal problems, says in a report that tax structures of southern states "bear little relationship to the ability-to-pay principle."

The report, by Dr. Eva Galambos, was released by the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Dr. Galambos also charged that "property taxes are no respecters of poor families or senior citizens . . . and corporate income tax structures (in the South) fail to meet generally accepted standards of progressivity."

Her study included 11 states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Her conclusions are that three major approaches are necessary to correct present inequities of southern tax structures.

These include:

—Increased use of the income tax with more progressive rates at both state and local levels provides the major possibility of reform of tax structures which now lean heavily on sales and property taxes.

—Sales and property taxes as major revenue producers are not likely to be abandoned . . . but tax credits and rebates offer an alternative "to offset the regressive effects of property and consumer taxes on low income families."

—Equalized property assessments would not only raise the revenue potential, but also would distribute the tax burden more equitably.

According to Paul Anthony, council executive director, the report stemmed from "a conviction that state and local governments, because of outmoded tax structures, were not adequately equipped to deal with a host of unmet public needs."

According to Anthony, priorities which suffer most from insufficient financing in the South include public education, public assistance, mental health programs and penal reform.

TAXES IN SOUTH REPORTED UNFAIR

Chattanooga Times

Research Consultant in Atlanta Critical of 11-State Area

4-17-69

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Death Cause

11/17/69 Atlanta Journal

RDC — Tax Chips

Dixie Tax Inequity Rapped by Expert

By The Associated Press

Tax structures of Southern states "bear little relationship to the ability to pay principle," an Atlanta research consultant says.

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Dr. Galambos, whose report was released last weekend by the Southern Regional Council, Inc., concluded that three major approaches are necessary to correct present inequities of Southern tax structures.

THESE ARE:

—Increased use of income tax at state and local levels, with more progressive rates. This would provide the major possibility of reform of tax structures, which presently rely heavily on sales and property taxes.

—While sales and property taxes as major revenue producers are not likely to be abandoned, tax credits and rebates offer an alternative "to offset the regressive effects of property and consumer taxes on low income families."

—Equalizing of property assessments not only to increase revenue potential but for more equitable distribution of the tax burden.

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SRC

SOUTH 'UNFAIR' IN TAX SYSTEM

11-20-69

Disproportionate Burden Is on Two Groups, Report Says

Special to The Chattanooga Times

ATLANTA — A study of the tax structure of the Southern states by the Southern Regional Council finds that the South is bound to a system of taxation that places a disproportionate burden on poor and middle income citizens.

The report, written by Dr. Eva Galambos, an Atlanta research consultant specializing in fiscal problems, notes that regressive sales taxes, which weigh most heavily on lower income groups, represented 58.1 per cent of state taxes nationally.

In the Southern states this figure ranges from a low of 46.8 per cent in Virginia to 77.9 per cent in Mississippi. Both general and selective sales taxes are included in the total.

By contrast, the South's heavy emphasis on sales taxes is "lesser reliance on progressive taxes, or taxes based on ability to pay," Dr. Galambos adds.

Nationally, states with income taxes draw 22.4 per cent of their revenue from income taxes. In the South only Virginia with 30.3 per cent exceeds this national average.

Unequal assessment levels mark the greatest failure in property tax administration, according to Dr. Galambos.

"All the states," she observes, "in effect, grant a property tax subsidy to farm and vacant land owners through unrealistically low valuations by assessors."

Local governments gain revenue from charges and fees for services far in excess of the national 23.5 per cent average. In Alabama 42.9 per cent of local government financing comes from this source.

Local governments in Georgia are next with an average of 40.6 per cent followed by South Carolina (37.7 per cent) Florida (36.0 per cent) North Carolina (35.6 per cent) Louisiana (31.1 per cent) Texas (29.4 per cent) and Virginia (21.9 per cent.

Dr. Galambos attributes the dependence that local governments place on this revenue source to "the failure of most Southern states to permit local governments to levy taxes sufficient to obtain needed revenues. It is also an indication of the inadequate sharing of state taxes derived from other sources."

According to Paul Anthony, executive director of the council, the report "grew out of a conviction that state and local governments were not adequately equipped because of outmoded tax structure to deal with a host of unmet public needs."

Among priorities which suffer most from insufficient financing in the South, Anthony named public education, public assistance, mental and penal institution reform.

The study does not offer specific legislative remedies. Rather, Anthony observes, its concerns are twofold—"tax equity for the sake of simple justice, and finally, as a means to make the South a more livable region for all."

RDC – Tax Study
Clips

Study Shows Taxes In South Hit Poor

Ala Journal 11/23/69

SRC

Janet's copy

By MILO DAKIN
Advertiser Staff Writer

A study of the tax structure of the Southern states by the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta finds that the South is bound to a system of taxation that places a disproportionate burden on poor and middle income citizens.

"It is ironic that the lowest income states make the greatest use of those taxes which weigh most heavily on the poor," states the analysis report by Dr. Eva Galambos.

The study shows that the Southern states do not take full advantage of "more progressive sources," such as personal and corporate income taxes.

"Why this should be is beyond the scope of the present study," says Paul Anthony, executive director of the Southern Regional Council.

Dr. Galambos, a consultant specializing in fiscal problems, found that nationally, states with income taxes draw 22.4 per cent of their revenue from this source. In the South, only Virginia exceeds this national average.

The report shows that Alabama in 1967 drew 11 per cent of its revenue from personal income tax collections.

Since income tax is based "on the ability to pay," the report concludes that "regressive taxation and inadequate state services seem directly to coincide.

"It is in the South, for instance," reads the report, "that public education suffers the most from insufficient financing. It is in the South that public assistance to welfare recipients is the least. It is in the South that living conditions in mental and penal institutions are the most wretched.

"Unequal assessment levels mark the greatest failure in property tax administration," the report continues. "All the Southern states, in effect, grant a property tax subsidy to farm and vacant land owners through unrealistically low valuations by assessors."

Local governments gain revenue from charges and fees for services "far in excess" of the national 23.5 per cent average. In Alabama 42.9 per cent of local government financing comes from this source, according to the report.

Dr. Galambos attributes the dependence that local governments place on this revenue source to "the failure of most Southern states to permit local governments to levy taxes sufficient to obtain needed revenues."

According to Anthony, the report grew out of "a conviction that state and local governments were not adequately equipped because of outmoded tax structure" to deal with many of the public needs that are unmet.

The study doesn't offer specific legislative remedies. Rather, says Anthony, its concerns are "tax equity for the sake of simple justice, and finally, as a means to make the South a more liveable region for all."

~~JW~~ EV ~~BA~~ return to MM

Norfolk

The Virginian-Pilot

ESTABLISHED NOVEMBER 21, 1865

Page A18 Tuesday, November 25, 1969

Fairest in the South

Virginia and North Carolina emerge from a survey sponsored by the Southern Regional Council as the Southern states with the fairest tax structures. Nevertheless, hard pressed by rising costs of government for rising populations, they should heed recommendations of the research consultant, Dr. Eva Galambos.

Increased use of the income tax with more progressive rates at both state and local levels provides the major possibility of reform of Southern tax structures, which now lean heavily on regressive sales and property taxes, she advises.

She notes that the Federal income tax system is progressive in that tax rates increase with income. Sales taxes, increasingly the most important source of state revenue, are typical of regressive taxation, which means that the impact of the tax decreases as income rises.

Regressive taxation and inadequate state services go hand in hand, Dr. Galambos observes. "It is in the South that public education suffers the most from insufficient financing. . .that public assistance to welfare recipients is the least . . . that living conditions in mental and penal institutions are the most wretched."

Among Southern states, only Texas and Virginia had a lower sales tax bill than the national average. Only North Carolina and Virginia exempt prescription medicine. "The states with more poor people make fewer allowances," Dr. Galambos notes.

In only two Southern states, Virginia and North Carolina, is the income tax of major importance. In Virginia it accounted in 1967 for 30.3 per cent of the total state tax take; in North Carolina, 22.4, which also was the national average. Next highest were South Carolina, 15.8, and Georgia, 15.1. At the bottom were Louisiana, with 5.2, and Mississippi, 3.4.

In income tax receipts per $1,000 personal income, Virginia scored $16.55 and North Carolina, $16.66, both above the national average of $13.33. North Carolina was the only Southern state that met the standard of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations that a state income tax should produce the equivalent of 20 per cent of the Federal personal income tax collections.

Only one Southern city, Gadsden, Alabama, uses a city income tax; and Dr. Galambos observes that although there is talk everywhere of providing cities with authority for new taxes, the talk centers on increasing sales taxes. An exception, again, is the Old Dominion, where the Virginia Municipal League, prodded by Norfolk City Manager Thomas Maxwell, is pressing the General Assembly to permit cities to impose a local income or payroll tax.

North Carolina and Virginia are among five Southern states that supplement estate taxes with inheritance and gifts taxes. But their per-capita property taxes—Virginia, $74.20; North Carolina, $58.62 are low compared to the national average, $132.81. Among Southern states, Virginia is third in line after Florida, $113.15, and Texas, $104.91. For nine Southern states, the per-capita figures are less than half the national average.

Dr. Galambos stresses that equalized property assessments would not only raise the potential of the tax on real estate but would distribute the burden more equitably. Her survey shows that effective assessment ratios within metropolitan areas invariably exceed assessments on a statewide basis. In Virginia the assessment ratio for all types of property averages 32.9 for metropolitan areas compared to 29.9 statewide. In North Carolina the gap is even wider, 53.5 for the metropolitan areas, 48 statewide.

In charges and fees for services, the national average is $25.63 per $1,000 personal income. Among the Southern states, only Virginia, with $22.28, and North Carolina, $24.24, have lower charges than the national average.

The tax structures of the two neighboring states seem among those best able to adjust demands of rising populations, public expectations, and government costs with shrinking sources of revenue.

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East-West Concord

nt Nixon sent Prime Min- Sato home to Tokyo The pact between tate for the re- pan in 1972 Mr. Sato's de

expect handsome dividends from settlement of the Okinawa question. Japan, which benefits greatly from the defense umbrella that the United States holds over it, will be encouraged to shoulder more responsibility for Far East security. The market for U.S. products in Japan will grow.

Finally, the foremost and third- productive nations on earth ngthened their ties and d by resolving a sensi- illy, expeditiously, al terms. All the d agreement ert to Ja- piece

EV ?
PA

The Virginian-Pilot

NORFOLK 1, VIRGINIA

Guy Friddell
Editorial Page Editor

November 26, 1969

Dr. Eva Galambos
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Galambos

Enclosed is an editorial drawn from your very valuable study of the state tax structures in the South. If at any time you update your findings, I would be pleased to have the results. So far as I know, yours is the first survey to relate the tax efforts of the Southern states.

Sincerely

Guy Friddell

Guy Friddell

GF:sw
Enclosure

Editorial Offices
The Virginian-Pilot
NORFOLK, VIRGINIA 23501

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Dr. Eva Galambos
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Poor Carrying Burden of Taxes in South

Labor, Rights Group Attack Systems Favoring Rich, Industry

By Bruce Galphin
Washington Post Staff Writer

News Analysis

ATLANTA, Nov. 27 — The South is the poorest section of America. And yet the poor here pay a greater share of state and local taxes than anywhere else in the country.

Regressive tax structures in most southern states add a serious burden to the task of breaking the poverty cycle.

Yet southern lawmakers often built the trap with good intentions. As farm jobs evaporated throughout the forties and fifties, officials enacted broad concessions to attract new business. The poor, in effect, paid the bill.

Only now are labor and civil rights groups and other spokesmen for the poor seriously challenging the proposition that the road to industrialization must be paved with tax concessions. Only now are they beginning to win a few battles against regressive taxation.

These conclusions are based on a study financed by the Southern Regional Council plus interviews with tax officials, labor leaders civil rights activists, legislators and the author of the SRC report, Dr. Eva Galambos.

Widely Tapped Source

The sales tax is the most widely used source of state revenue in the country. It is also the classic example of a regressixe tax — one that hits the poor proportionately harder than the rich.

Except for rent, nearly everything a poor person buys is sales-taxed—food, clothing, furniture and sometimes transportation. The rich, on the other hand, spend a considerable portion of their income on investments, and services, which usually are not sales-taxed.

"It is ironic," Mrs. Galambos wrote, "that the lowest income states make the greatest use of those taxes which weigh most heavily on the poor."

In Mississippi, where per capita income is the lowest in the nation, state and local general sales taxes produce $31 for every $1,000 of personal income. That is more than double the national average.

In nine of the 11 states of the Old Confederacy, Mrs. Galambos reported, the sales tax burden exceeds the national average. (Texas and Virginia are the exceptions.)

But the pattern of regressive taxation does not end there.

Poor Are Burdened

It is also well documented that selective sales taxes — on such items as cigarettes, gasoline and alcohol — burden the poor more than the rich. A University of Georgia study last year showed that Georgia families with incomes below $1,000 a year on average paid twice as much per dollar of income in selective sales taxes as those with incomes over $15,000.

In all 11 Old South states, the burden of selective sales taxes is higher than the national average.

Property taxes also are regressive, Mrs. Galambos said, in the sense that a poor homeowner spends a greater portion of his income on his house than a rich man.

Homestead exemption accentuates the regressive nature of property tax. The poorest families usually rent, and unless they live in public housing, the full property tax — without the homestead exemption — is hidden in their rental fees.

The poor homeowner suffers in another sense because some southern states assess different kinds of property at different rates.

In Alabama, for instance, residential property on average was on tax books at 22 per cent of market value, but farmland at only nine per cent.

Shelters For Wealthy

Lower farm assessments, Mrs. Galambos wrote, might appear to be a break for poor farmers but often "provide tax shields for more wealthy landowners who are thus allowed to shift local tax burdens back upon the state."

Vast pulpwood forest holdings in Georgia are cases in point. Until recently such valuable property was returned at a tiny fraction of true worth.

The opposite of regressive taxation is progressive taxation, in which rates rise with income—such as the federal income tax. But as a rule, southern states de-emphasize income taxation.

Texas and Florida don't even levy state income taxes, and in none of the other nine states does the tax rate progress beyond seven per cent for personal income or six per cent for corporate income.

Only North Carolina and Virginia exceed the national average in state income tax collected per dollar of income.

Southern states also fall far behind the rest of the nation in another area of progressive taxation — the so-called death taxes: estate, inheritance and gift.

The most glaring examples of tax favoritism in the South, however, are the special concessions made to new industry. These include both outright property tax exemptions and tax-exempt government-supported bonding authorities that build plants for lease to corporations.

Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina grant property tax moratoriums of from five to 10 years to new industry.

"Louisiana goes so far as to permit a 'Council on New Industry' to lure new establishments by negotiating contracts to meet the best tax offer received in any competing state," the SRC report said.

(Special benefits to new industry also are granted by states outside the South, but the greatest concentration is here.)

The pattern of regressive taxation in the South has many roots.

One obviously is the fierce competition in the past three decades for new industry at a time when agricultural jobs were vanishing.

But tax-writers may seriously have misread what kind of tax laws substantial businesses want. "I don't think tax exemption has anything to do with it," said Georgia Revenue Commissioner Peyton S. Hawes, a former legislative leader.

Georgia, he observed, has offered no tax moratorium — yet has made major strides in industrial development. (Many Georgia counties have created tax-exempt bonding authorities to build plants for new business, however.)

Tax concessions can be dangerous because they encourage other states to go one better.

Mrs. Galambos also doubts whether low personal income tax rates are much of an inducement to new industry. "Business doesn't have much of an ax to grind about personal income tax," she said.

Tax xtructures reflect not only the legislatures that wrote them but also the dominant lobbying forces.

Since tax laws generally are modified gradually rather than totally revamped in one session, the basic patterns of most tax laws were designed in the days of severe malapportionment and of low Negro voter participation.

Thus they tend to reflect rural interests — such as low rates for farm taxes — and the interests of the businesses who were most influential several years ago.

Until very recently, neither civil rights nor labor organizations had much influence in southern legislatures. Even now they don't begin to match the power of banks, insurance companies or big landholders.

Unionism still is weak in most of the South. "We have very little impact on legislation where we have few members," conceded Georgia AFL-CIO Civil Rights Director Al Kehrer.

Sales Tax Advocates

"Even though it has been redistricted, the legislature still has not put together a combination of urban legislators who are friendly to progressive taxation. Even here in Atlanta, many legislators accept the Chamber of Commerce point of view and are gung-ho for sales taxes," he added.

But Kehrer sees some change.

Taxation was one of the issues in the recent Atlanta mayor's race. Winner Sam Massell favored a city income tax, which is progressive, while opponent Rodney Cook proposed the relatively regressive payroll tax as a new revenue source.

"We were able to make a dent in the working class vote with this issue," Kehrer asserted.

He also cited referenda in North Carolina earlier this month in which voters in about four-fifths of the counties rejected an extra penny in sales tax to be used by local governments.

A combination of labor and civil rights organizations waged a successful campaign against the proposal.

"Our education campaign is beginning to register," said North Carolina NAACP President Kelley Alexander. "It just doesn't register with poor people why they should pay more taxes when they don't get equality in distribution of services.

"We're meticulously examining bond issues, too, to see what we get out of it. The old way just won't work any more," Alexander said.

Income Tax Credits

"We're never going to pass a sales tax increase in this state unless you have some kind of (tax) credit for the poor," said Georgia State Rep. Gerald T. Horton of Atlanta.

Income tax credits or rebates are a reform increasingly being discussed among lawmakers in many states. Georgia's Tax Revision Commission recommended such a step only a few days ago.

Under the plan, the poorer the taxpayer, the more credit he would get for sales tax payments. In the case of a citizen too poor to pay an income tax return, there would be outright rebates.

This system, used in Iowa, "has transformed a regressive sales tax into a proportional burden on income," Mrs. Galambos said.

"With the credit," said Georgia Revenue Commissioner Hawes, "I think that the sales tax is a fair tax."

The tax tide certainly has not been reversed in the South. As recently as this summer, the South Carolina legislature turned once more to the sales tax as a major source of new revenue.

But where the issue has been drawn and publicized, there appears to be a search for more progressive alternatives.

BUFFALO 3rd world

BUFFALO, N.Y. (LNS)—Tossing smoke bombs and firecrackers, Third World students at the University of Buffalo totally disrupted classes in their continuing "unconditional war" against the university's administration.

ROTC classes at Buffalo were held under guard this week in defense against Revolutionary Dance class 1776 which has snake-danced through ROTC classes regularly for the last month, making normal functioning impossible.

The city of Buffalo is under fire. At neighboring Buffalo State Teachers College a strike was called in conjunction with the one being held at UB. The demands at Buffalo are extensive, including a $50,000 reparations demand from the College Student Association (the "legitimate" student government) for "cultural exploitation of Third World peoples during their many years on this campus," and the University's "unconditional commitment" to abolition of "individual and institutionalized racism" on campus.

Grover Cleveland H.S., the city's largely black and and brown high school, was the scene of clashes with police as kids and cops fought in the street. Police rioted outside a high school dance one night, and before it was over 200 kids had learned about fighting with the law. A few days later students were beaten by police and 16 were arrested as they also tried to strike their school.

White students at UB, in a radical caucus, marched through the University's classrooms chanting "Open it up or burn it down!" and "Nixon's Army, Mitchell's Law/ain't no match for Peoples' War!," disrupting *all* classes in progress. This demonstration culminated in a solidarity rally under Third World leadership at which 600 to 1000 students from Buffalo, Buffalo State and the high schools, as well as welfare mothers and members of the Buffalo community, massed in strength. It was after this rally that smoke bombs and firecrackers verified the students' intentions of not letting business go on until their demands are met.

more & more

SAN FRANCISCO (LNS)—Thousands of Army Reservists and National Guardsmen are saying "no" to the Vietnam war.

Their revolt comes in the form of a petition now being circulated quietly at Reserve and National Guard drills throughout the country. The petition urges immediate withdrawal of all American troops from Vietnam and from countries like Thailand, Laos, and Bolivia that may become the Vietnams of the 1970s.

"Response has been tremendous," said a spokesman for the GI Association, a San Francisco antiwar group which organized the petition campaign. "Guys are signing this that you'd never think would sign anything. There's a lot of pent-up frustration here."

The GI Association expects to have five to ten thousand signers of the petition by Dec. 5. The final total will be announced shortly thereafter—possibly in connection with a GI oriented December Moratorium.

At present the petition's organizers are trying to reach all possible signers. Reservists and National Guardsmen are urged to sign the antiwar petition and send it to the GI Association, PO Box 31387, San Francisco, Calif., 94131. Copies should be circulated at Reserve drills and passed to friends in other units. For more information, write to the above address or call 415-843-7180.

The full text of the petition follows:

We, the undersigned, are officers and enlisted men of the United States military Reserve forces.

We wear the same uniform as the American troops being killed and maimed every day in Vietnam. We want those soldiers home—alive.

We demand total withdrawal of *all* of our fellow American soldiers from Vietnam *now*. Not just combat troops, not just ground troops; *all* troops.

We demand total withdrawal now of all the American soldiers advising the armies of dictatorships throughout Latin America and Asia. We don't want Guatamala, Thailand or Bolivia to become the Vietnams of the 1970s. One Vietnam is enough, too many people have been killed already to preserve America's overseas empire.

As men who have served in the armed forces, we have seen first hand the dangerously growing power of American militarism. As soldiers and as citizens we believe we have a special obligation to speak out against it.

say NO to the WAR

TAXES: regressive = oppressive

Every so often somebody makes a study which proves conclusively that Georgia's tax structure is regressive. What that means is that state and local taxes, considered as a whole, fall proportionately heavier on low- and middle-income people than on the rich.

The last such study was the one made by Dr. James A. Papke, research director of the Georgia Tax Revision Study Commission, about a year ago. Papke proposed changes which would have made the tax structure slightly less regressive, altho not really progressive. Governor Maddox took Papke's proposals to heart and proposed some of them to the General Assembly, but the lawmakers gave the Maddox-Papke package short shrift.

Comes now *The Tax Structure of the Southern States: An Analysis*, by Dr. Eva Galambos, a report made for the Southern Regional Council. It is a clear, concise, incisive, well-documented study which demonstrates conclusively once again that Georgia's tax structure—and the tax structures of other Southern states—are regressive. It recommends changes which would make them less regressive.

Southern tax structures are regressive, this report states, because of their heavy reliance on general sales taxes, selective sales taxes on such items as tobacco, gasoline and alcoholic drinks, and property taxes. All of these are levied without regard to ability to pay, and therefore fall hardest on low-income and to a lesser extent middle-income people. Comparatively little revenue is raised, on the other hand, by progressive taxes—personal and corporate income taxes, graduated according to ability to pay—and the "death" taxes—gift, estate, and inheritance. And even when income taxes are used by Southern states, they often are not very steeply graduated.

Regressive tax structures are not confined to the South. In 1967, general and selective sales taxes represented 58 per cent of total state taxes in the 50 states, while progressive taxes accounted for only 25 per cent, the Galambos study shows. But as a group, Southern tax structures are more regressive than the national average. In Georgia, sales taxes accounted for 68.8 per cent of total state taxes in 1967; in Mississippi, 77.9 per cent; only in Louisiana, North Carolina and Virginia did sales taxes account for a smaller proportion of total state taxes than the national average. The regressiveness is compounded by the fact that per capita income in the South is lower than in every other part of the U.S.

The Georgia sales tax was found to vary in its impact from a 4.7 per cent burden on families with less than $1,000 income to 1.8 per cent for incomes of $15,000 and over.

Income tax collections, relative to total available income, were found to be generally lower in the southern states than for all states levying an income tax. Southern states also obtained a lower percentage of their total taxes from the generally progressive "death" taxes than is true nationally.

Taxes on businesses, which produced 17 per cent of state tax collections nationally in 1967, produced 13.3 per cent in Georgia. Despite the enormous postwar business growth nationally and in the South, the study found that the proportion of total state and local taxes derived from business dropped 2.2 per cent from 1957 to 1962. That is partly due to the lightening of business taxes by state and local governments seeking to attract new industries, in which competition Southern states have been among the most active. Given the revenue crisis now faced by most state and local governments, reductions in business taxes must be made up somewhere else, usually via the regressive sales tax.

Property taxes accounted for 66 per cent of all revenues raised by local governments from their won sources in 1967. "Property taxes are generally considered to be regressive largely because the value of the housing unit constitutes a lower percentage of higher incomes than of lower incomes," Galambos says. They are often passed on by landlords to tenants in the form of higher rents, altho the landlord, not the tenant, is allowed to deduct the property tax from his income to reduce his income tax liability. The landlord benefits further from the homestead exemption ($2,000 in Georgia).

The Galambos study is a good, readable introduction for the layman to the existing tax structures of the Southern states. It is disappointing, however, in two respects: its failure to explain *why* Southern tax structures are so regressive (which SRC Executive Director Paul Anthony, in the introduction, says is "beyond the scope of the present study"), and its tepid recommendations for reform.

The question of "why?" is undoubtedly complex and deeply rooted in the South's history. One factor which should be considered is the white racism which has divided white and black working people in the South. This division, exacerbated by demagogues from Watson to Wallace, undoubtedly has made it easier for the upper-class politicians to pass the tax burdens on down to working people. The Galambos study does not mention racism (or black people) at all. Hopefully, the next study of the South's regressive tax structure will consider this and other factors and try to explain the *why?*

On conclusions: Like Papke, Dr. Galambos shies away from the radical conclusions which follow logically from her data. The study clearly leads to the conclusion that the most equitable, progressive tax structure would be one based entirely on the most progressive taxes: steeply graduated personal and corporate income taxes and the death taxes. All regressive taxes, especially sales taxes, should be abolished. Instead, Dr. Galambos meekly recommends "increased use of the income tax with more progressive rates at both state and local government levels"; tax credits and rebates to offset the regressive effects of property and consumer taxes on low income families; and equalized property assessments. Whether because of a failure of nerve or a desire to stay within the limits of the immediately possible, Dr. Galambos' tepid conclusions vitiate an otherwise incisive study.

The larger question is whether such inequities in taxation are inevitable, even necessary, in a system based on the wide disparities of wealth and power which characterize Amerikan capitalism. Dr. Galambos implies that they are not, but a lot of us are beginning to wonder.

—bob goodman

TO BE BLACK AND AT EMORY

Emory is a racist university. This was what the May demonstrations last year forced the administration to stand up and say. But admission and absolution are not, as Emory is slowly learning, the same thing.

With this year's cessation of the Rockefeller Grant scholarships for disadvantaged students, and with the failure of the administration to have prepared alternatives for this program, President Atwood's commitment "to recruit more, admit more, and matriculate more" Black students has been put to the test.

The students were not long in noting this failure and made, in the form of a Student Center board resolution, an instant play for the administration's full attention. They recommended that the scheduled million-dollar renovation of the student center building (AMB) be postponed one year, the money invested, and the projected profits be used for black scholarships. Several members of the faculty of the economics department and business school reviewed the possibllities and presented an argument supporting this action and estimating the net return at approximately $45,000.

Following this, the student government passed two resolutions: one, (with constant optimism that a public statement of commitment on the part of the administration would be meaningful) urging a resolution by the president and board of trustees of their intent to pledge funds; and the other, supporting the Student Center Board resolution, and encouraging other efforts to raise funds.

Meanwhile, a faculty resolution was passed unanimously for the faculty-based Committee on Admissions and Scholarships to request from Atwood additional University funds over the projected budget to support a black scholarship program, at least at the present level of funding. A second proposal was presented asking review of budget priorities and suggesting top priority in allocation of resources to at least cover the loss of the Rockefeller Grant.

In a statement to the faculty on these resolutions, President Atwood replied that he would recommend to the Trustees at the next meeting in January that Emory "continue to award scholarships in the same way and at least the same level as under the Rockefeller Grant." He added that he would "recommmend to the Board of Trustees that we try first to marshal all available resources of new money, either from outside the University or raised specifically for this purpose by students and others. If additional funds beyond these are necessary, they are to be allocated as a top priority from any incremental budgeting income available next year."

While one may consider it a victory to see a top university official take heed of what's blowing in the wind, it's dangerous to consider the battle the war. Atwood has yet to see the Board of Trustees, for instance. But of deeper, more underlying importance, this action has obscured a vital defeat in the student-faculty struggle to gain a meaningful voice in the administration of the University. When Nick Garin and Dave Taylor of the Student Center Board went to the Development Committee with their resolution they were turned away with the argument that priorities were not determined by Development. (They're only following the orders to Build Buildings.) Priorities are determined Further Up.

Which brings up the real problem: only Further Up is privy to the Budget. This means only that those who determine priorities are allowed to see and consider the priorities. Which means that the students and faculty are still able only to lay on the line those concerns that involve them, their student center, or their salaries, and cannot seriously probe the budget for possibilities of other areas of varying relevance to the purpose of the University.

So Atwood can offer to allocate in this order: New money from outside, money raised by students, and when all else fails, a reconsideration of Priorities in the Budget. By the same people who always consider them.

Also, it must be pointed out that even if the Trustees come through, only the status quo will be maintained. The goal of all these endeavors is to regain the amount of the Rockefeller grant. This was pointed out by James Brown of the Black Student Alliance, that the ultimate concern of any established system is to preserve the status quo. This once meant the systematic exclusion of all Black students. It's now evident that a few Black students can be absorbed relatively painlessly, but its impossible to imagine a reconsideration of the *whole function of an educational institution.* To be able, for instance, to distinguish the difference between lowering standards and adjusting them to meet the needs of both the students and the society.

Or to grasp that it is the function of the University, not the students and the faculty, to correct the failures of its own institutions. To plunder the needs of these central elements of the University is to display a very perverse conception of what a university is for. The students and faculty themselves don't realize this contradiction in their offer to sacrifice these vital interests.

In the meantime, the struggle continues. The student-faculty coalition has circulated petitions that the budget be made open to the public. And the Martin Luther King Scholarship fund, begun three years ago and nearly depleted, has been revitalized by an Ad Hoc committee which is getting into the Late Planning and Early Active stages of some rather remarkable and promising programs. Organizations which have never so concerned themselves are sending in resolutions and planning fund-raisings. The Black Student Alliance has requested that all money raised by students be put in the MLK fund. And Emory's Black Administrator, Marvin Arrington, is developing a plan, with the aid and support of the Black Student Alliance which will involve summer transitional programs and yearly transitional programs with lightened school loads and tutorials for some 30-35 students.

—nancy h. jones

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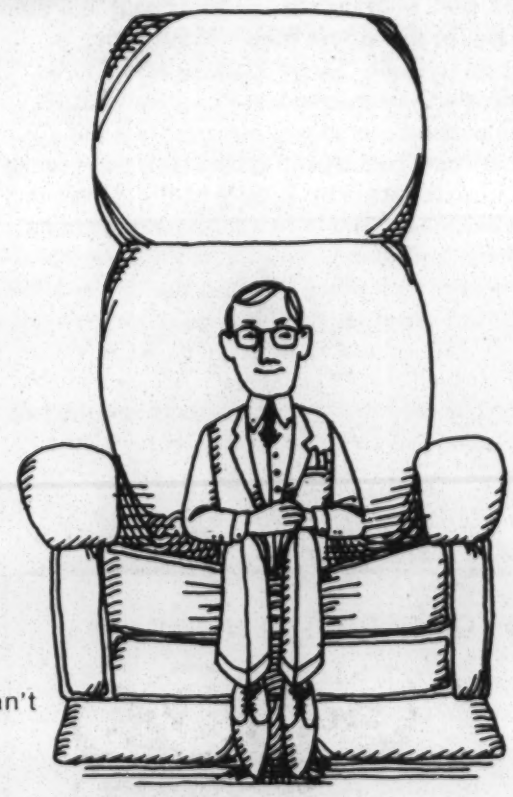

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Southern states' tax policies place extra burden on the poor

A study of taxes in the Southern states by the Southern Regional Council finds that the South is bound to a system that places a disproportionate tax burden on poor and middle-income citizens.

The report by Dr. Eva Galambos, an Atlanta research consultant in fiscal problems, notes that regressive sales taxes represent 58.1 per cent of state taxes nationally, and in the South from a low of 46.8 per cent in Virginia to 77.9 per cent in Mississippi. Both general and selective sales taxes are included.

The South places "less reliance on progressive taxes," based on ability to pay. Nationally, states with income taxes draw 22.4 per cent of their revenue from this tax. In the South, only Virginia, with 30.3 per cent, exceeds this average.

Unequal assessments mark the greatest failure in property tax administration, according to Dr. Galambos. "All the states," she observes, "in effect, grant a property tax subsidy to farm and vacant land owners through unrealistically low valuations."

LOCAL GOVERNMENTS gain revenue from charges and fees for services far in excess of the national 23.5 per cent average. In Alabama 42.9 per cent of local financing comes from this source. Local governments in Georgia have an average of 40.6 per cent followed by South Carolina (37.7 per cent) Florida (36.0 per cent) North Carolina (35.6 per cent) Louisiana (31.1 per cent) Texas 29.4 per cent), and Virginia (21.9 per cent).

Dr. Galambos attributes local dependence on this revenue source to "the failure of most Southern states to permit local governments to levy taxes sufficient to obtain needed revenues. It is also an indication of the inadequate sharing of state taxes derived from other sources."

The report "grew out of a conviction that state and local governments were not adequately equipped because of outmoded tax structures to deal with a host of unmet public needs."

Among priorities which suffer most from insufficient financing in the South, the council named public education, public assistance, and mental and penal institution reform.

The study does not offer specific legislative remedies. Its concerns are "tax equity for the sake of simple justice and . . . as a means to make the South a more livable region."

THE COUNTIL concluded its annual meeting in November by reaffirming "our belief that the South and the nation must work . . . as one people in an integrated society free from discrimination." It saw a trend in the national government.

1-10-70 Labor News

SRD – Tax Chgs

Tax Structure In South Hits Low & Middle Incomes

A study of the tax structure of the southern states released today by the Southern Regional Council finds that the South is bound to a system of taxation that places a disproportionate burden on poor and middle income citizens.

The report, written by Dr. Eva Galambos, an Atlanta research consultant specializing in fiscal problems, notes that regressive sales taxes, which weigh most heavily on lower income groups, represented 58.1 percent of state taxes nationally. In the southern states this figure ranges from a low of 46.8 percent in Virginia to 77.9 percent in Mississippi. Both general and selective sales taxes are included in the total.

By contrast, to the South's heavy emphasis on sales taxes is "lesser reliance on progressive taxes, or taxes based on ability to pay." Nationally, states with income taxes draw 22.4 percent of their revenue from income taxes. In the South only Virginia with 30.3 percent exceeds this national average.

Unequal assessment levels mark the greatest failure in property tax administration, according to Dr. Galambos. "All the states," she observes, "in effect, grant a property tax subsidy to farm and vacant land owners through unrealistically low valuations by assessors."

Local governments gain revenue from charges and fees for services far in excess of the national 23.5 percent average. In Alabama 42.9 percent of local government financing comes from this source. Local governments in Georgia are next with an average of 40.6 percent followed by South Carolina (37.7 percent), Florida (36.0 percent), North Carolina (35.6 percent), Louisiana (31.1 percent), Texas (29.4 percent) and Virginia (21.9 percent). Dr. Galambos attributes the dependence that local governments place on this revenue source to "the failure of most southern states to permit local governments to levy taxes sufficient to obtain

Continued On Page Eight

(Continued From Page One)

needed revenues. It is also an indication of the inadequate sharing of state taxes derived from other sources."

According to Paul Anthony, executive director of the council, the report "grew out of a conviction that state and local governments were not adequately equipped because of outmoded tax structure to deal with a host of unmet public needs." Among priorities which suffer most from insufficient financing in the South, Anthony named public education, public assistance, mental and penal institution reform. The study does not offer specific legislative remedies. Rather, Anthony observes, its concerns are twofold: "tax equity for the sake of simple justice, and finally, as a means to make the South a more livable region for all."

F.t - TVA

THE MOBILITY OF THE TENNESSEE VALLEY EMPLOYED LABOR FORCE

1957 - 1963*

by

Wesley G. Smith and Roger A. Matson

Introduction

Any regional development program, whether specifically intended to or not, affects manpower requirements, types of education and skills required by the area's labor force, and thus the need to investigate the interrelationships between manpower availability, incomes, and the side effects of a development program, not only in the area in which the program is being carried out, but also in other areas affected by the program through migration.

Unfortunately, until rather recently, specific manpower data have not been available which would allow us to answer questions such as: Where do migrants entering a region's labor force come from? Where do persons go when they leave the region? What effect does a development program in region A have on the labor force in regions B, C, D, and E? In other words, what are the social costs and benefits to regions from economic development schemes both inside and outside the area in question.

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*Certain data used in this publication were derived from computer cards furnished by the Social Security Administration. The authors did not at any time have access to nor did they receive any information relating to specific individuals or reporting units.

**Wesley G. Smith and Roger A. Matson are economists with the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Presented at the Symposium on Assessing Social Costs sponsored by the Civil Service Commission and The Association for Public Program Analysis, Washington, D. C., June 16, 1969.

Fortunately we now have available Social Security data that allow us to study the labor force of a given area along with data for other areas. This new data source now allows us to provide answers to some questions that have until now been unanswerable because of lack of mobility data.

This paper, which is part of a larger study we are currently conducting, presents some results based on Social Security data. In terms of the present study, we are really just starting our investigations with respect to the magnitude of what we eventually hope to do and to learn, not only for the Tennessee Valley but for other areas in the United States.

We will first discuss gross and net changes that took place in the Tennessee Valley labor force between 1957 and 1963. In the discussion which follows, we account for those forces causing change, including in- and out-migration, and new entries into and retirement from the labor force. Second, we follow the 1957 Tennessee Valley labor force to determine where these <u>same</u> individuals were by 1963, what their incomes were in 1957 and 1963, and whether persons who migrated to a different geographic region increased incomes more than those who remained in the Valley. Third, we trace the 1963 Tennessee Valley labor force back to 1957 to determine the former location of these same individuals in 1957. We also compare the 1957 and 1963 incomes of in-migrants with those of out-migrants and non-movers. Figure 1 defines the geographic regions used in this study.

Objectives

The objectives of this study were to answer the following questions:

1. How much turnover occurred in the labor force of the Tennessee Valley in the six years between 1957 and 1963?

2. What proportion of the 1963 Tennessee Valley labor force was composed of workers who had migrated from jobs in other sections of the country to jobs within the Valley?
3. What proportion of the 1963 labor force was composed of new workers who were not employed anywhere in 1957?
4. Who are the out-migrants, how many are there, and where do they move to when they leave the Tennessee Valley?
5. Who are the in-migrants, how many are there, and where were they employed before they migrated to the Valley?
6. Did persons who changed location of employment between 1957 and 1963 improve incomes? If so, by how much?
7. How do incomes of in-migrants and out-migrants compare with those of persons employed in the Tennessee Valley in both 1957 and 1963?

Source of Data

The results presented in this paper are from a larger study on mobility and migration of the Tennessee Valley labor force which is currently being conducted by the authors. The information on which this paper and the larger study are based was obtained from the U. S. Social Security Administration's one-percent sample of "Old Age and Survivors Disability Insurance" (OASDI) data from the Administration's Continuous Work History Sample. This sample is on a continuous register basis which means that persons included in one year are also included in all subsequent years regardless of their present employment status. In other words, the data allow us to follow the same individuals over a period of years with respect to location of employment at the county level, industry of employment,

and income from each job each year. The data are therefore ideally suited for labor mobility-type studies because they allow us to determine the geographic origins and destinations of the employed labor force of a specific area (region) over a given period of time. In the present study the region is the Tennessee Valley, and the time span, between 1957 and 1963.

Definitions

Appendix 1 provides a list of definitions of terms we will use to describe the Tennessee Valley labor force. In this study, a covered employee is one who is covered by Social Security laws. A retiree is one who was covered by Social Security laws in 1957 but not at any time in 1963. An entrant is one who was covered by Social Security laws in 1963 but was not covered by Social Security laws in 1957. Our definition of the Tennessee Valley labor force for 1957 and 1963 includes only those persons employed for wages who were covered by Social Security laws in 1957 and/or 1963 regardless of location of employment in either year. A non-mover is defined as a person employed in the Tennessee Valley in both 1957 and 1963 who was covered by Social Security in both years. An out-migrant is defined as a person who changed from covered wage employment within the Tennessee Valley in 1957 to covered wage employment outside the Valley by 1963. An in-migrant is just the opposite.

Changes in the Number of Covered Employees in the Tennessee Valley Labor Force between 1957 and 1963

Table 1 summarizes changes that occurred in the Valley's labor force between 1957 and 1963. The period 1957 to 1963 was one of significant industrialization and employment growth in the Valley. In 1957 there were 936,700 persons in covered wage employment in the Tennessee Valley.

By 1963, the number of covered wage employees had risen to 1,142,000 individuals, which represents a net gain of 22 percent in the number of OASDI covered wage employees in the Valley in just six years.

Looking at the components of change in the labor force as shown in Table 1, it can be seen that although retirement was a very important source of loss of workers, accounting for 25 percent of the total 1957 labor force by 1963, the number of new entrants coming into the labor force was far greater than the number of retirees who had left the labor force by 1963. New entrants were responsible for adding 403,500 new employees to the labor force between 1957 and 1963 compared to a loss of 237,900 employees due to retirement. In fact, new entrants since 1957 accounted for over one-third (35.3 percent) of the 1963 labor force.

Similarly, although out-migration accounted for a loss of 160,300 employees between 1957 and 1963 (which amounted to 17.1 percent of the 1957 labor force), there was a corresponding gross increase of 200,000 persons due to in-migration, so that on balance there was a net increase of 39,700 persons due to net in-migration. It should be remembered that in-migrants left covered jobs in other sections of the country to take covered jobs in the Valley. The reverse is true for out-migrants.

To summarize, because the number of new entrants exceeded the number of retirees, and the number of in-migrants exceeded the number of out-migrants, the Valley's labor force increased during the period 1957-1963.

Table 1 also provides information on a sex/race basis for each of the components of change discussed above. One of the statistics that stands out most clearly is that the covered labor force of the Tennessee Valley is predominantly non-Negro (white). Negroes comprised only 10

percent of the covered labor force in 1957 and even less in 1963--8.4 percent. Of the net increase of 205,300 workers in the labor force between 1957 and 1963, 99 percent were whites. White male employment increased by 114,000 during this period, while white female employment increased by 90,000 persons.

In-migration by white males was very significant during the period; whereas, it was quite moderate for white females. However, the large number of white female entrants into the labor force was a very significant source of female workers and was even larger than the number of new entrants for white male workers. This partly reflects the changing attitudes toward the employment of married females outside the home and the fact that jobs for females were being formed at a very much faster rate in the Valley than were those for males.

One of the more surprising facts shown in Table 1 is that even though the total number of in-migrants exceeded the number of out-migrants and even though there was a very large number of white female entrants into the labor force, more white females left covered employment in the Tennessee Valley for covered jobs in other regions between 1957 and 1963 than came into the Valley from other regions. While the net out-migration by Negroes might be expected, the fact that there was also a small net out-migration by white females during a period of rapid increase in white female employment was surprising.

In summary, the OASDI data in Table 1 show that the majority of growth in the Valley's labor force between 1957 and 1963 came from new white entrants plus a net in-migration of almost 43,000 white males.

Geographic Location of the 1957 Covered Labor Force by 1963

Because the OASDI data allow us to trace the same individuals over time and space, it is possible to determine the 1963 location of employment of persons who worked in the Tennessee Valley in 1957. This is shown in Figures 2 and 4. Only 58 percent of the 1957 labor force was still employed in the Valley by 1963. (These are shown as non-movers in Figure 2.) On the other hand, 17.1 percent of the 1957 labor force (or 160,300 individuals) had found covered wage employment in a different geographic region by 1963; 26,600 had migrated to the West (including military); 29,200 had migrated to the North, while 104,500 had found employment in the Southeast. The remaining 25.4 percent of the 1957 labor force had no covered employment by 1963 (were retirees by our definition).

Geographic Location of the 1963 Labor Force in 1957

Figures 3 and 5 show the 1957 location of persons employed for wages in the Tennessee Valley in 1963. As would be expected, the largest single source of 1963 workers were persons who were also employed in the Valley in 1957 (were non-movers). Even so, non-movers made up only 47.2 percent of the 1963 labor force while new entrants made up 35.3 percent. The relative importance of new entrants compared to non-movers is seen by the following statistic: For every 100 non-movers who were employed in the Tennessee Valley in both 1957 and 1963, 75 new workers entered the labor force during this period.

The balance of the 1963 labor force (17.5 percent of the total labor force) was accounted for by in-migrants. Rate of in-migration was highest from the Southeast. A total of 96,200 persons, or 8.4 percent of the total 1963 labor force, was composed of in-migrants from the Southeast;

53,900 workers, or 4.7 percent of the labor force, were in-migrants from the North, and 49,900 persons, or 4.4 percent, were in-migrants from the West (including military).

Net Change in the Valley's Labor Force as a Result of Migration

Table 2 shows the net change as a result of migration between 1957 and 1963 in the Tennessee Valley labor force. Overall, there was a net loss of 8,300 persons to the Southeast because more persons out-migrated to the Southeast than in-migrated from the Southeast. This was true for each sex/race class. Conversely, there was substantial net in-migration by white males from the North and West--a net of 24,900 white male workers migrated from the North and 20,100 from the West (including military) between 1957 and 1963.

Although there was a net in-migration of 39,700 persons during this period, it should be noted that over 80 percent of the net increase of 205,300 persons in the labor force between 1957 and 1963 was due to net entry of new workers into the labor force (shown as net gain from no covered employment in Table 2).

We now turn to an examination of incomes and change in incomes of migrants and non-movers.

1957 and 1963 Incomes of Migrants and Non-movers

Out-migrants. We first discuss the 1957 and 1963 incomes of out-migrants and change in incomes of out-migrants between 1957 and 1963. In all cases, incomes have been deflated to a 1957 base. White males who were employed in the Tennessee Valley in 1957 but who had migrated North by 1963 increased mean incomes by $1,765 or by 59 percent between 1957 and 1963 (Table 3). Those who migrated West increased incomes by $1,915 or 94

percent, and those who migrated to the Southeast by $1,209 or 43 percent. For white male out-migrants, the move to a different part of the country was apparently extremely profitable. The very large increase in incomes for white males migrating West is partly explainable by the fact that they were younger[1] and had much lower incomes in 1957 than those who migrated to the North or Southeast. For Negro males, those who migrated North increased mean incomes by $953 (or 70.6 percent) while those who migrated West increased mean incomes by $1,111 or 112.7 percent. In contrast, Negro males who migrated to the Southeast increased incomes by only $389 or 23 percent. Comparing the 1957 and 1963 incomes, as well as the change in income of Negro versus white males, it will be seen that on the average, 1963 mean incomes of Negroes were still about one-half those of whites following the move. Thus, although Negro males who migrated North or West increased incomes greatly, they did not increase them sufficiently to increase their relative position with respect to white male out-migrants. In fact, the absolute dollar difference in income between white and Negro male out-migrants was greater in 1963 after the move than when both groups were employed in the Tennessee Valley in 1957. This was equally true regardless of the region to which the migrants moved.

Increases in mean income between 1957 and 1963 for white female out-migrants were also greater both on a percentage or absolute dollar basis than was true for Negro females. Again, the absolute dollar difference in mean incomes of white female out-migrants compared with Negro female out-migrants was greater by 1963 following the move than when the same persons were employed in the Tennessee Valley in 1957. The plain fact is that both

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1. Based on OASDI data on distribution of income by age as derived from the larger study mentioned earlier.

the 1957 and 1963 mean incomes of Negro female out-migrants were extremely low when they were employed in the Tennessee Valley or after they migrated to a different region. Their mean incomes were less than $1,000 per year in the Tennessee Valley in 1957 and less than $1,400 per year in the new region in 1963.

In-migrants. On the whole, in-migrants increased incomes less between 1957 and 1963 than did their counterpart out-migrants. As in the case of out-migrants, those migrating to the Tennessee Valley from the West were younger and had lower incomes in 1957 than those who migrated from the North or the Southeast. Also, for males, many were probably returning from military service and therefore their incomes would be expected to increase significantly by changing to civilian employment. Too few Negroes in-migrated to provide reliable estimates of change in income for Negro in-migrants between 1957 and 1963 except for those from the Southeast.

White male in-migrants who were employed in the North in 1957 but moved to the Tennessee Valley by 1963 increased mean incomes by only $495 or 11.3 percent between 1957 and 1963. However, they had much higher mean incomes in both 1957 and 1963 than did in-migrants from the Southeast or the West. Negro males who migrated to the Valley from the Southeast by 1963 increased incomes by only $98 or six percent.

Comparing the gains in income made by white male in-migrants from the North with those of out-migrants, one wonders if many of the in-migrants from the North were not former residents who had earlier migrated North and who moved back to the Tennessee Valley when better paying jobs became available in the 1957-1963 period. Unfortunately, in this study, the OASDI data do not go back prior to 1957 and so we have no way of

knowing whether many in-migrants were former residents of an earlier period who were forced to migrate to obtain a job or improve income.

Incomes of Migrants in Relation to Those of Non-Movers

Some of the questions we set out to answer in this study were: Who are the movers? Are they low income or high income persons? How do incomes of migrants compare with those of non-movers? In this section, we use level of income as a proxy for level of skill or education and compare incomes of migrants with those of non-movers in order to determine whether between 1957 and 1963 the Valley lost or gained in its income-earning potential through migration.

Looking first at out-migrants, it will be seen that for each sex/race group shown in Table 3, 1957 incomes of out-migrants were lower than those of non-movers. In other words, persons with lower incomes and presumably lower education and/or skill levels left the Valley for jobs elsewhere, while those with higher incomes (and presumably high skill levels) remained in the Valley's labor force.

By 1963, out-migrants had increased incomes much more than had non-movers, except in the case of Negro males who migrated to the Southeast. Except for white males who migrated North, the increase in income gained by out-migrants was not sufficient to bring their incomes up to the 1963 level for non-movers. This fact substantiates the premise that the majority of out-migrants tended to be lower skilled workers than non-movers.

One other point should be made before leaving out-migrants, which is, that for Negroes as a whole, out-migration did not improve their relative income position compared to their white counterparts regardless of the area to which the migrant moved, even though Negroes who migrated experienced larger income gains than those who did not.

Turning now to in-migrants, it is seen that both the 1957 and 1963 mean incomes of white male in-migrants from the North were significantly higher than mean incomes of non-movers or of in-migrants from the Southeast or West. Presumably white male in-migrants from the North possessed higher skills than did non-movers or in-migrants from other regions. If this assumption is correct, it is difficult to understand why white male in-migrants from the North increased incomes so very little in relation to other groups. A possible explanation is that these in-migrants were nearer the peak of their earning potential after the move, based on 1963 wage levels in the Valley, than was true for non-movers or in-migrants from the Southeast or West. Alternatively, many may have been former residents who had migrated North and who moved back to the Valley when better paying jobs became available.

Since the largest net change through migration occurred as a large net gain of white males from the North, the Tennessee Valley gained substantially in earning power from the exchange of low income out-migrants for high income in-migrants from the North. The unweighted increase in earning power to the economy of the Tennessee Valley due to net in-migration from all regions amounted to $209 million[1] in 1963.

Incomes of Entrants and Retirees

Table 4 shows the 1957 annual mean income of persons employed in 1957 but who were not in the covered labor force at any time in 1963 (retirees) and the 1963 incomes of persons in the covered labor force in 1963 but not in 1957 (entrants). 1957 incomes of persons not in the labor

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1. Calculated on the basis of multiplying 1963 mean income for each race and sex group in Table 3 times the net gain due to migration for each race and sex group in Table 2.

force in 1963 were much lower than incomes of out-migrants or non-movers. Except for white males, 1957 incomes of persons not in the covered labor force by 1963 were not much higher than welfare or retirement payments. Hence, they would have little incentive to stay in the labor force. Although not presented in this paper, other OASDI data show that less than 40 percent of all male retirees were 60 years old or older by 1963--64 percent were less than 60 years old in 1963. Such persons are really "dropouts" from the labor force rather than what one normally thinks of as a retiree. With such low 1957 incomes as shown in Table 4, it is not surprising to find such persons had dropped out of the labor force by 1963.

Mean annual incomes of new entrants in 1963 were also very low. Most, but not all new entrants were young people probably entering the labor force for the first time. For males, 64 percent were 18 to 24 years old in 1963. Hence, their incomes would be expected to be lower than those of older workers already established in a job. However, one would not expect their incomes to be as low as is shown in Table 4--less than $1,500 in 1963 for the combined weighted annual income of all new entrants!

When compared to non-movers in the same sex/race group, incomes of new entrants ranged from a low of 41 percent for Negro males entering the labor force to a high of 53 percent for Negro females. The very low wages of new entrants suggest that most must have been either part-time employees who were in school the major part of the year or that they were marginal employees who had only occasional work in low-wage occupations in 1963. Similarly, the low annual incomes of retirees suggest that the majority of retirees must have also been marginally employed in 1957.

If, on the other hand, the majority of new entrants were full-time rather than part-time employees, their very low incomes may have caused wages paid to non-movers to be lower in 1963 than in other regions simply because such a large proportion of the 1963 labor force was composed of new entrants at such low income levels.

Conclusions

The high rates of entry, retirement, and migration shown in this study carry very significant implications to leaders and policy-makers for planning manpower and regional development programs. It was found that the Tennessee Valley gained in its income-generating capacity between 1957 and 1963 through (1) the in-migration of skilled workers, particularly from the North, who filled jobs that Valley residents were presumably unqualified to fill, and (2) the out-migration of low income (poor) people who presumably had few skills and who undoubtedly worsened the economic position of the receiving area to which they moved. If the income problems of the Tennessee Valley and the Southeast are to be lessened rather than shifted to other regions through migration, and if we assume that level of income is a fair proxy for level of skills, then there is a great need for improving the training and skills of the resident labor force in the Valley and the Southeast if persons from these areas hope to compete with in-migrants for high-wage jobs in the future.

The outstanding fact shown in this study is that given a concerted effort, because of the high rate of entry and the subsequent rapid rate of turnover in the labor force between 1957 and 1963, the "home-grown" labor force could be significantly upgraded and made more competitive in a very short period of time.

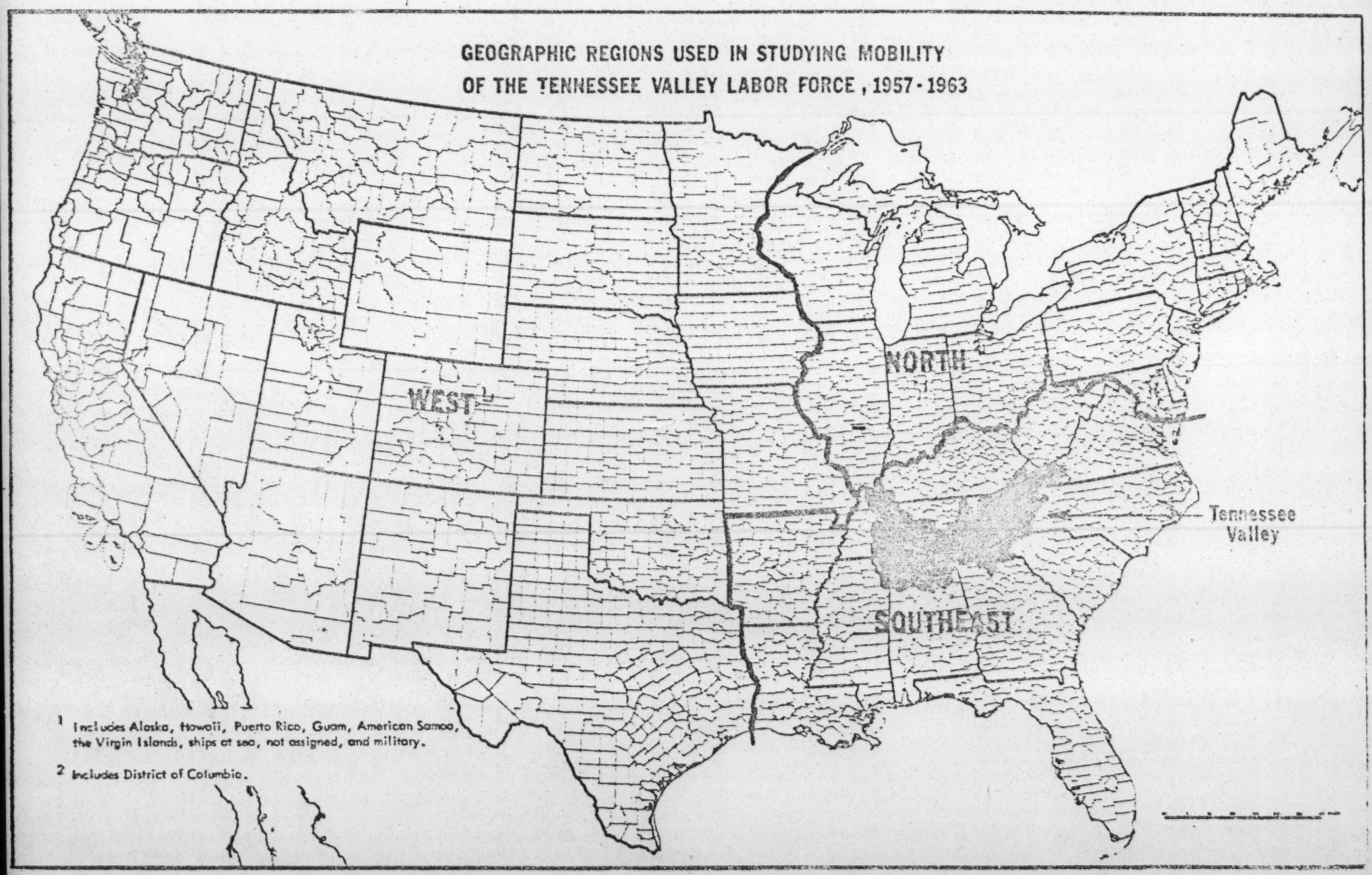
GEOGRAPHIC REGIONS USED IN STUDYING MOBILITY
OF THE TENNESSEE VALLEY LABOR FORCE, 1957-1963
WEST[1]
NORTH
SOUTHEAST
Tennessee Valley
[1] Includes Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, ships at sea, not assigned, and military.
[2] Includes District of Columbia.

Figure 1

Appendix 1.

Definitions

Covered Wage Employee - A person employed for wages whose job is covered by social security laws.

In-Migrant- A person who changed from covered wage employment outside the Tennessee Valley in 1957 to covered wage employment within the Valley in 1963.

Out-Migrant - A person who changed from covered wage employment within the Tennessee Valley in 1957 to covered wage employment outside the Valley in 1963.

Entrant - A person without covered wage employment in 1957 but with covered wage employment in 1963. Persons without covered wage employment include the self-employed, students, those not in the labor force, the unemployed, and others without covered wage employment.

Retiree - A person with covered wage employment in 1957 but without covered wage employment in 1963. The term retiree includes deceased and unemployed individuals in addition to persons who have retired.

Non-Negro - All persons classified other than Negro. The terms "white" and "non-Negro" will be used interchangeably.

Employed Labor Force - All persons employed for wages whose job is covered by social security laws.*

Migration - The term migration will be used to designate movement from one geographic area to another.

Non-Mover - The term non-mover will be used to define persons employed in the Tennessee Valley in both 1957 and 1963.

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* Social security laws cover approximately 90 percent of all wage employees at the national level.

Table 1.

Changes in the Number of Covered Employees in the Tennessee Valley Labor Force

Between 1957 and 1963 by Sex and Race

Sex/Race Classification	1957 Tennessee Valley Labor Force	Increases and Decreases 1957-1963					1963 Tennessee Valley Labor Force
		Retirees	In-Migrants	Out-Migrants	Entrants	Net Change	
Male/Non-Negro	540,100	(109,200)	146,800	(104,000)	180,400	114,000	654,100
Male/Negro	57,200	(14,000)	10,600	(11,600)	14,400	-600	56,600
Female/Non-Negro	302,000	(99,900)	39,700	(40,200)	190,400	90,000	392,000
Female/Negro	37,400	(14,800)	2,900	(4,500)	18,300	1,900	39,300
Total	936,700	(237,900)	200,000	(160,300)	403,500	205,300	1,142,000

Source: OASDI Sample Data

Figure 2

Distribution of the 1957 Tennessee Valley Labor Force by 1963

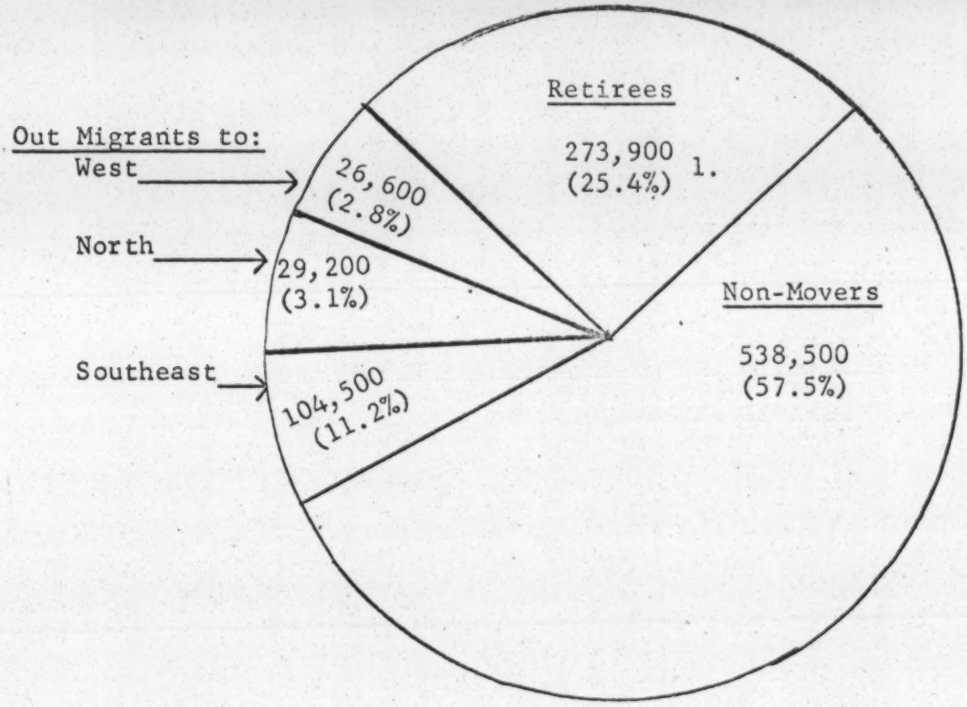
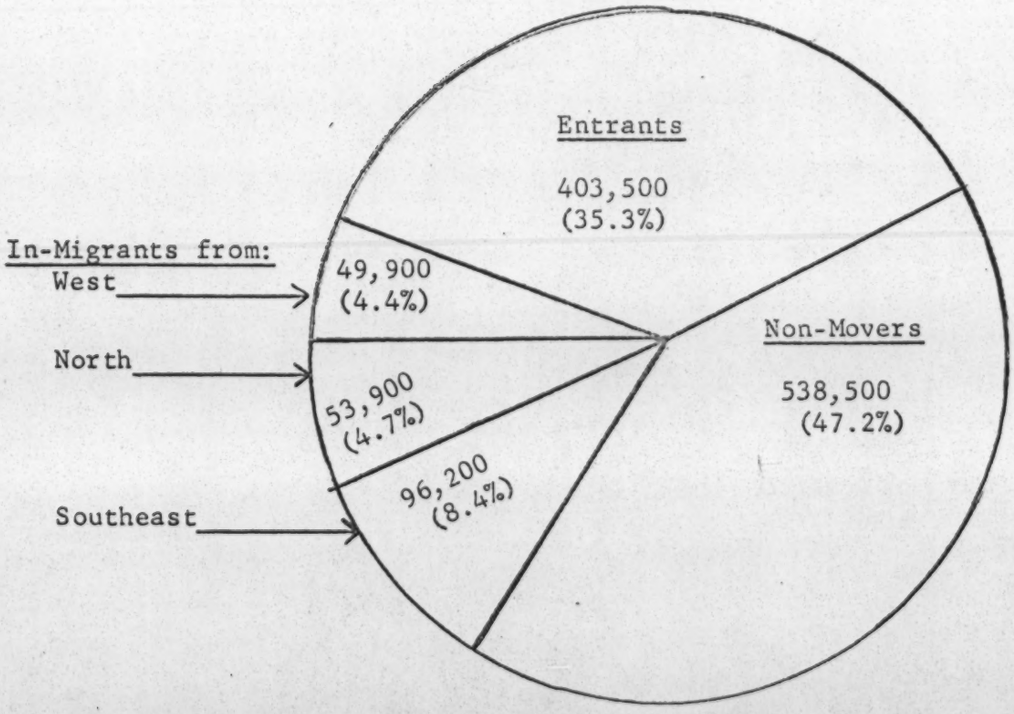


Figure 3

Previous Location[2] of the 1963 Tennessee Valley Labor Force



1. % of 1957 or 1963 labor force
2. Location of employment in 1957

Source: OASDI sample data

Table 2.

Net Change in Employed Labor Force in the

Tennessee Valley Region Between 1957 and 1963

Sex/Race Classification	Net Change through Migration				Net Gain From No Covered Employment	Total Net Change
	S. E.	North	West	Total		
	thousands of persons					
Male/Non-Negro	-2.2	24.9	20.1	42.8	71.2	114.0
Male/Negro	-1.8	-0.5	1.3	-1.0	0.4	-0.6
Female/Non-Negro	-3.1	0.8	1.8	-0.5	90.5	90.0
Female/Negro	-1.2	-0.5	0.1	-1.6	3.5	1.9
Total	-8.3	24.7	23.3	39.7	165.6	205.3

Source: OASDI Sample Data

Table 3.

1957 and 1963 Mean Incomes and Change in Income for

Migrants and Non-Movers, Tennessee Valley Labor Force

(in 1957 dollars)

Sex/Race Classification	Non Movers	Out-Migrants To: North	Out-Migrants To: Southeast	Out-Migrants To: West	In-Migrants From: North	In-Migrants From: Southeast	In-Migrants From: West
	Mean Income in 1957						
Male/Non-Negro	3,469	2,993	2,796	2,028	4,396	3,053	2,156
Male/Negro	2,235	1,349	1,703	986	*	1,653	*
Female/Non-Negro	1,861	1,187	1,388	1,216	1,902	1,531	1,338
Female/Negro	1,066	883	972	*	*	*	*
Total	2,833	2,171	2,306	1,846	3,771	2,551	2,035
	Mean Income in 1963						
Male/Non-Negro	4,397	4,758	4,005	3,943	4,891	4,137	3,921
Male/Negro	2,689	2,302	2,092	2,097	*	1,751	*
Female/Non-Negro	2,393	2,238	2,173	2,011	2,510	2,034	2,119
Female/Negro	1,309	1,253	1,389	*	*	*	*
Total	3,590	3,572	3,319	3,532	4,270	3,412	3,599
	Change in Mean Income Between 1957 and 1963						
Male/Non-Negro	928	1,765	1,209	1,915	495	1,084	1,765
Male/Negro	454	953	389	1,111	*	98	*
Female/Non-Negro	532	1,051	785	795	608	503	781
Female/Negro	243	370	417	*	*	*	*
Total	757	1,401	1,013	1,686	493	861	1,564

* Insufficient sample size to provide reliable estimate.

Source: OASDI sample data.

Table 4.

1957 and 1963 Incomes of Non-Movers, Entrants and Retirees,

Tennessee Valley Labor Force

Sex/Race Classification	1957 Mean Income		
	Non-Movers	Entrants	Retirees
Male/Non-Negro	3,469	*	2,144
Male/Negro	2,235	*	1,333
Female/Non-Negro	1,861	*	1,120
Female/Negro	1,066	*	598
Total	2,883	*	1,570

Sex/Race Classification	1963 Mean Income		
	Non-Movers	Entrants	Retirees
Male/Non-Negro	4,397	1,813	*
Male/Negro	2,689	1,099	*
Female/Non-Negro	2,393	1,253	*
Female/Negro	1,309	689	*
Total	3,590	1,473	*

* Not available

Source: OASDI Sample Data

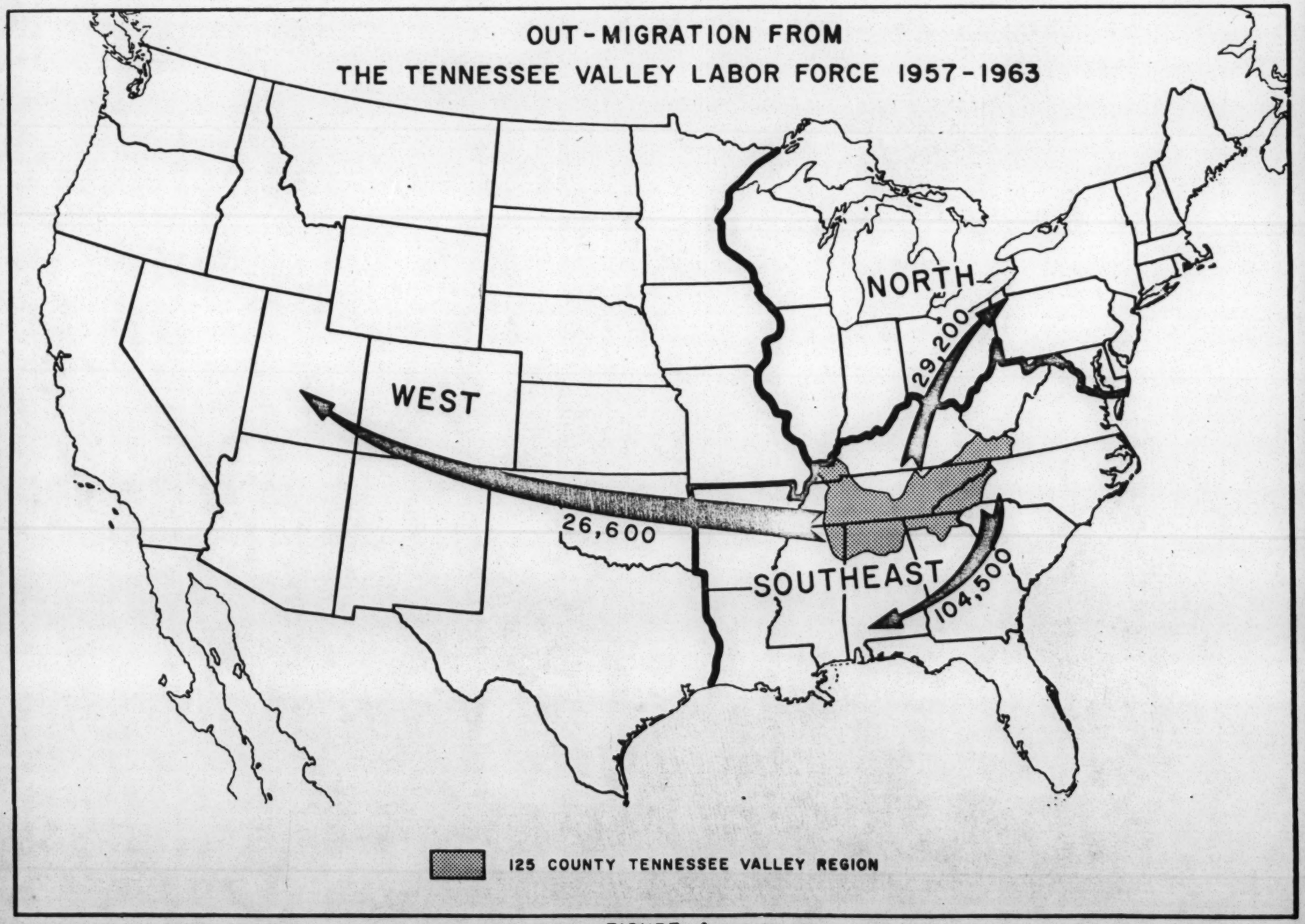

OUT-MIGRATION FROM
THE TENNESSEE VALLEY LABOR FORCE 1957-1963
NORTH
29,200
WEST
26,600
SOUTHEAST
104,500
125 COUNTY TENNESSEE VALLEY REGION

FIGURE 4

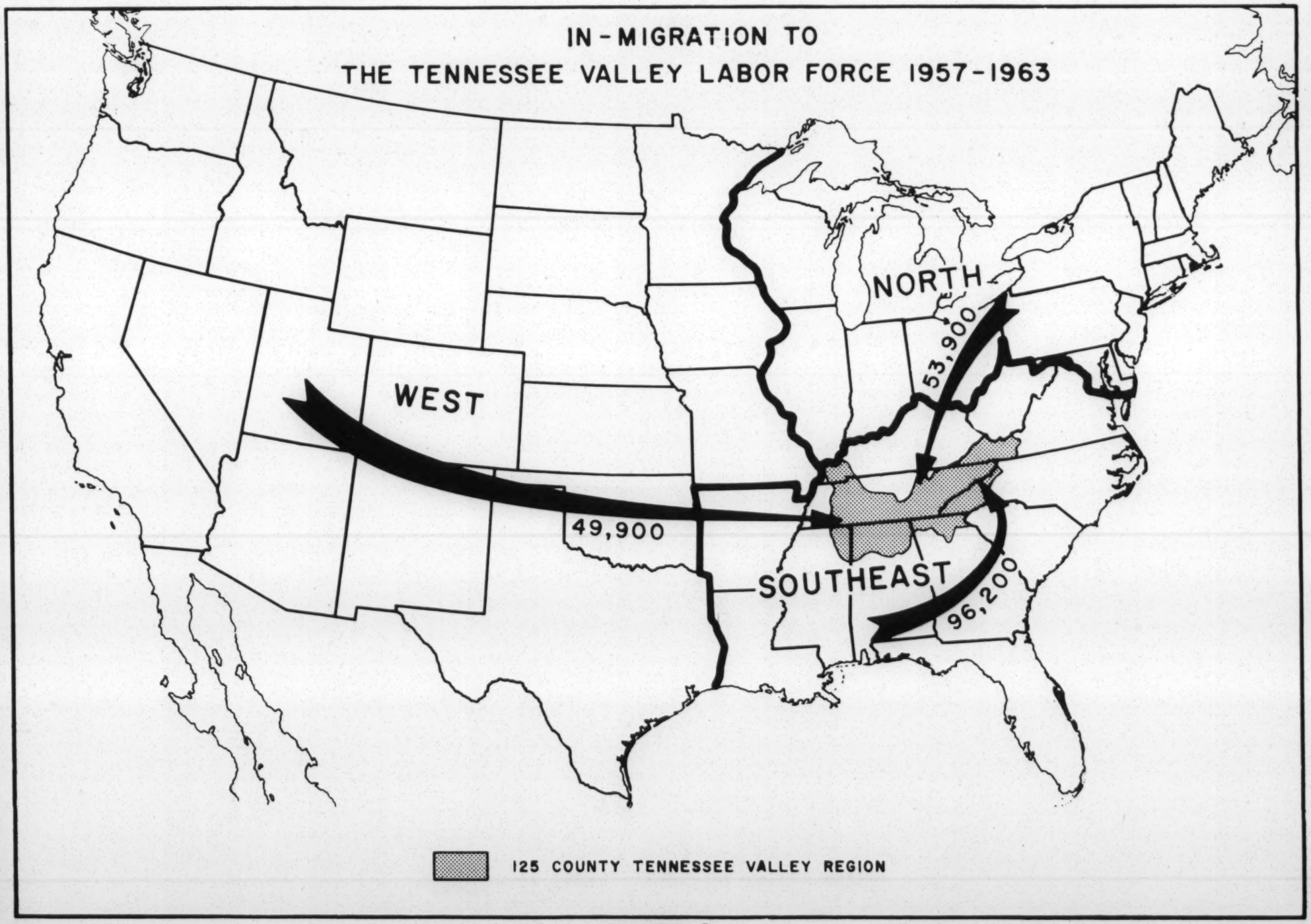

IN-MIGRATION TO
THE TENNESSEE VALLEY LABOR FORCE 1957-1963
NORTH
53,900
WEST
49,900
SOUTHEAST
96,200
125 COUNTY TENNESSEE VALLEY REGION

FIGURE 5

File — Frank Smith

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37902

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

February 2, 1970

Mr. Emory Via
Director of Resources Development
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I hope that you and any other members of the staff who are available can get up for a discussion of various approaches to resource development problems sometime within the next few weeks.

I think we can leave the date to your convenience if you check within these possibilities: the week of February 16, the period of February 24-27, or March 2-5, 1970. I am sure that we can arrange to have some of our appropriate staff members available on any of those dates.

Cordially,

Frank

Frank E. Smith
Director

February 12, 1970

Mr. Frank E. Smith, Director
Office of the Board of Directors
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee 37902

Dear Frank:

Thanks for your invitation to visit with selected TVA staff and for your speedy attention to the problems of dates.

There are several of us interested in coming up, perhaps as many as five or six. After jugling schedules here it now seems that March 5 would be a good date for us. It would be our plan to get into Knoxville on the evening of March 4 and be ready the next morning at your convenience.

Please let me know any particulars we need about when and where we should make our appearance.

We greatly appreciate your interest in arranging the visit for us and look forward to it.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/km

File - TVA - Trip

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37902

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

February 16, 1970

Dr. Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I am glad to know that some of the other members of the staff are going to accompany you on your visit to TVA on Thursday, March 5.

We will try to have some interesting discussions for you and an opportunity to inquire about specific ideas that may be of value to the Southern Regional Council program.

I suggest that you and your group plan to be at my office at 9:00 a. m. on March 5. We will have a varied program, including lunch, and plan to be through with it around 4:00 p. m. My office is in the New Sprankle Building (Room 405), located at 508 Union Avenue.

Cordially,

Frank

Frank E. Smith
Director

March 3, 1970

MEMORANDUM

TO: Reece Cleghorn, Kitty Griffith, Art Campbell, Bob Anderson, Paul Anderson, James N. Wood,

FROM: Emory F. Via, Director, Resources Development Center

- o -

We will leave for Knoxville and our visit with TVA sometime after noon on Wednesday. The trip takes about 4½ hours. We can decide whether to break the trip at Chattanooga at dinner or to leave early enough for dinner in Knoxville. Any suggestions as to this.

We have reservations at the Admiral Ben Bow Inn for Wednesday night to be held for possible late arrival.

Frank Smith and staff will expect us at his office at 9:00 a.m. on Thursday. We will take two cars (Emory's and Jim's). I will let you know who is going in which car and we will probably visit around on the return trip.

EFV/km

ATLANTA AREA TECHNICAL SCHOOL

1560 STEWART AVENUE, SW
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30310
PHONE # 758-9451, ex. 41

EVENING SCHOOL - SUMMER QUARTER 1969

REGISTRATION	CLASSES BEGIN	CLASSES END	SUMMER BREAK
May 19-22 5-8 p.m.	June 2 and 3, 1969	August 22, 1969	July 4-18

REGISTRATION is held on a first-come, first-served basis during the period from May 19-22 from 5-8 p.m.

REFUNDS are granted only when the student notifies the evening admissions office that he will not attend. This notification must be in writing and received at least two working days prior to the beginning of classes.

SPECIAL COURSES

COURSE CODE	COURSE TITLE	DAYS	ROOM NUMBER	TIME	FEE
EVE 190	Accounting Machine Operator*	M-W	B-11	5:30-8:30	$7
	*Seventy-two hour course which prepares student for immediate employment in this area. (Also called Bookkeeping Machine)				
EVE 060	Cashier-Checker Training*	M-W	D-10	6-10	7
EVE 060	Cashier-Checker Training*	T-Th	D-10	6-10	7
	*This class begins May 19 and 20. You may register now, Monday-Friday from 2-8 p.m. Registration is on first-come, first-served basis. This is an eighty-hour course which prepares students for employment in supermarkets, discount houses, restaurants, cafeterias, etc. as cashier-checkers.				
EVE 040	Federal Service Entrance Exam*	M-W	B-7	7:30-8:50	5
	*Thirty-six hour course to assist students in preparing for the Federal Service Entrance Examination.				
EVE 200	Key Punch, Basic*	T-Th	C-17	5:30-7:30	5
EVE 200	Key Punch, Basic*	T-Th	C-17	7:30-9:30	5
EVE 200	Key Punch, Basic*	M-W	C-17	5:30-7:30	5
EVE 201	Key Punch, Advanced**	M-W	C-17	7:30-9:30	5
	*Prospective students must take electric typewriting test and key punch aptitude test before the registration period. Students must be able to type 25 wpm and make satisfactory grades on the aptitude test. Tests are administered on April 25, May 2, and May 9 at 8 o'clock in the evening.				
	**Students should have completed EVE 200 - Basic Key Punch				
EVE 050	Reading Improvement*	M-W	A-1	6-9	7
EVE 050	Reading Improvement*	T-Th	A-1	6-9	7
	*Course designed to improve reading comprehension and speed at all levels				
EVE 081	Vocational Math I, II, & III*	T	E-11	6-9	5
	*Basic course in vocational math covering basic math, algebra, and trigonometry				
EVE 041	GED Preparation	M-W	J-1	6-9	7
EVE 041	GED Preparation	M-W	J-2	6-9	7
	*Course designed to prepare student to take GED test.				

525-4152

ELECTRONIC DATA PROCESSING

COURSE CODE	COURSE TITLE	DAYS	ROOM NUMBER	TIME	FEE
EVE 210	Data Processing I	M-W	C-15	6-10	$9
EVE 210	Data Processing I	T-Th	F-11	6-10	9
EVE 211	Data Processing II[1]	T-Th	C-15	6-10	9
EVE 220	Basic Programming Concepts	M-W	F-14	6-10	9
EVE 220	Basic Programming Concepts	M-W	C-21	6-10	9
EVE 220	Basic Programming Concepts	T-Th	C-21	6-10	9
EVE 220	Basic Programming Concepts	T-Th	F-14	6-10	9
EVE 230	Easycoder I[2]	M-W	F-11	6-10	9
EVE 230	Easycoder I[2]	T-Th	B-12	6-10	9
EVE 231	Easycoder II[3]	M-W	B-12	6-10	9
EVE 240	Cobol I[2]	M-W	E-8	6-10	9
EVE 241	Cobol II[4]	T-Th	E-8	6-10	9

[1]Student must have completed Data Processing I
[2]Student must have completed EVE 220 or have consent of department
[3]Student must have completed Easycoder I
[4]Student must have completed Cobol I

CURRICULUM RECOMMENDATION FOR COMPUTER PROGRAMMING

Schedule A: For students with no prior experience or training in E.D.P.

Steps

1 Data Processing I
2 Data Processing II
3 Basic Programming Concepts } These may be taken at same time
4 Easycoder I

Schedule B: Many students feel they do not need to take Data Processing I & II and begin at the 3rd step--Basic Programming Concepts

BUSINESS EDUCATION

(MONDAY-WEDNESDAY CLASSES)

COURSE CODE	COURSE TITLE	ROOM NUMBER	TIME	FEE
EVE 180	Accounting I	A-18	6-9	$7
EVE 100	Typewriting, Basic	A-19	6-7:20	5
EVE 100	Typewriting, Basic	A-19	7:30-8:50	5
EVE 101	Typewriting, Intermediate[1]	C-22	7:30-8:50	5
EVE 102	Typewriting, Advanced[2]	C-22	6-7:20	5
EVE 110	Shorthand I	B-7	6-7:20	5
EVE 110	Shorthand I	B-7	7:30-8:50	5
EVE 111	Shorthand II[3]	A-21	6-7:20	5
EVE 112	Shorthand III[4]	A-21	7:30-8:50	5

[1]Student must be able to demonstrate typing speed of 30 wpm
[2]Student must be able to demonstrate typing speed of 40 wpm
[3]Student must have completed Shorthand I
[4]Student must have completed Shorthand II

BUSINESS EDUCATION- Continued
(TUESDAY-THURSDAY CLASSES)

COURSE CODE	COURSE TITLE	ROOM NUMBER	TIME	FEE
EVE 180	Accounting I	B-10	6-9	$7
EVE 181	Accounting II[1]	A-18	6-9	7
EVE 100	Typewriting, Basic	C-22	6-7:20	5
EVE 100	Typewriting, Basic	C-22	7:30-8:50	5
EVE 100	Typewriting, Basic	A-19	6-7:20	5
EVE 101	Typewriting, Intermediate[2]	A-19	7:30-8:50	5
EVE 110	Shorthand I	A-21	6-7:20	5
EVE 111	Shorthand II[3]	A-21	7:30-8:50	5
EVE 120	Business English I	A-20	6-7:20	5
EVE 121	Business English II	A-20	7:30-8:50	5

[1]Student must have completed Accounting I
[2]Student must be able to demonstrate typing speed of 30 wpm
[3]Student must have completed Shorthand I

TRADE AND TECHNICAL

COURSE CODE	COURSE TITLE	DAYS	ROOM NUMBER	TIME	FEE
AIR CONDITIONING/REFRIGERATION REPAIR					
EVE 402	Air Conditioning/Refrig., Basic III*	M-W-F	F7	6-10	$15
	***Student must have completed Basic I & II				
AIRCRAFT MECHANICS					
EVE 420	Basic Airframes & Powerplant*	T-Th	Avia.Bld.	5:30-8:30	7
EVE 421	Powerplant Maintenance & Theory**	M-W	Avia.Bld.	5:30-8:30	7
EVE 423	Airframe Structures**	T-Th	Avia.Bld.	5:30-8:30	7
EVE 424	Airframe Systems**	M-W	Avia.Bld.	5:30-8:30	7
	*Students should be employed as an aircraft mechanic or have previous military training in this field				
	**Student should have completed EVE 420				
AUTOMOTIVE MECHANICS					
EVE 457	Auto Electricity	M-W	J20	6:30-9:30	7
EVE 451	Automatic Transmissions	M-W	J19	6:30-9:30	7
EVE 453	Internal Combustion Engines	T-Th	J20	6:30-9:30	7
EVE 455	Fuel and Carburetion	T-Th	J19	6:30-9:30	7
BRICKLAYING					
EVE 740	Bricklaying	M-W	J16	6-10	9
CABINETMAKING					
EVE 700	Cabinetmaking	M-W	J11	6-9	7

COURSE CODE	COURSE TITLE	DAYS	TIME	ROOM NUMBER	FEE
DRAFTING					
EVE 640	Drafting, Basic	M-W	6-9	G-17	$7
EVE 640	Drafting, Basic	T-Th	6-9	G-16	7
EVE 645	Drafting, Architectural I	T-Th	6-9	G-17	7
EVE 643	Drawing, Production	M-W	6-9	G-16	7
EVE 649	Technical Illustrating	M-W	6-9	G-16	7
ELECTRONICS					
EVE 340	Electronics I, Basic	M-W-Th	6-10	H1	15
EVE 340	Electronics I, Basic	M-W-Th	6-10	E11	15
EVE 342	Electronics III, Basic*	M-W-Th	6-10	H10	15
	*Student must have completed EVE 340 & 341				
MACHINE SHOP					
EVE 620	Machine Shop I (Benchwork)	T-Th	6-10	G2	9
EVE 621	Machine Shop II (Lathe)				
EVE 622	Machine Shop III (Milling Machine)				
PRINTING					
EVE 581	Offset Duplicator Operator	M-W	5:30-9:30	J-8	9
RADIO/TV REPAIR					
EVE 302	Radio/TV III, Basic*	M-W-F	6-10	J21	15
EVE 306	Radio/TV IV, Advanced**	M-W	6-10	J18	9
	*Student should have completed Basic Radio/TV I & II				
	**Student should have completed EVE 300, 301 302, 303, 304 & 305				
WELDING					
EVE 680	Welding, Basic	M-W	6-9	G-8	7
EVE 680	Welding, Basic	M-W	6-9	H4	7
EVE 680	Welding, Basic	T-Th	6-9	G3	7
EVE 681	Welding, Advanced*	T-Th	6-9	G11	7
	*Student should have basic welding knowledge				

SUMMER SCHEDULE FOR G E D TESTING 1969

June 3/4	July 22/23
June 17/18	August 12/13
July 8/9	August 26/27

The above dates are all on Tuesday and Wednesday.
It takes two days to take the test. Testing begins at 9:00 A.M.
There will be no test given in the month of September

GENERAL INFORMATION

Two days are required to complete the G E D test. The first day of testing involves English and social studies; the second day consists of testing in science, literature, and mathematics. Testing sessions begin each scheduled testing date at 9 a.m. Since the G E D is an untimed test, individuals finish at different times. The examiner will close the testing session at 4:30 p.m. A birth certificate or other proof of identity and age must be presented to the G E D examiner before entering the testing room.

RESERVATIONS BY PHONE

1. Read the information sheet.
2. Choose one of the test dates listed below.
3. Call the G E D Testing Office at 758-9451.
4. Reserve a test date with the G E D secretary.

TEST DATES		STARTING TIME	ENDING TIME(APPROXIMATE)
Jan.	9/10	9 a.m.	4 p.m.
Jan.	30/31	9 a.m.	4 p.m.
Feb.	13/14	9 a.m.	4 p.m.
Feb.	27/28	9 a.m.	4 p.m.
March	13/14	9 a.m.	4 p.m.
March	20/21	9 a.m.	4 p.m.
April	17/18	9 a.m.	4 p.m.
May	1/2	9 a.m.	4 p.m.
May	15/16	9 a.m.	4 p.m.

IF you are eligible for G E D testing and have a reservation, report to Atlanta Area Tech and enter the front of the main building near the flag pole. Be seated in Room B-19, the Administration Office, until the examiner calls for G E D examinees.

IF you have a reservation and cannot attend, please call the G E D Testing Office and cancel.

IF you are under 20 years of age, you must obtain "special permission". (See the enclosed instructions.)

IF you are repeating a test, see the retesting policy on the enclosed sheet.

GED TESTING CENTER
ATLANTA AREA TECHNICAL SCHOOL
1560 Stewart Avenue, S. W.
758-9451

I. Eligibility for taking the GED Test

1. An applicant must have passed his 20th birthday to be eligible for GED testing at Atlanta Area Technical School.
2. He must present one of the following as proof of age and identity: Service discharge papers, voter registration form, income tax receipt, W-2 form, driver's license.
3. Applicants must pay the $5 testing fee at the school on the testing date.
4. Applicants under the age of 20 must have special permission to take the GED test. (A Special Sheet of instructions to obtain this permission is enclosed.) Applicants who are under 20 years of age must presents a letter of "special permission" from the State Dept. of Education to the GED Examiner.
5. REPEAT TEST - If an applicant has had the GED test before and is repeating he must wait 6 months before a "RETEST." (RETESTING POLICY is on separate sheet of instructions.)
6. Must be a legal resident of Georgia.

II. Description of the GED Test

The GED test is composed of 5 main parts - each part requiring approximately 2 hours to complete: however, this an untimed test which allows an individual to work at his own rate. The parts are as follows:

1. Correctness and Effectiveness of Expression (English Grammar)
2. Interpretation of Reading Material in the Social Studies
3. Interpretation of Reading Material in the Natural Sciences
4. Interpretation of Literary Materials (Literature)
5. General Mathematical Ability

III. Length of the GED Test

The applicant should be prepared for two consecutive days of testing. It is necessary to complete all five parts of the test when the testing session is begun.

IV. Reference Books

The following reference books are often used in preparing for the GED test:

1. High School Equivalency Diploma Test by Arco Publishing Co. (This book can be purchased at our bookstore for $4.)
2. High School Entrance Examination by Gruber Publishing Company.
3. Barrons "How to Prepare for Entrance Examinations" by Peters Publishing Company.
4. High School text books.

V. Everyone must pay a testing fee of $5.

VI. Test Results

A report of your test results is mailed to you approximately two weeks after testing. Test scores will not be given by telephone.

KEEP THIS SHEET FOR YOUR INFORMATION

HOW TO OBTAIN SPECIAL PERMISSION TO TAKE THE G E D TEST FOR UNDER AGE APPLICANTS

Anyone under the age of twenty must have permission from the Adult Education Unit State Department of Education before he will be permitted to take the G E D Test.

SPECIAL PERMISSION MUST BE OBTAINED FROM THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION: Address correspondence to Mrs. Catherine Kirkland, Coordinator of Adult Education, 156 Trinity Avenue, Educational Annex Building, Atlanta, Georgia 3030, Telephone No. 688-2390 Ext. 443 or 444.

1. When requesting permission, send letter in the applicant's own handwriting. In this letter to the State Department of Education, explain where you last attended school, the date of your withdrawal, and the reason for your withdrawal. Also give the last grade you completed and the reason you wish to take the G E D Test. Enclose a copy of your birth certificate or some means of verification of birth date. This will be returned to the applicant.

2. A letter of recommendation from the last principal, counselor or employer of the applicant must be enclosed with the letter mentioned above. It should include reasons and recommendation for the applicant to take the test.

3. Permission cannot be granted to anyone less than seventeen years of age or to anyone who has been enrolled in a high school within six months prior to the request for permission.

If permission is granted and tests are passed, the applicant will not receive his equivalency certificate until he reaches the age of twenty; however, he will receive a copy of his scores from the testing center. A person must be a legal resident of Georgia or have attended Georgia schools. It is the applicant's responsibility to see that all required information is received by Mrs. Kirkland's office.

AN UNDERAGE APPLICANT MUST HAVE THIS SPECIAL PERMISSION LETTER WITH HIM WHEN HE COMES TO TAKE THE TEST AT THE G E D TESTING CENTER, ATLANTA AREA TECH, 1560 STEWART AVE., S.W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA.

****

RETESTING POLICY

IF ONE HAS FAILED PART OF THE TEST AND WISHES TO BE RETESTED, HE MUST WAIT SIX MONTHS IF HE NEEDS TO BE RETESTED BEFORE THE SIX MONTHS WAITING PERIOD, HE MUST HAVE A LETTER OF WAIVER OF THE WAITING PERIOD FROM MRS. CATHERINE KIRKLAND, 156 Trinity Street, Educational Annex Building, Atlanta Georgia 30303, Telephone No. 688-2390 Ext 443 or 444. THIS LETTER MUST BE PRESENTED AT THE G E D TESTING CENTER ON THE DATE OF THE RETESTING. He also must bring a copy of his previous G E D Test scores.

* * *

AUTO MAKERS beat the bushes to staff their booming plants.

Wall St. Jnl. 1/25/66

For the first time since the palmy days of 1955, car companies are recruiting workers in the South for Michigan plants. Pontiac recruiting teams have toured Kentucky and West Virginia, hiring as many as 200 a week. Buick has sought workers in the same states, as well as in Maine and Vermont. Chrysler has been hiring in southern Illinois for its new Blevedere plant in northern Illinois.

New plants and additional work turns at old ones cause the scramble. Oldsmobile will add a second turn to its Toronado line at Lansing in March. Chrysler will add a second turn at Belvedere in May or June. Ford slates double-turning at one or two more plants for the '67 model year. A new Chevrolet plant will open this spring in Lordstown, Ohio. These factories alone will add more than 7,500 jobs; three big new stamping plants in Michigan will mean thousands more. Auto employment, now at 900,000, has gone up 125,000 in the past two years.

An auto executive complains half the prospective workers in Detroit flunk his company's I.Q. test, which is based on a fourth-grade education.

B. A.

This kind of broadside is one of his "forte's" — also presents some troublesome problems.

Please copy + Julian

February 16, 1966

Representative Bob Kastenmeier
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bob:

You may recall my name as one of your supporters at the University of Wisconsin. I am writing to you as one interested in scientific psychology and in the proper utilization of the science of psychology in relation to the welfare and civil rights of people.

In connection with your work on civil rights, you may remember that last year a House Committee under Representative Gallagher and a Senate Committee under Senator Sam Irwin conducted investigations of the use of psychological tests in government employment. Although both of these Committees produced findings that led to abolishment of use of personality tests in almost every sector of the Federal Government, they did not extend their studies, as it was suggested that they do, to the unethical misuse of other types of psychological tests—the so-called general aptitude or intelligence and scholastic aptitude tests--on both Federal employees and on students in schools, colleges, and universities which are partly supported by Federal funds.

It is my opinion that the time has come to face up to the issues of human rights, civil rights and discrimination in employment and Selective Service posed by the nationwide fraudulent misuse of general intelligence, personality, scholastic aptitude, and the Graduate Record tests, as used in both schools and industries. It is suggested that, as one phase of your Committee work on civil rights, you conduct an investigation of test publishing firms, employment agencies, management consulting firms, executive placement firms and university placement operations which are interacting unethically in feedback relationships with privileged schools, colleges, and universities to misuse various types of aptitude and scholastic achievement tests in order to undermine democratic processes in educational selection and placement and hence in Selective Service and employment opportunity.

I am enclosing for your examination copies of my reports of scientific studies of various types of psychological tests in schools, government institutions and industry. Besides the general findings that

all types of psychological testing are invalid and disreputable as scientifically controlled processes, these reports bring out an hitherto unrecognized fact about testing, namely, that testers and their followers in schools, universities, and industries fudge and distort course designs, placement, student and worker rating procedures, and actual programs of education in order to follow the test results and to make the tests look good. These findings have indicated that personality, intelligence and scholastic aptitude testing has the status and a record of aiding rich and privileged students and other individuals avoid the draft by means of test-oriented and test-guided educational practices of an unethical nature. We have come to believe that this is the main purpose of testing in the nation.

I can explain to you very directly hos this visious discriminative feedback process works in terms ofthe Scholastic Aptitude Test, which a great number of colleges use for selection at the college level. This test has absolutely no validity in predicting college performance. However, over a million of these disreputable tests were sold last year by the Educational Test Service. The reasons for this large sale are now known through my investigations. Scores of preparatory schools in this country, especially in the East, do little more than train their privileged students in passing this test by using old copies and keys of the test itself. Therefore, these students establish by test-defined feedback action a preferred educational status in relation to the draft. It goes without saying that this unethically achieved preferred status is maintained inasmuch as much college training consists of little more than advanced training in passing multiple choice tests of the order of the so-called Scholastic Aptitude Test.

This same type of feedback relationship exists between the Graduate Record Examination (which also is sold by the Educational Test Service) and certain patterns of test slanted college training. Thus, it is not uncommon for many departments in psychology, mathematics, and literature in this country to slant their courses toward the verbal minutiae of the Graduate Record Examination, and to structure their beginning graduate courses in the same way, and thus make both undergraduate and graduate training conform to the testing format, which it is claimed can predict graduate status. These feedback relationships of the Graduate Record Examination are further refined by many specialized activities of the Educational Test Service in hiring paid academic consultants--i.e., deans and chairmen of university department--who can influence adoption of test programs. It is also a practice of this institution to give such consultants and other academic supporters lush week-long paid educational conferences in New York each year in order to discuss their educational activities in testing and feedback related educational functions.

Let me suggest also that equally vicious violations of Title VII of the Civil Rights Law occur in the fraudulent use of personality and so-called general intelligence tests by employment agencies, professional executive placement agencies and universities and industrial firms in the country. None of these tests have a scientific foundation or proven validity in predicting job performance. Nevertheless, they are used widely as discriminative devices in employment. The fact that they are used as such discriminative devices in areas of employment which determine

draft deferment in defense-related industries should come under close scrutiny by your Committee.

I suggest that your Committee take up the entire question of civil rights and the illegal use of scholastic, intelligence and personality testing at all levels of schooling and work. As suggested by my scientific articles, we now have good evidence that the claptrap methods of testing constitute little more than a process of imposing inferior educationupon children, who through past differential social and educational opportunity do poorly on the tests. The tests are used unconstitutionally in both public and private school systems in order to assign students to "inferior" classes and this "inferior" label sticks to the child throughout his career, because the classes in which he is placed represent education of inferior design. I suggest that your Committee could make a tremendous scientific and educational contribution by wholesale abolition of these psychological testing practices and feedback effects of testing in the public schools.

The smaller of the reports sent to you suggests other reasons why your Committee should look into the broad question of psychological testing and civil rights. Such testing has come to be organized as a nationwide commercial racket for the benefit of a few monopolistic publishing and testing machine manufacturing firms. Numerous interlocking relationships exist between scoring machine manufacturers, teaching machine manufacturers, general aptitude and scholastic aptitude test publishing firms, and achievement testing agencies. The whole business, rather than being scientifically controlled and ethically oriented, stinks worse than the content of the tests. Even the American Psychological Association--the one agency which should be aggressive in cleaning up the testing racket--is deeply involved in using Public Health Funds in order to promote and expand the worst of all testing activities--i.e., the charlatanism and quackery of personality testing. My opinion is that your Committee could clean up this mess in relation to civil rights and Selective Service once and for a long time into the future.

Let me send you my best personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Karl U. Smith
Professor

ENC.
KUS:mm

Testing

OFFICE OF RESEARCH AND REPORTS

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION

TESTING OF MINORITY GROUP APPLICANTS FOR EMPLOYMENT

Phyllis Wallace
Beverly Kissinger
Betty Reynolds

Research Report 1966-7
March, 1966

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This report is the result of intensive research on a highly controversial and complex subject. A number of psychologists have provided us with data from their current studies. We are especially grateful to Commissioner Hernandez who permitted us to examine the testing materials from her files. Dr. Robert Krug, Director of Research for the Peace Corps, made available several of his studies on testing of minority persons. Dr. Philip Ash, Research Assistant to the Vice President of Industrial and Public Relations for Inland Steel; Dr. Joel Campbell of Educational Testing Service; Mr. Howard C. Lockwood of the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation; Dr. Richard Shore, Policy Planning Staff of the Department of Labor; and Dr. Arthur Brayfield, Executive Secretary of the American Psychological Association, have sent us a number of articles. While acknowledging our debt to various scholars, we of course assume full responsiblity for any errors of fact or interpretation.

Phyllis Wallace
Beverly Kissinger
Betty Reynolds

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TESTING OF MINORITY GROUP APPLICANTS FOR EMPLOYMENT

I. Introduction

The Motorola case* and the Tower amendment to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 Section 703(h)** have dramatized the issue of whether the use of general intelligence tests by employers as selection devices for hiring and promotion deprives Negroes and members of other minority groups of equal employment opportunity. Individuals from culturally disadvantaged*** backgrounds perform less well on these tests on the average than do applicants from middle class environments and consequently may be screened out of training programs and/or excluded from jobs. Differences in culture, in opportunity, and in experience can have a devastating effect on test performance. Since many Negroes, Mexican-Americans, Indians, and lower-class whites have not shared the middle class culture, they may perform in an inferior manner on tests of general intelligence, particularly paper and pencil, but not necessarily on performance for which the tests are supposed to be predictive.

Consistent and significant differences on mean scores are also found between age, sex, educational, and urban-rural groups, but the focus of this report is the effect of testing on the culturally disadvantaged,

*See Appendix A for the chronology of the Motorola case.

** ". . . nor shall it be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to give and to act upon the results of any professionally developed ability test provided that such test, its administration or action upon the results is not designed, intended or used to discriminate because or race, color, religion, sex or national origin." Sec. 703(h)

***See Appendix B.

many of whom are Negroes. This report is not concerned with the willful misuse of tests to discriminate such as giving tests to Negroes but not to whites, or requiring Negroes to achieve higher scores than whites, or failing Negroes regardless of their actual performance. These practices are clearly unlawful. The question to be considered here is whether many "professionally developed ability tests" used by employers to select qualified applicants do in fact discriminate inadvertently.

Authorities in the field of psychological testing have suggested several proposals for mitigating the effects of unintentional types of discrimination against minority groups. We have examined the various proposals and have concluded that careful selection and administering of tests and validation of the testing instrument within an industrial setting, may be the most desirable means to achieve the goal of full utilization of the nation's human resources. The implications of this affirmative conclusion are discussed from the viewpoint of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, private employers, and the research psychologists who would have to assume the major responsibility for formulating suitable standards for selection of testing programs.

II. Types of Tests

The major types of tests most commonly used in employee selection are: (1) general intelligence tests, (2) tests of specific intellectual abilities, (3) knowledge and skill tests, (4) measures of dexterity and coordination, and (5) inventories of personality traits.

Intelligence tests such as the Wonderlic, Stanford-Binet, and Otis Quick-Scoring are designed primarily to measure the ability of the individual to understand and to reason with words and numbers. Such tests are most

useful in selection for jobs where learning from and understanding verbal academic material is important.

Specific intellectual abilities tests determine potential for learning certain kinds of work and for solving certain kinds of problems. The tests are not designed to test for a specific job, but to measure the skills for understanding and reasoning with words, numbers and symbols, visualizing of spatial relationships, word fluency, visual speed and accuracy, and creative abilities.

Knowledge and skill tests are usually specific to a job or job family. Knowledge tests are designed to measure the understanding of blueprint reading, electronics, accounting, etc., while skill tests measure one's ability to type, to take dictation, to drive, etc. These tests measure the degree or level of knowledge or skill already attained by candidates at the time of the test.

Dexterity and coordination tests measure speed and accuracy of physical movements. These tests must be very specific to the movements required in the job and are usually constructed by the employer. Examples of such tests are spatial and mechanical abilities, perceptual accuracy, motor abilities.

Personality and interest tests are intended to indicate how a person typically acts and feels, and to determine the type of activities he likes. Tests of this nature have been developed primarily for use in either vocational guidance or clinical use. <u>It is extremely important for a highly trained professional psychologist to evaluate and interpret the results of these tests</u>.

Tests may be further categorized as aptitude versus proficiency. Aptitude tests are designed to measure potential while achievement tests measure skill level at the time of testing.

III. How Tests Discriminate Against Minority Groups

An aptitude test that fails to predict job performance in the same way for both Negroes and whites, or fails to predict job performance at all is not a valid test. If such a test is weighted to differentiate between Negroes and whites, it is similarly invalid and similarly discriminatory. Tests may be held to discriminate in the social sense if they deny equal opportunity for consideration. A test may operate in this manner (a) when scores on it tend to differentiate between identifiable sub-groups, where the sub-grouping itself is not a relevant selection factor, and either (b) scores for the lower group underpredict performance on the job when the standards of the upper-group are applied, or (c) scores on the test do not predict job performance for either group.[1/]

It is known that Negroes on the average do less well on paper and pencil tests than whites. The mean scores for Negroes are lower than the mean scores* for whites on most paper and pencil tests of general ability, intelligence, aptitude, learning ability, or overall ability. The distribution of scores overlap, often considerably, but the average scores differ significantly in most studies.

*Raw scores are converted to norms in order to compare an individual performance with a specific group. See glossary in Appendix B.

More research has been done on the testing of minority group children than workers, but the information which has resulted from this research offers insight into why Negro adults achieve a lower mean score than job applicants from more middle class background. Newton S. Metfessel, Psychologist at the University of Southern California, in his research on children and youth who live in the culture of poverty, found that cultural factors such as home and family structure, personality and social characteristics, learning characteristics, and general school relationships handicap performance on tests.

These children usually come from a home environment where there is such a paucity of objects that the child's conceptual formation development is adversely affected. They also lack curiosity, and this affects both motivational patterns and the development of creative behavior. The culturally disadvantaged child is characterized by weak ego-development, a lack of self-confidence, and a negative self-concept. These conflicting feelings about himself frequently result in exaggerated positive and negative attitudes towards others.[2/]

Many aspects of learning characteristics are affected by the culturally poor background. The culturally disadvantaged typically have a cognitive style which responds more to visual and kinesthetic signals than to oral or written stimuli. Also, these children learn more readily by inductive than deductive approaches. Learning experiences which move from the part to the whole rather than from the whole to the part are

invariably more successful. Significant gaps in knowledge and uneven patterns of learning are typical of this type of background.

Children from the culture of poverty have had little experience in receiving approval for success in learning a task, an assumption on which the school culture is organized. "The cycle of skill mastery which demands that successful experiences generate more motivation to perform which in turn guarantees levels of skill sufficient to prevent discouragement, and so on, may be easily reversed in direction and end the achievement habit prior to its beginning." 3/

In general school relationships and school characteristics, these children from the background of cultural deprivation are placed at a marked disadvantage on standardized tests, which for the most part have been designed to test the white, middle class child. The shortcomings of the standardized tests when they are used with disadvantaged minority groups are discussed below.

A. Reliability of Differentation

Standardized tests may not provide reliable differentation in the range of the minority group's scores. The reliability coefficient for a particular test is strongly affected by the spread of test scores in the group for which the reliability is established. In general, the greater the spread of scores in the reliability samples, the higher the reliability coefficient. For many tests, there is evidence "that children from the lower socio-economic levels tend to have a smaller spread of scores than do children from middle-income families, and such restriction

in the distribution of scores tends to lower reliability so far as differentiation of measurement with such groups is concerned."[4]

B. Predictive Validity

Second, the predictive validity of tests for minority groups may be quite different from that for the standardization and validation groups. Factors which may impair a test's predictive validity are:

1. Test-related factors i.e. test taking skills, anxiety, motivation, speed, understanding of test instructions, degree of item or format novelty, examiner-examinee rapport which may affect test scores but have little relation to the criterion.

2. Complexity of criteria - It is important to recognize the influence of other factors, not measured by tests, which may contribute to criterion success. Since disadvantaged groups tend to do poorly on general intelligence and achievement tests of the paper and pencil type, one should explore background, personality, and motivation of members of such groups for compensatory factors, untapped by the test, which may be related to criterion performance.[5]

While certain aptitude and proficiency tests may have excellent criterion validity for some purposes, even the best of them are unlikely to reflect the true capacity of underprivileged children. They tap abilities that have been molded by the cultural setting. The test content, mode of communication involved in responding to test items, and the motivation needed for making responses are intrinsically dependent upon the cultural context.[6]

C. Validity of Test Interpretation

Third, the validity of the interpretation of tests is strongly dependent upon an adequate understanding of the social and cultural background of the group in question. Sources of error in test interpretation stemming from lack of recognition of the special features of culturally disadvantaged groups are: (1) deviation error - tendency to infer maladjustment from responses which are deviant from the viewpoint of a majority culture, but which may be typical of a minority group. (2) simple determinant error - thinking of the test content as reflecting some absolute or pure trait, process, factor, or construct, irrespective of conditions of measurement or the population being studied. (3) failure barriers - requiring minority group individuals to solve problems with unfamiliar tools.[7]

Job applicants from lower socio-economic levels may be characterized in contrast to their middle class counterparts as being less verbal, more fearful of strangers, less confident, less motivated toward scholastic and academic achievement, less conforming to middle class norms of behavior and conduct, less knowledgeable about the world outside their immediate neighborhood. To the extent that these subcultural differences affect test performance adversely, these persons may be denied the opportunity to employment and a more productive contribution to society. Selection instruments often call for responses that are influenced by the culture of the applicant's community or quality of his educational opportunity. Since such tests are "culturally loaded" against persons from a lower socio-economic status, they may

operate as instruments of racial discrimination. The crucial question is whether employers use techniques that unwittingly eliminate persons who might perform satisfactorily on the job. The relationship between test performance and cultural deprivation on the one hand, and job performance on the other, must be investigated for both white and nonwhite job applicants.

IV. Proposed Solutions to the Problem of Cultural Bias in Testing

Most employers defend tests as an efficient device for choosing the most qualified applicants. Where Negro job applicants consistently score significantly below white job applicants a question should be raised about test scores as predictors of job performance. In an employment situation we would like to know whether differences between group means are also associated with performance on the criterion. Do the factors that depress test performance also depress trainability or whatever criterion is to be predicted? Psychologists have suggested ways in which the effect of cultural bias inherent in many aptitude tests can be alleviated for minority group applicants. Few of these proposals have been universally accepted, but most have been discussed in the professional literature on testing of minority groups and the culturally disadvantaged.

A. Variants of "Culture-Free" and "Culture-Fair" Tests

1. Culture-Free Tests

One such proposal is the development of tests which are free of cultural bias in their content and instructions. Dr. Robert Krug, who has written extensively on testing of minority persons, indicates that one of two conditions must be met before a test can be classified as

"culture-free:" either the test items are those which all people of all cultures have had equal opportunity and equal motive to learn, or the test items must possess complete novelty for all people of all cultures.[8] For all practical purposes these two conditions are almost impossible to meet and the idea is often rejected as unfeasible. Howard Lockwood of Lockheed Corporation states that many industrial psychologists agree that even if such a test could be developed, it would be useless in personnel selection. It is impossible, he maintains, to avoid measuring cultural influences, and if they were completely eliminated from all tests, the tests would measure, in essence, nothing.[9]

2. Culture-Fair Tests

Dr. Krug, on the other hand, does not reject the idea entirely. He describes a "culture-fair" test, as a modification of the "culture-free" idea. The assumption underlying the "culture-fair" tests is that there exists a set of test stimuli which are equally appropriate, that is, equal opportunity and motive to learn, for at least two cultural groups.[10] Dr. Paul Schwartz, who headed an AID-sponsored aptitude test development project in West Africa, has done most of the research in this area. A "culture-fair" test or "culture-common test" developed by Schwartz for Nigerian and American children utilized a set of fruits and vegetables which were approximately equal in familiarity to both cultures.

3. Culture-Equivalent Tests

Dr. Schwartz also developed another variant of this concept called "cultural-equivalent" tests, denoting that two tests which are not

identical may, in fact, be equivalent. In this case investigations were undertaken to discover cultural counterparts of tools and machines, cultural manifestations of mechanical principles, and cultural opportunities to acquire information of potential relevance to mechanical training.[11/] The argument of cultural equivalence rests on the demonstration that tests constructed in this way have been valid predictors of performance in Westernized training programs in shop mechanics, electrical repair, and the like. Developement of similar tests in this country is impeded by lack of knowledge concerning the culture of southern Negroes, northern slum-dwellers of all races, or any other identifiable sub-groups. Dr. Ash asserts that so-called culture-fair tests do not measure aptitudes or characteristics significantly related to most ordinary measures of job success such as turnover, production or foreman ratings.[12/]

B. Creativity Tests

Another approach, adopted by Dr. Newton Metfessel and Professor J. J. Risser, of the University of Southern California involves the use of tests to measure creativity rather than traditional intelligence tests. The latter sample only a relatively small portion of the factors which are involved in intellectual potential and have placed a premium on verbal comprehension and speed of response and emphasize convergent thinking, or the ability to select the one correct answer.[13/]

Creativity tests, on the other hand, stress divergent thinking or the ability to create new or original answers. They are, according to Metfessel, more suitable for the testing of the culturally disadvantaged and certain ethnic groups whose command of language is not highly developed.

These tests utilize the most common and familiar of objects in order to sample the testee's ability to recognize problems, and his originality, flexibility, and fluency of thinking. Tasks include suggesting improvements in a familiar device such as a telephone, or thinking of problems that might occur in the use of an object such as a candle. One test requires the subject to list as many uses as he can for a broom handle.[14/]

The tests are scored simply on the number of acceptable answers given by the subject. They seem to be as effective in predicting academic success as traditional intelligence tests and, probably, would be as effective as the latter in predicting job performance.

C. Differential Selection Among Applicants From Different Socio-Economic Ethnic Backgrounds

It has been proposed that, since prediction equations for job performance for most tests currently in use have been based on the performance of whites, different standards (separate test norms, conversion tables, prediction weights, etc.) be employed for Negores and other culturally disadvantaged groups. This approach involves a technique known as the moderator variable. Applicants for a given job

are divided into sub-groups, and selection procedures are applied differentially to members of the two groups. Applicants could be classified, for example, on the basis of a measure of socio-economic status, demographic data (such as percentage of Negroes living in the census tract from which the applicant is applying), and race.

Studies could then be undertaken to determine whether there is, in fact, a differences in the predictive efficiency of job tests as between high and low status groups. Differences in selection procedures for different ethnic groups do not mean a lowering of standards because the standards which count are standards of performance on the job, not the selection standards. Equally qualified persons may be selected from various ethnic groups by applying the standards which are appropriate to each group.[15/]

Lockwood has proposed the use of "cultural exposure" as a moderator variable. Examinees should be grouped homogeneously as to cultural exposure and these groups treated separately in validity studies. Cultural exposure is defined as the material things to which a person has been exposed and the attitudes to which he has been exposed and which he has acquired. Research would lead to a better identification of the culturally disadvantaged and to the utilization of their abilities through a refinement in prediction of training and occupational success.[16/]

A major investigation is under way by Dr. Richard Barrett to determine if the division of applicants into sub-groups improves the accuracy of prediction for members of both groups. If selection is

improved by applying different procedures to the high and low socio-economic groups, then, the more talented would benefit, regardless of race. "It may also happen that dividing the group of applicants on the basis of race may lead to improved accuracy of predictions for members of both races. Such a result has far reaching implications for fair employment practices because failure to treat the two races separately would, if current policies were followed, lead to discrimination against the more talented Negroes." 17/

The overwhelming evidence is that the cultural background of the Negro in America today is so different from that of the white that his performance during the selection process can reasonably be expected to be different. It may be difficult to find an adequate sample of Negroes in most occupations in order to develop separate and suitable prediction equations for them. Lockwood also cautions against the use of a lower minimum score or separate standards of test performance for Negroes since it might tend to perpetuate the idea of race differences or race inferiority.

D. Dual Test Standards and Compensatory Training

The concept of a "dual standard" has some support among psychologists. Ash cites the work of Dr. Kenneth B. Clark of the City University of New York. Clark's work suggests that culturally deprived people who score low on tests may tend to overachieve on the job. In studying the college performance of students who scored low on college entrance tests, Clark found that for students from non-deprived environments, the tests were good predictors, and low college

entrance test scores were accurate indicators of poor grades. On the other hand, students coming from deprived environments did significantly better in college than would have been predicted from the tests.[18]

An experimental training program run by the Federal Department Stores in Detroit, Michigan, indicates that a lowering of required test scores will not necessarily result in a lower quality of job performance. The Federal Department Stores took 16 young people from culturally and economically deprived areas, all of whom had failed standard employment tests and were classified as "unemployable", and put them through a 10-week special training program. All 16 subsequently were employed, 14 at Federal and two elsewhere. The record of performance of all 14 employees at Federal exceeded what was predicted by standard sales aptitude tests. Some exceeded the company's minimum performance standards for new employees by "unbelievable margins."[19]*

Although the Federal Department Stores experiment is considered one of the first of its kind in offering compensatory training for individuals with low test scores, the concept of "double-standard" has had wide acceptance for years in the fairly common practice of maintaining different norms for the sexes. Several popular tests which offer different sex norms are the Bennet, The Wonderlic, the Minnesota Paper Form Board, and the Thurstone Temperament Schedule.

It is generally agreed that some of these sex differences on tests are undoubtedly of environmental origin. Girls, are expected to score lower than boys on tests of mechanical information. It is also

*Re-test results one year later for the ten trainees still employed by Federal showed no significant changes in the scores as a group.

expected that girls will perform less effectively on tasks for which the Mechanical Information test is a predictor. This, however, does not prevent many companies from employing women in manufacturing tasks which require mechanical ability where they perform satisfactorily.[20/]

On the basis of these examples, it appears that a "double-standard" can be justified in some circumstances, though a double standard in job performance and hiring of less qualified applicants is usually rejected as not being effective. If it can be demonstrated that score X for Group A and Score K-k for Group B are associated with identical levels of performance on the job, then an employer might reasonably consider adopting a more flexible attitude toward test scores.[21/]

E. Intensification of Recruitment - While there are significant differences in average performance, there is a considerable overlap in the distribution of test scores of whites and Negroes. It has been proposed, on the basis of this observation, that employers who wish to maintain their present standard of performance on their pre-employment tests, can increase their number of Negro employees by intensifying recruitment among Negroes in order to identify those whose test performance is equal to that of acceptable white applicants. Although this approach has merit in that it could provide employment for Negroes who are qualified but who do not apply for jobs in companies where they assume discrimination is practiced, it is not a solution to the testing problem. It ducks the question of the fairness of tests to those who fail because of

cultural disadvantage, and it will not provide enough additional workers to satisfy present and future labor needs.[22/]

F. Use of Test Scores as Only One Indicator - One other practical solution similar in many respects to the "double-standard" is to use test scores as only one indicator among others in the hiring decision, with a clear awareness that, where the applicant has not shared in the predominant middle-class verbal culture, the test score significantly underestimates his potential. A difference of one point more or less cannot be expected to determine if an applicant will fail or succeed on the job. Other personal characteristics such as achievement, motivation, and dependability may be just as significant indicators of successful job performance,and they usually can be identified in each cultural group.

G. Proper Testing Practices - Along with adoption of a more flexible attitude toward test scores, the most immediate improvement can be accomplished by an emphasis by the employer on proper testing practices.

(1) The employer could reconsider the relevance of the qualifications for employment to the specific job tasks required by his company. Many of these requirements are stated in terms of some generalized stereotypes, such as high school graduate, high IQ, or potential to advance to higher level jobs, and are quite extraneous to the requirements of that job. Tests should be professionally chosen to fit the distinctive features of both the industry and the background, education and other characteristics of the successful work force. It is unreasonable to insist

that all lower level workers have potential for supervisory positions. An employer may eventually find that by adopting a more reasonable set of qualifications for each job, he will have access to a considerably larger source of workers who can perform capably and who will present him with fewer problems of employee frustration or labor turnover.

(2) Selection tests should be developed by reputable professional psychologists who are competent in conducting testing programs in an industrial setting.

(3) Pre-employment tests should be administered by personnel who are properly trained not only in the technical details of giving tests, but also in the orientation and handling of people in the testing situation. Members of disadvantaged groups tend to be particularly sensitive to any mannerisms that might be considered antagonistic, sarcastic, or condescending, and test administrators should be aware of this and be able by their behavior to alleviate a certain amount of test anxiety. A personnel manager at a recent testing conference complained that the number of Negro applicants for jobs in his company had fallen off by 80 percent after the company recently instituted a pre-employment testing program.*

(4) A policy of re-testing "failure" candidates may gain for an employer many good employees who otherwise would have been eliminated by the first test. Many candidates, particularly members of minority groups, regard testing as a threatening situation and do not perform as well as they could. A second test would provide a more accurate

*University of Michigan Testing of Minority Group Applicants, January 26, 1966.

indication of the true capability of a person who is less experienced with testing situations and who may have been intimidated by his first experience.

(5) Finally, the most important principle is validation of tests in order to confirm the relationship between test scores and on-the-job performance. There is general agreement that tests should not be used for a group which differs from the validation group. Validity is relative both to the criterion to be predicted and to the group for which the prediction is to be made. Very few employers have validated their testing instruments. In a recent survey by the University of Wisconsin Industrial Relations Research Center, 152 companies which apply testing techniques were canvassed and only 7 percent reported that all their tests had been validated locally against on-the-job performance measures. Nearly 60 percent had validated none of their tests. The remainder reported that some but not all of their tests were validated.[23/]

Dr. Warren Ketcham, University of Michigan psychologist and Vice President of Psychodynamics Research and Associates, has suggested that within company norms should be used exclusively. This only requires that an applicant perform on tests as well as or better than persons who have done or are presently doing the job satisfactorily. The norm tables should then be used to rank applicants as sub-standard, low-average, average, high-average, or superior.[24/]

From recent discussions with research psychologists attached to large industrial concerns, it appears that many companies are developing ability

tests which will measure the essentials required for training or employment, while keeping at a minimum the relevant aspects of culture. For a number of reasons, these findings may never be released for general consumption. One of the responsibilities of the Commission will be to encourage this type of research by the psychological profession. If the purpose of tests is to uncover talent and potential, irrespective of label, surely the Commission could not advocate a more commendable policy.

V. United States As A Model Employer

If the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission establishes basic guidelines on testing of minority group applicants, including a provision on validation of tests, it will require private employers to satisfy certain standards which the United States government, as a civilian employer, for the most part does not meet.*

The U. S. government has set a fine example in its standardized testing program for the military where these tests have been completely validated. Testing in the Armed Forces serves a number of major programs, two of which are (1) to identify the number of personnel required in each skill and professional category, and (2) to identify each individual for training, upgrading, and utilization to his highest potential.

In order to maintain validity, test development activities are mainly serviced by professional job analysts, subject matter specialists, and test psychologists and validated in the working area. This systematic approach is essential to assure that the tests sample specific job functions in

*Of some interest is the fact that the United States Employment Service has recently undertaken a program to develop aptitude measures that can be used to evaluate potential for literacy training, vocational training and occupational potential of the educationally deficient. Much of the research is designed to improve the General Aptitude Test Battery (GATB). 25/

direct proportion to the importance of those functions to the job. As a result, job analysis provides not only a basis for test construction, selection and training, but also a means for increasing productivity and facilitating work.

VI. Recommendations for Testing Guidelines

The following recommendations are designed as a guide to help employers establish objective standards for selection, screening, and promotion of workers. These procedures should ensure that all qualified applicants are given equal opportunity for employment.

1. Job descriptions should be examined and their critical requirements established before tests are selected for screening applicants.

2. Tests used should be those developed by reputable psychologists. Such tests should be administered by professionally qualified personnel who have had training in occupational testing in an industrial setting.

3. Rigidly inflexible minimum scores should be re-examined in light of the considerable research under way on differential selection.

4. Test scores must be considered as only one source of information, and must be combined with other available data on performance such as motivation, leadership and organizational experience, self-sufficiency, and dependability.

5. Tests should be validated within the setting where they will be used. Validation should be for as many separate groups as possible in preference to one large heterogeneous group.

6. It may be advisable for employers who deal with applicants from culturally disadvantaged backgrounds to offer re-tests to candidates who are unsuccessful on their first try, since these people are less familiar with testing situations and may not perform as well as they are able.

APPENDIX A

CHRONOLOGY OF THE MOTOROLA CASE

I. July 15, 1963 - Leon Myart, a Negro, applied for a job as a television phaser and analyzer at the Franklin Park plant of Motorola, Inc. Myart took a five minute intelligence test (General Ability Test No. 10), was interviewed, and was sent home without being told whether he qualified for employment.

II. July 29, 1963 - Failing to receive a job offer, Myart filed a complaint with the Illinois Fair Employment Practices Commission and the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity alleging that his not being hired was due to racial discrimination.

III. January 27-28, 1964 - Hearing of the Motorola case before hearing examiner Robert Bryant of the Illinois Fair Employment Practices Commission.

IV. February 26, 1964 - The hearing examiner directed that Myart be offered a job, that test No. 10 should no longer be used, and that any new test developed in its place should "reflect and equate inequalities and environmental factors among the disadvantaged and culturally deprived groups." He argued that the test had been normed on "advantaged groups" and did not "lend itself to equal employment opportunity to qualify for the hitherto culturally deprived and disadvantaged groups."

V. April 18, May 25, July 14-15, 1964 - Review of the Motorola case before the full Commission.

VI. November 18, 1964 - The Commission issued its unanimous decision, finding that Myart had been denied employment because of his race and while not supporting the order to hire Myart directed that he be compensated one thousand dollars.

VII. April 27, 1965 - Illinois Circuit Court decision on appeal of Motorola. The ruling requiring Motorola to pay Myart one thousand dollars was reversed, but the Commission's findings on discrimination were upheld.

VIII. November 11, 1965 - Case argued before the Illinois Supreme Court.

IX. March 24, 1966 - Illinois Supreme Court reversed the judgment of the circuit court on grounds that the alleged unfair employment practice was not established by a preponderance of the evidence.

APPENDIX B

GLOSSARY OF SPECIAL TERMS

Criterion - A standard that provides a basis for evaluating the validity of a test.

Cultural bias - Propensity of a test to reflect favorable or unfavorable effects of certain types of cultural backgrounds.

Culture-fair test - A test yielding results that are not culturally biased.

Culture-free test - A test yielding results that are not influenced in any way by cultural background factors.

Norms - Statistics that depict the test performance of specific groups. Grade, age, and percentile are the most common types of norms.

Reliability - The degree of consistency, stability, or dependability of measurement afforded by a test.

Validity - The extent to which a test measures the trait for which it is designed, or for which it is being used, rather than some other trait.

Psychological test - An observation of a sample of human behavior made under standard, controlled conditions which results in a linear evaluation called a score.

Culturally disadvantaged - Groups which do not have full participation in American society because of low incomes, substandard housing, poor education, and other "atypical" environmental experiences.

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(Appeal from the Circuit Court)

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April 15, 1966

Professor Karl U. Smith
Behavioral Cybernetics Laboratory
Department of Psychology
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Karl:

I am happy to see that your piece on testing will be coming out in the Spring issue of New South. It will be quite useful.

Bob Anderson, our managing editor, referred your query regarding Congressional interest in this matter to me. We, of course, do not engage in direct legislative activity, but I would think that it would be useful for members of the appropriate Congressional committees to know of your piece. Please see the attached sheet.

I believe that some of this material could also be brought before the coming White House Conference to Fulfill These Rights. I am serving on a task force for that conference concerned with economic security, including employment, and will see that your article is at least put before the planning staff.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb
Enclosure

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Testing

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This monthly supplement is sponsored by the Charles F. Kettering Foundation. The editors of SR retain responsibility for its contents.

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Are Intelligence Tests Unfair?

THE RECENT DECISION of the schools of New York City to discontinue the use of group tests of intelligence was based largely on charges that these tests are unfair to "disadvantaged" children. Such tests are under fire in many other cities. This is but the most recent chapter in a debate that has raged intermittently since the day in 1908 when Henry H. Goddard brought the Binet test from France, translated it into English, and restandardized it for use with American children.

Goddard, who was then research director in the Vineland School, used the test for classifying feeble-minded children, but in 1916 Lewis Terman of Stanford University published an extended form of the Binet which could be used for all adults and children including the very bright. A more recent revision of the "Stanford Binet" is still the most widely used individual test of general intelligence.

From Professor Wilhelm Stern of Germany, Terman borrowed the concept of the I.Q.—a ratio between mental age as measured by the test and chronological age. Neither Binet nor Goddard used the I.Q. in their versions and many psychologists today prefer to report test results as percentiles or standard scores. Consequently an intelligence test is not necessarily an I.Q. test and the terms should not be used interchangeably.

In the 1920s, paper-pencil tests of intelligence that could be administered to large groups of children were introduced into the schools and in some cases the results of these were also reported as I.Q.'s. Unfortunately, a great many parents and some teachers got the notion that intelligence, as measured by these tests, was a fixed, unchanging capacity that the tests measured directly. Neither Binet nor the psychologists who revised his test ever said or believed any such thing. In devising their tests they tried to select items that would give some clue to native endowment—those requiring acuteness of perception, discrimination, and problem-solving ability rather than memory or formal schooling—but they were well aware that scores were influenced by the child's previous opportunities for learning.

"Intelligence" at best is a hypothetical construct—the meaning of the word has never been clear. There is more agreement on the kinds of behavior referred to by the term than there is on how to interpret or categorize them. But it is generally agreed that a person of high intelligence is one who can grasp ideas readily, make distinctions, reason logically, and make use of verbal and mathematical symbols in solving problems. An intelligence test is a rough measure of a child's capacity for learning, particularly for learning the kinds of things required in school. It does not measure character, social adjustment, physical stamina, manual skills, or artistic abilities. It is not supposed to—it was not designed for such purposes. To criticize it for such failure is roughly comparable to criticizing a thermometer for not measuring humidity or wind velocity.

Though psychologists disagree about the nature of intelligence, and about the extent to which it is altered by the environment, most of them believe that test scores reflect inherited capacity to some degree. A minority, who are eager to prove that there is no inherited basis for differences in intelligence, base their claims largely on the exceptional cases of dramatic

OVER →

improvement in I.Q. when children from a restricted environment are transferred to one more stimulating. But whether differences in inherited intellectual endowment are great, small, or non-existent is not the vital question for educators. Whatever the answer to that question may be, nothing can be done about the inherited capacity once the child is conceived. A great deal can be done to improve the educational opportunities that result from differences in the environment, in school and out. The educator's job is to make the most of whatever talent is available.

Since the I.Q. is a ratio between mental and chronological age (multiplied by 100 for convenience) the quotient should remain the same as the child grows older. But psychologists and educators have engaged in endless debate over the stability or constancy of the I.Q. Some of the facts are clear enough but these can best be interpreted in terms of statistical probability. About the best that can be said in words is that if a child tested at the age of six is found to have an I.Q. of 100 there is a high probability (not to be confused with certainty) that if he is tested several years later, with the same test, his I.Q. will not be very far above or below 100, *if* his environment has remained relatively constant during the intervening years. A shift up or down five or ten points is not unusual but the chance that this child will later score an I.Q. as high as 170 or as low as 50 is about as great as your chance of getting a royal flush in your next poker game.

If, at the younger age, the child's I.Q. is 140 there is very high probability that he will continue to give evidence of intelligence far above the average *unless* his opportunities for learning are seriously impaired. This is not to say that he will make straight A's in college or that, as an adult, he will earn a high income or find his name in *Who's Who*. Achievement of any kind requires high motivation and fortuitous circumstances as well as good intelligence. It is most unfortunate that the term "genius" has sometimes been applied to those with I.Q.'s at this level. There are probably a million people in America—one-half of one per cent of the population—with I.Q.'s of over 140, but very few of these are appropriately called "geniuses."

A very low score on a group test must be interpreted with even greater care because of the potential damage done by labeling a child "feebleminded" or "subnormal." There is always a possibility that the low score resulted from the child's inability to read the test questions, negativistic refusal to answer, or illness on the day of the test. A competent psychologist knows this, of course, and will follow up with individual tests, which give him an opportunity to study the child carefully. But when group tests are administered by teachers or principals with no follow-up of individual cases it is dangerous to make a permanent school record of low scores lest such scores be taken at face value by those who will teach the child later.

Though the possibility of occasional error in individual cases is real enough in all group testing, the debate over the question of "fairness" to children from disadvantaged homes suggests a misunderstanding of the purpose of testing. If it is understood that it measures not innate but developed capacity, an intelligence test is unfair to the child from a poor home only in the sense that a scale which measures weight is "unfair" to the undernourished child. The brutal fact is that just as the underfed child is likely to be underweight the child from an intellectually impoverished home *is* handicapped—the test merely tells how much. It is obviously true that any test requiring the use of language is "culture bound" but this is less true of intelligence tests than of tests of academic subject matter. A good intelligence test will occasionally identify a brilliant child who, because of his cultural handicap, cannot do well on achievement tests.

It seems obvious that a modern school system cannot operate effectively without some sort of large-scale testing. But, since many parents and teachers persistently misinterpret I.Q.'s (parents boast of a high score as though it were evidence of moral superiority or a sure promise of later achievement, while some teachers seem to assume that a child of low I.Q. is unteachable) it may be necessary to give up group testing of general intelligence and to substitute tests of special abilities and of achievement. This seems to be what is planned by the school systems which are abandoning group I.Q. testing. The Army, during World War II, saved itself a great deal of controversy by calling its intelligence test the "Army General Classification Test" and by substituting standard scores for I.Q.'s.

The *individual* test of general intelligence, such as the Stanford Binet, which is given to one child at a time remains a useful instrument. The psychologist who administers the test is able to observe any evidence of emotional disturbance, lack of motivation, or language handicap that might render the test score invalid. To deny the use of this instrument to properly trained clinicians would be a large step backward. —P.W.

"You know what I like about you, Wynkoop, you say yes with conviction."

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DEPARTMENT OF MATHEMATICS HICKORY 5-7500

~~R.A.~~ Dbt.
2 file

11 May, 1966

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Via:

Professor Karl Smith, of the University of Wisconsin, has suggested that I send you the accompanying reprint from The Congressional Record that contains the full text of an article of mine that appeared last October in The New York Times Magazine. Its title is "The College Board Fails the Test."

If you are interested in further details of some of the problems in the testing situation, may I refer you to my book THE TYRANNY OF TESTING, which is now available as a Collier paperback, and also to my letter in last Sunday's New York Times Magazine, on page 36, which had to do with the sample questions for the draft deferment test.

Sincerely yours,

Banesh Hoffmann

Banesh Hoffmann

United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 89th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 111 WASHINGTON, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1965 No. 199

College Boards and Our Nation's Scholastic Profile

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, within a few weeks, many of our high school seniors will take a crucial test. On December 4, the College Entrance Examination Board will be administered to next year's prospective college freshmen. Other seniors will take the test later in the school year. For some of them, the CEEB may determine whether or not they receive a college education. The scores they receive are a major determinant of scholarship aid as well as of admission to the college of their choice.

The parents whose children are taking this test, and the students themselves must have been dismayed and concerned to read the article which appeared in the Sunday magazine of the New York Times late last week. The article, written by Banesh Hoffmann, is entitled "The College Boards Fail the Test." I commend it to the attention of the Senate and ask unanimous consent that it be entered in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times magazine]

THE COLLEGE BOARDS FAIL THE TEST

(By Banesh Hoffmann)

(NOTE.—Banesh Hoffmann, a theoretical physicist who teaches mathematics at Queens College of the City University of New York, wrote "The Strange Story of the Quantum" and "The Tyranny of Testing," both available in paperback.)

Millions of American students each year take nationwide tests of scholastic aptitude and achievement that can have decisive effects on their educational futures. Altogether, students fill out well over 100 million standardized test forms a year, and these tests are almost exclusively of the multiple-choice, machine-gradable type.

For many students, testing reaches a climax in the scramble for college admission. In the 1964–65 academic year, for example, an estimated 1,390,000 candidates took the scholastic aptitude tests of the College Entrance Examination Board, and these and their companion achievement tests are by no means the only ones used for college admission purposes, though they are probably the best of their sort.

But how good is this best? How well do the college board tests fulfill their intended function? Even more important, how serious are the side effects of such mechanized tests? These are questions that we dare not treat lightly. Too much is at stake, not only for ourselves and our children as individuals, but for all of us as a nation. The answers are not necessarily reassuring.

With its approximately 600 member colleges and its strategic role in college admissions, the College Entrance Examination Board now occupies a position of enormous prestige and power in education. Its tests and its actions are inevitably reflected in educational practice throughout the country, and whether it wishes to or not, it affects intellectual standards by its own example, which should be one of excellence.

Naturally, in its exposed position, the college board has not escaped criticism. Critics have said, among other things, that its mechanized tests penalize subtlety and originality while favoring quick-witted superficiality and conformity; that they foster intellectual dishonesty; that they are made artificially difficult by means of ambiguity because genuinely searching questions do not readily fit into the multiple-choice format; that they neglect skill in disciplined expression; that they corrupt education.

The aim of the tests is to help in the selection of students for entrance to college, but, as Benjamin D. Wright gently put it a decade ago, when he was president of Smith College: "[They seem] to give the advantage to certain kinds of minds, although not always to those which will take the greatest advantage of college opportunities."

The College Entrance Examination Board was founded at the turn of the century to bring an element of order and uniformity to a chaotic situation in college admissions. It began with a grant from the Carnegie Corp., but is now supported by the fees it charges those who take its tests. It maintains its own full-time administrative staff.

Twelve colleges were the board's charter members and its first examinations were taken by 973 candidates. They were essay examinations.

During World War I, mass testing began to assume national importance, with inductees being sorted by means of what the Army called Alpha and Beta tests. After the war, the college board began to show cautious interest in such methods of mass testing, and in 1926, not without opposition from member colleges, it gave its first "psychological tests," calling them scholastic aptitude tests. In 1929 these SAT's underwent major improvement, being divided into two parts—one to test scholastic aptitude of a verbal sort and the other, scholastic aptitude of a mathematical sort, a separation that is maintained to this day.

Grading essays is expensive and time consuming, and essay graders are distressingly subjective: They do not even agree with their own ratings when given essays to regrade a few months later. During World War II, the board, over bitter opposition from member colleges, gave up essay tests—as a war measure—and substituted achievement tests of the mechanized sort now used. The English composition examination was an exception, but of that story and its strange convolutions, more later.

Meanwhile, in Princeton, N.J., the board had set up modest research facilities which, like the board itself, quickly became involved in extensive wartime activities. Because the research arm continued to expand into various testing activities after the war, it was set up as an autonomous nonprofit organization, Educational Testing Service, so that the board could concentrate on college admissions. Over the years ETS has become enormous: Its psychologists alone are now numbered in the hundreds. It makes up all the board's tests, as well as many others used by schools, graduate schools and governmental agencies, and it has earned a high place in the realm of testing, ranking among the very best in its field.

The SAT's and the achievement tests have different aims. The former seek to measure general academic potential, while the latter, offered in more than a dozen different subjects, are intended to measure specific academic achievement.

They are constructed by ETS with elaborate professional care. Special committees of professors, teachers, and psychologists select and prepare questions that are tried out by being inserted in actual tests (though not used in the scoring of those tests). The responses of the candidates are subject to statistical analysis designed to reveal, for example, which questions perform their intended function well, which are ambiguous and which favor those who actually scored poorly on the nonexperimental part of the test. Only after passing this rigorous statistical screening may a question be used in the nonexperimental part of a test.

But this is only the beginning. The SAT's are validated by comparing students' scores with their subsequent performance in college, statistics once again being brought into play, and it is primarily statistics that have molded the evolution of the SAT's to their present form. If scientific routine were all there is to science it would be hard to refute the claim that the tests are products of science, a claim that has repeatedly intimidated humanists critical of the test.

How well do the SAT's perform their intended function of predicting college grades? It depends on the college, but on the whole, in the purely statistical sense, they do so no better than a man's weight indicates his height. Many colleges, from Harvard down, find the board's tests valuable, and when the scores are used skeptically, which unfortunately is not always the case, they can give admissions officers useful supplementary data.

However, the University of California, which had been admitting students on the basis of their high school grades, made a 2-year study of the effect of combining these grades with SAT scores. The statistical improvement in prediction turned out to be so slight that the idea of requiring all candidates to take the SAT's was forthwith dropped.

Statistics are not everything, of course. Other things are also important. For the benefit of prospective candidates, the college board, aided by ETS, puts out booklets describing its tests and giving sample questions. We shall consider here the 1964 booklets describing the SAT's and the achievement tests.

Since, in the eyes of candidates and their teachers, these booklets represent, among other things, the quality of ETS and the college board, and since, if only by implication, they set intellectual standards, we would expect them to be prepared with meticulous care. Indeed, they often read as though they had been prepared by committees. It comes as a surprise, then, to find signs of carelessness, such as a "y" instead of an "x" in a sample mathematics question, and even faulty wording, such as: "The SAT can provide only a sample of your verbal and mathematical aptitudes," when what the SAT does is test such a sample, not provide it.

Were such slips the only reason for concern, we could forgive them. At worst we might mention them for the innocent pleasure of causing brief reddening of faces in high places. But, as we shall see, they are not the only reasons for concern, and they may well be symptoms of a wider carelessness with deeper implications.

The SAT is a 3-hour test containing both verbal and mathematical questions. It currently measures verbal scholastic aptitude by means of multiple-choice questions of just four types: questions dealing with antonyms, sentence completions, analogies, and reading comprehension. Samples are given in the booklet describing the SAT's. Let us examine one of each type—not, of course, selecting the four questions for purposes of flattery.

The first sample question in the booklet asks which is most nearly opposite in meaning to the word "exaggeration," the choices being: "(A) slight misunderstanding; (B) silence; (C) accurate representation; (D) truth; (E) understatement.

A competent student would probably pick the wanted answer without hesitation. As the board explains: "Since exaggeration means to overstate the truth about some matter, the appropriate answer is (E)." A deeper student might worry, though, feeling perhaps that precision is an absolute, and that there is an element of exaggeration in understatement. Indeed, when I tried this question out on a few professors and students, three professors in the humanities chose (E), but three in mathematics rejected it, as did a number of my mathematics students. However, since the question is intended as a test of verbal and not mathematical aptitude, let us not press this particular point but look instead at the board's own discussion. It goes as follows:

"If you know the meaning of the word, answers (A), (B), and (D) are obviously inappropriate. Answer (C) is, in a sense, partially correct, but represents what may be called a midpoint between the extremes of 'exaggeration' and 'understatement.' But it can be regarded as the midpoint of a U. It can also be eliminated as a possible correct answer if you consider that (C) and (D) are almost identical in meaning. If you reason that (D) is incorrect, then (C), too, must be wrong."

The word "consider" casts a pall of ambiguity over the whole passage. Suppose it is meant in the sense "take into account." Then the board is apparently saying that (C) and (D) are indeed almost identical in meaning. But in that case, why did it previously treat (C) and (D) differently, lumping (D) with (A) and (B) as "obviously inappropriate," and then giving special consideration to the "partially correct" (C)?

Since the above leaves the board in a predicament, let us explore the possibility that "consider" was meant in the sense "believe." This allows an escape, since it gives us a chance to interpret the passage as saying that the board does not itself believe that (C) and (D) are almost identical in meaning. What the passage is now saying, in effect, is that if the student erroneously be-

lieves (C) and (D) are almost identical in meaning, and if he has already eliminated (D), then he can also eliminate (C), for an incorrect reason.

It is hard to believe, though, that the college board would thus deliberately point up one of the basic defects of multiple-choice tests: that they ignore quality, being concerned only with choices of answers and not with reasons for choices. Picking a wanted answer for no matter how stupid a reason scores 100 percent on a question, while picking an unwanted answer, even for reasons of Einsteinian majesty, automatically scores zero.

This ignoring of quality, this all-or-nothing system of scoring, this insistence on conformity, this refusal to let the student express himself in words, this rigorous exclusion of evaluative judgment lest it contaminate the sterile precision of the grading—it bears a proud name. It is called "objectivity." And machine-gradable tests are called "objective tests."

Look next at this question. It is of the sentence-completion type, in which the candidate is required to pick the one set of words which, when inserted in the blank spaces in the sentence, best fits in with the meaning of the sentence as a whole:

"Despite the popular feeling against—in college football, the major teams have found it difficult to ——— without encouraging outstanding athletes with scholarships.

"(A) competition—survive, (B) favoritism—be impartial, (C) professionalism—win, (D) academic standards—discriminate, (E) rivalry—qualify."

Most of us would probably quickly pick (C). Indeed, the question may be too easy: If almost every student picks the wanted answer to a question, the question is virtually useless for test purposes and is usually discarded. How can we make this one more difficult?

There is an easy way. In answer (C), "professionalism" fits excellently into the first part of the sentence, as "win" does into the second. In (A), however, "competition" (if not excessive) makes no worthwhile sense in the first part, and "survive" makes none in the second. Let us, then, simply interchange "survive" and "win" so that (A) and (C) now read: "(A*) competition—win" and "(C*) professionalism—survive." At once we have a harder question.

Do you object that this is utterly improper? That instead of worthwhile difficulty we have introduced a spurious substitute? That no reputable test-maker would offer the above question with "survive" and "win" thus interchanged? Educational Testing Service and the college board do so in the SAT booklet.

It would take too long to go into all aspects of this question. The wanted answer is what we have labeled (C*), but once "survive" is counted as acceptable, "competition" cannot properly be rejected, and a close analysis shows that even the presence of the word "despite" does not save the question from ambiguity at the least.

We may not console ourselves with the belief that defective questions are so infrequently met as to have negligible significance. They are all too frequent, even on tests made by organizations as good as ETS. Dean Harry N. Rivlin, of the City University of New York, unwittingly gave the game away when he praised a test made by ETS with the words: "There are remarkably few items in which the key is challengeable." This is a little like praising the editors of the New York Times by saying that there are remarkably few who are illiterate. Again, the graduate record examinations are made by ETS, yet when Prof. E. M. Hafner of the University of Rochester scrutinized a GRE in his own subject, physics, he expressed the opinion that about 25 percent of the questions were defective in that if one thought deeply one would pick an unwanted answer.

Here is a sample analogy question taken from the SAT booklet:

"Island: Water:

"(A) sand: desert; (B) mountain: ocean; (C) city: meadows; (D) lake: land; (E) river: banks."

The official instructions call on one to select the paid "which best expresses a relationship similar to that expressed in the original pair." Sometimes in these analogy questions the particular aspect of the original relationship that the testers have in mind is fairly easy to guess, as perhaps it is here. At other times it can be quite obscure.

The wanted answer here is (D). But suppose we think of the original pair as expressing the relationship of terrestrial solid to terrestrial liquid. Then the "best" answer is (B), and (D) is quite unacceptable.

There are further points that can be made in favor of (B). For example, in general an island is a protuberance, as is a mountain, and each rests upon and is directly joined to the solid earth; but a lake is not a protuberance, and in general it does not rest on water, nor is it directly joined by water to the oceans. Those who wish to defend (D) would do well not to argue here that a lake can be linked directly to the oceans by a river. If they did, they would negate the implication of insularity, the very aspect of the relationship on which they principally rely.

Again, under appropriate circumstances, a mountain in an ocean can actually be an island in water. Identity being a close similitude, we could hardly deny that (B) can express none too badly "a relationship similar to that expressed in the original pair."

At first glance this question seemed relatively straightforward. Only after we stopped to think did its complexities begin to show—a not uncommon occurrance. A national merit scholar put the matter aptly in these words: "One of the best pieces of advice to give on 'how to take multiple-choice tests' is this: Play your hunches. If you stop to think, you'll only get confused."

The basic fallacy in analogy questions is clear: The given relationship inevitably has many facets, and the particular combination that the tester has in mind is neither specified nor unique, a point that Prof. L. La Fave of Indiana State University has particularly stressed.

In the SAT's the board measures reading comprehension by means of groups of multiple-choice questions pertaining to passages of some 400 words on various topics. The danger here is that imprecision, ambiguity, and worse may enter when the tester paraphrases the passage. For example, the wanted answer to one of the reading-comprehension questions in the SAT booklet is to the effect that the Kennelly-Heaviside layers in the atmosphere "do not affect [radio] waves of certain lengths." But what the passage says is that the layers "are transparent" to the longer waves.

That they are transparent to these waves does not mean at all that they do not affect them. How, for example, does the tester imagine that eyeglasses could perform their function if they did not affect the light waves to which they are transparent? The passage is about a scientific topic, yet the question penalizes the student who knows even a little science while favoring the one whose lack of scientific understanding allows him to equate "are transparent" and "do not affect" without a qualm.

These are samples, culled from the college board booklet, of the four types of multiple-choice questions with which the board currently assesses the verbal scholastic aptitude of candidates for college admission. The board assures us that they are solidly based on scientific research. A closer look at the procedure, though, shows that it is more scientism than science. It is based on statistics, and to use statistics we must first reduce what we seek to measure to numbers. But not everything lends itself readily to arithmetical treatment. Indeed, the most valuable human qualities are often those that are the most resistant to reduction to numerical form.

What does the "scientific" scholastic-aptitude tester do about such recalcitrant qualities? He ignores them—as he ignores all the damaging side effects of his tests. He concentrates solely on those superficial aspects of evaluation that he can conveniently reduce to numerical terms, and these alone he feeds into his computers. If what comes out goes against the sensibilities of scholars, so much the worse for the scholars and their subjective views.

Moreover, the statistical tester is like a man who appraises his milk by its bulk, unaware that part of the cream may have been skimmed off. When our concern is for one student out of a hundred, the tester's mass statistics will not reveal our loss. Yet even one in a thousand comes to a thousand in a million, and thought the penalizing and thwarting of this exceptional thousand may seem statistically trifling to the objective tester, it is certainly no trifling matter, and ignoring it does not make his method of testing scientific.

In the arts, subjectivity is rampant. But imagine the sterility that would ensue were the task of separating masterpieces from trash handed over to "scientific" evaluators who relied on statistical techniques for the sake of objectivity. Excellence, in the deepest sense, is not likely to be discoved by such methods.

If the present college boards leave much to be desired, why are they used? A major reason is that they are cheap and convenient and can handle large numbers of students expeditiously. The pressure of numbers is a powerful argument. With so many candidates to be rated for college admission, mechanized tests have obvious economic and practical advantages, as the testers are quick to point out. But not all bargains turn out to be bargains in the long run. If it is bargains we seek, why do we not use lie detectors as a substitute for the whole system of trial by jury—starting in this anniversary year of Magna Carta? The monetary saving could be enormous.

The college board and ETS would have us believe that theirs are searching tests worthy of the best students. But their own actions belie this. On the verbal part of the SAT they give 40 questions to be answered in 30 minutes and a further 50 questions to be answered in 45 minutes. This leaves so little time for contemplation that even if deep questions were present they could hardly elicit deep responses. At such a pace can the SAT's be other than superficial?

Perhaps, though, depth is out of place when we are testing merely for aptitude. Perhaps the deep questions are reserved for the achievement tests, even though those tests too are objective. Alas, it is not so. Here, for example, is what the college board says about the achievement test in history and social science:

"Each test consists of about 100 questions and has a time limit of 1 hour. Some of the easier questions should take you only a few seconds; others, more complex and requiring more thought, will take longer."

One would be hard put to match the delicate, if unconscious, irony of this statement.

On the basis of elaborate experiments, ETS and the board decided that the best way to measure ability in English composition was by means of an achievement test that involved no English composition. To the layman and the scholar this is manifestly ridiculous, and the teacher sees it as threatening to corrupt the teaching of English composition. But to the testers it was apparently an indisputable scientific fact.

Their test contained multiple-choice questions testing the student's ability to perceive such things as grammatical errors, inappropriate wording, tautology and misuse of metaphors; to recast sentences; to match styles; to restore the original order of shuffled sentences, and so on. In addition as a departure from strict multiple-choice objectivity, it asked him to correct a passage written in atrocious English.

But when they included it among their achievement tests it caused much dispute. To counter the criticisms, ETS and the board made a further experiment. They studied statistically the success with which three different tests measured ability in English composition: an essay test, the verbal part of the SAT, and their nonessay objective test (which they had had the audacity to call the "English composition test"). The statistics gave a scientific verdict: The essay test was the worst, the so-called English composition test was in the middle, and the SAT verbat was the best.

Armed with scientific evidence of such seeming cogency, the testers easily overawed the humanists, at least for a time, and this left them free to give their so-called English composition test instead of a test involving essays. So unnerved were the scholars that they failed to note the staggering fact that the board demonstrably did not believe in its own scientific statistical argument—the very one with which it had overawed them. Yet the evidence was clear. Had the board believed in its own argument it would have given up not only the essay test but also its miscalled English composition test and used the SAT verbal instead, for the SAT. Verbal was the test that had statistically, and therefore "scientifically," come out best—despite the fact that it had never been intended as a test of ability in English composition.

After a while, the scholars began to find renewed courage. Their commonsense told them that abandoning essays were wrong, and they forced the board to yield to the extent of giving a subsidiary 1-hour essay test. But the board was clearly reluctant. It gave the essay test the unattractive title "Writing Sample" and refused to grade it. Colleges that insisted on having candidates for admission take the essay test had to make arrangements as best they could to grade it themselves.

But the pressure continued, and to meet it the board incorporated a 20-minute essay into some of its 60-minute English composition tests—though into only a small proportion of them.

The latest twist in this curious tale introduces a note of irony. The board has just completed a new experiment, somewhat different from previous ones, and this experiment shows statistically that essays are, after all, worthwhile tests of ability in English composition. It is easy to be cynical about all this and to wonder whether perhaps science is here following the election returns. But the new experiment, like the previous ones, was performed in good faith, and carefully performed, and we must applaud the courage of the ETS investigators in pursuing an experiment that went against previous ETS findings. And if all that has been presented in this article leaves us with a feeling of misgiving, we have to remind ourselves in all fairness that ETS and the college board are among the very best of the testing organizations. Indeed, their high standing points up the need for establishing a distinguished committee of inquiry to look into the whole testing situation in the public interest.

Because of the new experiment, the board is about to propose to its members that the 1-hour "Writing Sample" be replaced by a 2-hour test, 1 hour of which will be objective and the other devoted to two essays to be graded by the board. It is not yet ready

to suggest giving up the present 1-hour English composition test, but if the proposed new test is ultimately accepted it may well end up as the sole English achievement test.

There is a ray of hope in this. Perhaps one of these days ETS will have the courage to pursue an experiment proving "scientifically" what is already clear: that the college boards penalize deep students. The ensuing reforms could be momentous.

Meanwhile, here is a way to make a start on the road toward reform if the 2-hour English test comes into being. As an essay topic give, say, an analogy question, such as the "island: water" one. But do not ask the student to select the wanted answer here. Instead, have him use the question as a springboard for flights of fancy. Have him analyze the question, giving as many reasons for and against each choice as he can think of, both serious and flippant. And above all assure him that critical remarks will be welcomed and not held against him.

Many students would be dumbfounded by such an assignment, and among them could well be uncreative ones with the happy knack of picking wanted answers. But a few gifted students, oppressed by the restraints of the multiple-choice format, would revel in their new-found freedom. Now at last they would have a chance to break through the multiple-choice barrier and, against a background created out of its remnants, show something of their true quality. Imagine the inspired essays that would be forthcoming, the wit, the frolics, the deliberate sophistry, the cogent reasoning, and the gentle, and ungentle digs at the objective testers. Imagine, too, the fun of grading such essays, and their salutary effect on the college board. It is certainly worth a trial. We already have far two many mechanized tests in the United States, and it could start a revolution.

But the revolution lies ahead. For the present, candidates for college admission will have to pay such heed as their intellectual integrity permits to that old prescription for success:

Pick "best," young man—and let who will be clever.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, Mr. Hoffmann's book "The Tyranny of Testing," published in 1964, in greater detail, expresses his concern about multiple-choice testing of all sorts. He analyzes demonstratably vague and ambiguous questions which are contained in college examinations, board tests, in the national merit scholarship tests, and other widely used scholastic aptitude tests.

All of us enjoy nit-picking at specific test items and I am sure that every Senator in this body can recall ridiculous questions from tests he took in college and in the armed services. But the questions themselves are not really the central issue. We must continually consider and assess the impact of aptitude tests on our educational system. We must stop to think of how they influence a high school English teacher who is attempting to prepare students for college. We must consider their part in setting intellectual standards for the young people of our Nation.

Commissioner of Education Keppel is concerned with testing also. However, he is not looking for individual levels of "scholastic aptitude" but for a group "profile" of our Nation's scholastic strengths and weaknesses. Those of us who have worked for the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act were gratified to read Commissioner Keppel's speech of September 22, 1965, in which he discussed the need for a better reporting system on the quality and progress of our schools.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Keppel's speech be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TOWARD A NATIONAL ASSESSMENT OF EDUCATION [1]

You were good enough to suggest that I might talk a little bit on what is called national assessment. I wonder if I could start personally with opinion and then shift to fact.

First, with regard to opinion. Personal opinion No. 1: I am personally opposed—and vigorously opposed—to a mammoth national testing of all children. I do not think that the instruments that we have achieved have the sensitivity necessary to justify any such procedure.

Second, I do not believe that any of us are, or probably ever will be, able to resist as teachers the tendency to teach for a test which you know darn well that kid is going to get. This is a personal view, and I don't care whether we are talking about a required national testing or voluntary (testing).

Next, personal feeling. With the immense complexity of the American educational system, particularly since the end of the Second World War, with the extraordinary migration that this Nation is engaged in, almost unlike any other nation in the world—20 percent of our people move every year—I think we are coming to the point where the role of the National Government as demonstrated in legislation this past year will be increasing. I happen to believe that it (the Federal Government) should always be the junior partner, financially and in every other way. It is sounder public policy to keep the majority of the stock locally, a larger portion of the stock at the State level, and a minority of the stock at the Federal level.

We are in an age in which we are going to need a better reporting system than we have had on the quality and the progress of the schools. This is partly documentable, I think, and I do refer to this as a fact because of the language that was written into title I of the Elementary and Secondary (Education) Act. Title I sends money into local school district plans that are approved by the State. You will find Congress inserted language saying that reports had to be submitted by the States to Washington, through the Office of Education and then to the Congress, on what effect these funds were having. That is just one of a good many such requirements of the Congress that amount to saying, if we are going to put up a million dollars we would like to know what happened to it. So then, this is a mixed personal (opinion) and fact here.

Another personal opinion to which I will add some facts, and I hope I can persuade you, is that we are really in a very different position in 1965 with regard to the problem of reporting the educational enterprise than we were in 1935 or certainly 1925.

The major differences are, I think, in two categories: No. 1, the development of the science, may I call it, of statistical handling has been substantial since roughly 1925 or 1935. It is in the last quarter century, anyway, that one can get within 5 percent accuracy or even less by dealing with very small samples.

I don't see that we need 100 percent accuracy. You're going to be putting funds into areas in which society concludes improvements should be made. What you want is a general reporting system. The development in the last 25 or 30 years of statistical sampling is one of the phenomena which we are more accustomed to in opinion polls, but we haven't used it very much in the educational area.

So, my opinion here is that statistical sampling theory and technology have developde to the point where we ought to be able to use them without running the risk—now please note, I am stating personal opinion—without running the risk which I figured at the beginning. If I thought that sampling would lead inevitably to national testing, like the first drink to alcoholism, I would oppose the whole works. But I think we've got to have a better reporting system.

The Office of Education can tell you all sorts of things: How many teachers we have, how tall they are, how many buildings we have, and whether they are painted or not. It doesn't tell you how much the kids know, and sooner or later we are going to be asked.

Very well, then, it was on the ground of these personal opinions and some facts that I encouraged Carnegie Corp. of New York to explore, with private funds and in the private realm, the question of whether it would be possible to get a better reporting system by taking a sampling of the knowledge of children—5 percent samples, 4 percent samples, but much less than 10 percent—to learn whether two things have developed: If the theory, the applications, the methods of statistical handling, could be successfully adapted to our need; and second, whether the testing art had developed to the point where we could do considerably better than guesswork if we used testing in connection with statistical handling.

Carnegie Corp. made a grant—a series of them, I guess—and set up a committee. There is a note on this in the current issue of the Phi Delta Kappan. The committee was headed by Ralph Tyler, of Stanfard. He used to be professor of education at Chicago, then became dean, and then went to hell in a hack at the Ford Foundation. That happens to deans. Anyhow, this group consulted with a lot of people.

I think a basic confusion was allowed to develop at the start: The word "testing" got into it. The minute I hear the word "testing" I think of kids in a classroom being tested on the same subject at the same time all over the place. It's inevitable. The idea of 5 percent or less statistical sampling got lost in the discussion the way these things do. The committee had a lot of meetings and then came down to the following statements which I quote:

"A well-conceived and well-executed assessment would, it is hoped, serve several important purposes." (Not necessarily the ones I started with, incidentally. I was just simple minded and thought we ought to have a way of reporting to the Congress so we wouldn't hurt so much every year I go up there.)

"First, it would give the Nation as a whole a better understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the American educational system. Thus, it might contribute a more accurate guide than we currently possess for allocation of public and private funds, where they are needed, what they achieve, and decisions affecting education.

"Second, assessment results, especially if coupled with auxiliary information on characteristics of the various regions, would provide data necessary for research on educational problems and processes which cannot now be undertaken." If you have a bank of data of this sort you could probably do some research that would otherwise not be possible.

"Third, when sampling and testing procedures are adequately developed, international comparisons might be possible."

As a result of this committee report, Carnegie said, let's try it; make up some tests for four groups. The committee decided that the sensible way to begin sampling was by age level: Children approximately 9 years old, children approximately 13 years old, youth approximately 17 years old, and this charming group known as "adults." That, I presume, is anything over 17. In any case the committee wanted to cut at a certain level.

The committee has made contracts with the American Institute of Research, Educational Testing Service, Psychological Corp., and Science Research Associates to construct initial instruments in reading, language arts, mathematics, social studies, citizenship, fine arts, and vocational education. At least two contractors are working in most areas to develop more than one approach.

These will be quite different from the usual test, which is an effort to diagnose an individual student and predict whether he'd do better at Harvard or Yale or some equally incomprehensible result. The purpose here is not to test the individual; in fact, no one kid would take the whole of any one test. But the purpose is to guess how much they know. Therefore, it is a different kind of instrument. They propose to pretest these things after the first of November and then get a little more serious tryout in spring of this year.

I presume that they will see problems here, try to work them out, see what the results are—whether you get any kind of assessment of groups. The purpose, of course, is not reporting to schools on particular schools—certainly not on particular teachers, because that wouldn't make any sense. You've got such a tiny sample. This test would report, rather, on general levels, regionally or something similar, over a period of time—and I think it would be a great mistake to move too fast on this—so that the United States might have a method of being able to say that our schools have advanced so much, just as you do with children. * * * Haven't you backed yours up against the bathroom wall and put a thing on their head, and drawn a line and said all right, in the time since we drew the last line, at least he has grown up that much? It is about as simple as that, I suppose. Maybe too simple.

At any rate, that's the development of the Carnegie program. I had thought, and continue to think, that explorations in this area are much better done under private auspices and without Government money. I remain interested, very much interested, in the results of this in 6 months from now or so. If the conclusion is that assessment can be done by sampling without the risk of national testing, I shall myself be of a mind to say that we had better go ahead with Government or private or any other kind of money so that we do have this method of reporting.

Not on individual children. Please let me underscore this. We are dealing with a small percent. Actually, most children would never be tested in the course of their lifetime. And no child would be tested in all subjects anyway, because you take this sample from here, there, and somewhere else.

I would argue that this project deserves the full attention of the professional educational world. We are not now reporting satisfactorily to ourselves, and I must report to you as your representative in the executive branch of the Government that we are not providing satisfactory information to the public and to those who are responsible for making public policy. We've done remarkably well in getting a lot of legislation through, and I suspect it might be useful now to have some numerals.

That's the background.

[1] Highlights of remarks by Francis Keppel, U.S. Commissioner of Education, addressing an executive luncheon at the National Education Association, Washington, D.C., Sept. 22, 1965.

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, unfortunately, when one sees the vast amount of paperwork for every school with which Mr. Kepple's staff has burdened this new program, one recognizes the inconsistency of his protest that the Department is only sampling.

I am sure there are some schools in every State that would find it convenient and suitable to participate in the sampling. But to require that every school—in addition to all the usual paperwork routine of initiating a new program—now test to measure the profile of our Nation's education is stifling and defeating to the objectives of the legislation.

I also share the concern of numerous State education officials and local school administrators who are disturbed about the multiplicity of reports required by the regulations and proposed regulations of the officials in the Office of Education who are in charge of the administration of the Elementary and Secondary Act. There is evidence that a good many of these requirements are based upon the eagerness of these officials to use the reporting requirements of the act as a basis for gathering information for future research projects. Of course, such requirements were never contemplated by the authors of the act or by the Congress. These unduly burdensome reports required of already overworked local school administrators threatens to alienate public support of this legislation before it has had an opportunity to demonstrate its value.

When the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 passed, it was the belief of many that this bill was the most significant improvement in 100 years toward full development of our most precious natural resource, our youngsters. In his recent speech to the final Democratic caucus of the session, Majority Leader MIKE MANSFIELD called on every committee of the Senate next year to assume the task of the many new Federal approaches to the Nation's problems. I urge that educational testing, as well as the many new reporting requirements, be one of the first areas in which Congress functions as an overseer. The Education Subcommittee of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee or a specially appointed subcommittee should delve thoroughly into the whole question of educational testing, including widely used privately sponsored tests such as the College Entrance Examination Board, as well as the national survey. The reporting procedures which have been adopted by the Office of Education should be carefully considered in the light of the guidelines laid down by Congress in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

A-6133-6137

May 24, 1966

Mr. Banesh Hoffmann
Department of Mathematics
Queens College
The City College of New York
Flushing, New York 11367

Dear Mr. Banesh:

Thanks for sending the reprint from the Congressional Record regarding testing and for the references to your book and recent letter to the New York Times. Although we are not likely to publish anything further in this area soon it is very valuable for us to have this further information.

Our quarterly publication containing an article by Karl Smith will soon be off the press. I will see to it that one comes your way. Thanks for the interest and cooperation you have shown.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

GUIDELINES ON EMPLOYMENT TESTING PROCEDURES

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION

August 24, 1966

EEOC

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION

GUIDELINES ON EMPLOYMENT TESTING PROCEDURES

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GUIDELINES ON EMPLOYMENT TESTING PROCEDURES
ADOPTED BY
THE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
August 24, 1966

Title VII of The Civil Rights Act of 1964 provides that an employer may give and act upon the results of "any professionally developed ability test provided that such test. . . is not designed, intended or used to discriminate because of race. . ." (Sec. 703 (h)). The language of the statute and its legislative history make it clear that tests may not be used as a device to exclude prospective employees on the basis of race. The Commission accordingly interprets "professionally developed ability test" to mean a test which fairly measures the knowledge or skills required by the particular job or class of jobs which the applicant seeks, or which fairly affords the employer a chance to measure the applicant's ability to perform a particular job or class of jobs. The fact that a test was prepared by an individual or organization claiming expertise in test preparation does not, without more, justify its use within the meaning of Title VII.

Evaluation of test results is but one of several methods available to an employer in screening applicants and selecting new employees. If the facts indicate that an employer has discriminated in the past on the basis of race, sex or other prohibited grounds, the use of tests in such circumstances will be scrutinized carefully by the Commission.

An employer committed to equal employment opportunity will take affirmative action to ensure that all of his personnel policies are valid and consistent with his commitment.

Employers have discovered that they may be inadvertently excluding qualified minority applicants through inappropriate testing procedures. Indeed such testing may discriminate in employment and promotion just as effectively as the once common "white only" sign. On the other hand, employers who use tests, but treat them as only one of several factors in the hire or promotion process, have found valuable employees in minority groups who would have been excluded if the tests were the sole and controlling factor.

Employers have appealed to the Commission for guidance in the search for sound testing procedures. The Commission, on its part, has consulted with a panel of outstanding psychologists, all of whom have broad practical experience in the testing field. The guidelines are based on their recommendations.

Following are the general guidelines of the Commission and the report of the psychologists. In developing the guidelines the Commission sought to provide employers with a scientifically sound, industrially proven, and equitable basis for matching manpower requirements with human aptitudes and abilities. The employer who conscientiously follows these guidelines will have taken a long step to ensure equal opportunity to all applicants and employees regardless of race, color, religion, sex or national origin.

THE COMMISSION ADVOCATES:

I. Use of a total personnel assessment system that is non-discriminatory within the spirit of the law and places special emphasis on:

a) Careful job analysis to define skill requirements. Job descriptions should be examined and the essential requirements of the job determined before tests are selected. Job requirements often are stated in generalized terms such as "high school graduate," or "potential to advance to higher level". Such requirements may not necessarily be related to performance of a specific job in a given work setting.

b) Special efforts in recruiting minorities. The Commission encourages employers to seek out minority group applicants, to objectively assess their potentialities as employees, and to hire "qualifiable" applicants.

c) Screening and interviewing related to job requirements. Screening of applicants should be based on the qualifications required for a specific job. Interviewing and testing of minority applicants should be conducted by personnel thoroughly committed to equal employment opportunity policy as well as knowledgeable and skilled in intergroup relations. An inferior education and lack of opportunities for development of skills may cause minority group applicants to appear less confident or less knowledgeable to the uninitiated, but such persons may be fully productive workers in many jobs.

d) Tests selected on the basis of specific job-related criteria.

The Commission views tests as only one component of the personnel system -- no better or worse than the selection system of which they are a part. "It is quite possible to take a test that has been professionally developed in one situation and misuse it in another situation." The characteristics of a test, apart from the situation in which it is used, are not sufficient evidence on which to judge its quality. The Commission will not recommend any particular test, but adopts the Standards for Educational and Psychological Tests and Manuals, prepared by a joint committee of the American Psychological Association, American Educational Research Association and National Council on Measurement in Education (Published by The American Psychological Association). This publication, endorsed by the panel of psychologists consulted by the Commission, was prepared by recognized spokesmen for the profession and establishes standards and technical merits of evaluation procedures.

e) Comparison of test performance versus job performance.

The Commission encourages the use of job-related ability tests. Employers must be aware that when an applicant has not enjoyed equal educational and developmental opportunities, his score on a test may underestimate his job potential. The ultimate standard, however, is not the test score but performance on the job. Since cultural factors can so readily affect performance on so many tests, it is recommended that tests be judged against job performance rather than by what they claim to measure.

f) Retesting.
Mindful of the special problems of minorities, employers are encouraged to provide an opportunity for retesting to those "failure candidates" who have availed themselves of more training or experience. A recent conciliation agreement signed by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and a State Employment Security Commission requests the ESC personnel assigned to local offices "to exercise a more liberal construction" of the agency's manual concerning testing. In particular, if an applicant during the course of an interview claims he has had more education or experience, then that person will be retested. It further provides that the State Bureau of Employment Security be requested to examine the feasibility of issuing less subjective regulations pertaining to retesting, so as to ensure every applicant maximum opportunity to qualify for job openings.

g) Tests should be validated for minorities.
The sample population (norms) used in validating the tests should include representative members of the minority groups to which the tests will be applied. Only a test which has been validated for minorities can be assumed to be free of inadvertent bias. The Commission encourages employers to check these tests to make sure that hidden discrimination against minorities is not present.

II. Objective Administration of Tests

Since tests are assessment tools and their value depends upon the skill of their user, it is essential that tests be administered by personnel who are skilled not only in technical details, but also in establishing proper conditions for test taking. Members of disadvantaged groups tend to be particularly sensitive in test situations, and those giving tests should be aware of this and be able to alleviate a certain amount of anxiety.

STATEMENT OF AD HOC PANEL ON TESTING

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has asked us to advise it with respect to several issues concerning the development, introduction and administration of tests of aptitude and/or ability in industrial settings as related to problems of race relations. More particularly, the Commission has inquired concerning the processes by which tests should be developed and administered in an employment setting.

OBJECTIVE PERSONNEL ASSESSMENT SYSTEM

We recommend that the Commission advocate the use of a total personnel assessment system toward the attainment of equal employment opportunities for all Americans. The many components of an objective personnel assessment system, e.g., job analysis, development of criterion-related validity, psychological testing, recruitment, screening of applicants, interviewing, and the integration of pertinent personnel data, provide the employer with the basis for matching manpower requirements with human aptitudes and abilities that is most likely to be non-discriminatory within the spirit of the law.

The mutual interdependence of the respective components is definitive relative to the fairness and effectiveness of all aspects of the system. A sound testing program, for example, would be degraded by failure to admit appropriate applicants or by failure to use qualified personnel for the interpretation of test scores and additional relevant data obtained from other components of the assessment system. The final measure of the quality of fairness of a testing program must, therefore, hinge on the functional adequacy of the total personnel assessment system rather than any narrow evaluation of the quality of an individual system component.

PROFESSIONALLY DEVELOPED TESTS

We further recommend that the Commission adopt policies encouraging the development and application of various personnel selection and assessment procedures, and that guidelines, standards, and technical attributes of these evaluation procedures be stated in terms of principles and of sound objective assessment practices. To this end, the Commission may wish to consider the adoption of the published Standards for Educational and Psychological Tests and Manuals, issued jointly by the American Psychological Association, the American Educational Research Association, and The National Council on Measurement in Education (1966). It is of utmost importance that the guidelines and operational policies encourage and facilitate use of objective and equitable personnel assessment systems.

PROFESSIONAL APPLICATION OF TESTS

Section 703(h) of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 provides for the use of "professionally developed ability test(s)." It is also important to provide for the professional application of tests. It is quite possible to take a test that has been professionally developed in one situation and misuse it in another situation. Thus, the characteristics of a test, apart from the situation in which it is used, are not sufficient evidence on which to judge its "professional nature".

What then is the heart of this "professional nature"? It involves a process from the determination of behavioral requirements of the job through careful job analysis, the selection and/or development of instruments to measure these critically important abilities, the administration of these instruments to applicants for the job or employees on the job, the identification or development of measures of effective job performance (the criteria), to the comparison of individual employee scores with their criterion performance.

JOB ANALYSIS

Job analysis provides the systematic, precise identification of the skill requirements of the different categories of jobs. It is the matrix within which employee capabilities may be specified. The assessment system in industry is the procedure which matches skill requirements, determined through job analysis, with employee capabilities.

CRITERION-RELATED VALIDITY

While the earlier steps described above for a professional approach to testing are important, the crucial step is the final process of comparing test performance with job performance. Tests should be selected on the basis of validation against the performance requirements of the job, that is, criterion-related validity. In this sense a single test has a different degree of validity for each job-situation for which it may be used. In fact, a test may have varying validities for different aspects of the same job. For example, it may accurately predict certain phases of job performance (e.g. number of accidents), but may fail to predict quality of output. If the scores from a given test, however, correlate (more than chance would indicate) with any important aspect of the job, it may be said to have validity for that job. In this same sense several tests or a test battery may be required to predict the several required aspects of job performance.

For many jobs, schools or training courses have been established to prepare the employee to perform the work. Test scores are often related to performance in the school (e.g. grades). It has frequently been found, however, that these course grades are not highly related to measures of job performance. Hence, it is recommended that wherever possible reliable measures of job performance should be used as criteria rather than the measures obtained during training. It should also be recognized that through time, jobs and job conditions frequently change. In these cases it will be necessary to revalidate

the test. Maintaining current evidence of validity thus becomes a phase of the professional process.

In such validation the norm population must be relevant. It should be described in terms of those variables known to be relevant to the ability tested. The occupation and experience of workers in the norm population should be described. The decision to use the test should be based on data from a clearly adequate sample.

NORMS

When a person takes a test, many things may influence his score, quite apart from the aptitude or ability being measured. For example, language deficit can affect a score on an arithmetic reasoning test; as can other early learning experiences such as putting odd shaped blocks together. The extent to which any cultural factor operates independently of the trait being measured can affect test reliability and validity for that segment of the population whose culture differs appreciably from the normative groups. For such a person who is so affected, the test may underestimate his true potential and deprive the employer of a capable and willing worker.

Because of the possible adverse effects of culture on test scores, it is important that the population used in establishing norms be clearly described. Since, in practice, it is difficult to develop norms for each of the many homogeneous subdivisions (e.g. minority groups, etc.), the resulting problems of test interpretation demand a thorough appreciation of the factors involved on the part of the interpreter. The test user should, therefore, select instruments, when possible, which minimize cultural differences.

Provisions also should be made for retesting when there is evidence that the applicant has availed himself of experience, e.g., formal training, etc., which would further reduce cultural handicaps. Any dynamic view of assessment must take into account not only the current

status of the individual but also the rate at which he is progressing in the further development of those traits being measured. Within this context, and where there is a strong indication that a cultural deficit is seriously affecting test reliability and validity, other methods of assessment such as job performance should be used. It would seem desirable, however, that the Commission encourage, that as rapidly as possible, validation studies be conducted with minority groups using measures of cultural background as moderator variables.

TRAINING OF PROFESSIONALS FOR SELECTION, ADMINISTRATION AND INTERPRETATIONS OF TESTS

Recognizing the benefits inherent in objective evaluation when properly developed, selected, administered, and interpreted, it then becomes necessary to consider the appropriate professional level required to perform each of those various functions. The matter of "professional development" of assessment instruments has been treated above, leaving open the questions of administration and interpretation of tests.

It would be impractical to outline a specific course of training which would qualify one to administer, score and interpret tests. Different tests demand different levels of competence for administration, scoring and interpretation. It is, therefore, the responsibility of the professional to recognize the limits of his competence and to perform only those functions which fall within his preparation and competence.

In the final analysis, tests are merely tools, and their value depends upon the skill of their user. Of central importance is the commitment of the employer to institute within his organization a total objective personnel assessment system fairly administered and professionally implemented so as to provide equal employment opportunities for all Americans.

MAY 17, 1966

Dr. Brent Baxter, Vice President and Director of Research, American Institutes For Research.

Dr. Richard F. Docter, Associate Administrative Officer, State and Professional Affairs, The American Psychological Association.

Dr. George S. Elias, Associate Professor of Psychology and Education, Assumption College

Sherman Fein, Esquire, Fein, Cavanaugh, and Kimball

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION

information

from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

1800 G St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20506

FOR RELEASE AMs WEDNESDAY, September 7, 1966 Phone: 343-5621

Testing procedures in employment and promotion policies may discriminate just as effectively as the once common "white only" signs, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission stated today. The Commission published guidelines for employers on sound testing procedures.

Dr. Luther Holcomb, the Commission's vice chairman, said: "We hope these guidelines will help industry develop a total personnel program that will be sound, productive, and in the spirit of equal employment opportunity for all."

The language of Title VII and its legislative history "make it clear that tests may not be used as a device to exclude prospective employees on the basis of race," the Commission stated.

"The standards which count are performance on the job, not test scores," the Commission emphasized.

Pointing out that the evaluation of test results is but one of several methods available to an employer in screening applicants and selecting new employees, the Commission said: "If the facts indicate that an employer has discriminated in the past on the basis of race, sex, or other prohibited grounds, the use of tests in such circumstances will be scrutinized carefully by the Commission."

The Commission views tests as only one component of the personnel system -- no better or worse than the total selection system of which they are a part. Its guidelines advocate the use of a total personnel assessment system, with special emphasis on job analysis, recruitment, screening and interviewing related to job requirements, and test selection on the basis of specific job-related criteria. The guidelines call for retesting when those who have failed have gained more experience or training.

66-81

EEOC

Employers must be aware that when an applicant has not enjoyed equal educational and developmental opportunities his score on a test may underestimate his potential, the Commission pointed out.

In the validation of tests, the Commission encourages inclusion of representative members of minority groups to which the tests will be applied.

Section 703(h) of Title VII provides that an employer may use "any professionally developed ability test provided that such test ... is not designed, intended or used to discriminate because of race ..." The Commission interprets this to mean a test which fairly measures the knowledge or skills required, or gives the employer a fair chance to measure the applicant's ability, to perform a particular job or class of jobs. "The fact that a test was prepared by an individual or organization claiming expertise in test preparation does not, without more, justify its use within the meaning of Title VII," the Commission ruled.

The Commission's guidelines were based on a report of a panel of outstanding psychologists, consulted by the Commission, all of whom have broad practical experience in the testing field. The Commission noted that employers have appealed to the Commission for guidance in the search for sound testing procedures, after discovering that they may be inadvertently excluding qualified minority applicants through inappropriate testing procedures.

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Attachments:

EEOC Guidelines on Testing Procedures
Psychologists' Report

Testing

Why unions are wary of personnel testing

Aptitude and psychological tests, designed to match men to jobs, are widely used in industry today. More and more, these tests are misused, says Bertram Gottlieb, industrial engineer in the AFL-CIO Research Department, and a member of IAM Lodge 1406.

In an interview on *Labor News Conference* over Mutual radio last week, Gottlieb explained why union negotiators seek to write safeguards against testing abuses into collective bargaining agreements.

Gottlieb was interviewed by Neil Gilbride, labor correspondent for the Associated Press, and James Millstone, a Washington correspondent for the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*. Harry W. Flannery was program moderator. Here are excerpts from the radio interview:

MACHINIST PHOTO

Associated Press' Gilbride, AFL-CIO's Gottlieb, Post-Dispatch's Millstone.

Gilbride: Mr. Gottlieb, most of us probably think of organized labor as negotiating for wages and working conditions. How did you get interested in this subject of psychological and aptitude testing?

Gottlieb: Mr. Gilbride, I suspect we became interested primarily because the use of these devices has been rapidly increasing in recent years.

Employers, more and more, are using a wide variety of tests to determine, number one; who their employees will be, and therefore, in most cases, determine who our union members will be, and secondly; to determine which employees and which of our union members will receive promotions after years of service—promotions to better and higher-paying jobs.

Millstone: Mr. Gottlieb, do you challenge the right—the authority—of management to use extensively this kind of testing?

Gottlieb: I certainly would challenge the authority of a company to use a test when it has never done so in the past, and where the collective bargaining agreement is silent, and the company introduces such a test during the period of that collective bargaining agreement. In my mind, this constitutes a change in the working conditions in that factory—or in that office—or wherever the test is used. Therefore, it should be subject to negotiation with the union.

Gilbride: Are you saying, Mr Gottlieb, that your primary objection to these tests is they are used to weed out union members or prospective union members?

Gottlieb: Well, in terms of the test as used in the employment situation, Mr. Gilbride—where a man walks up to a factory gate and seeks employment—if a test is designed, as it can be according to testing proponents, to determine say, the liberalism or conservatism of an individual, to determine whether he is pro-union, or anti-union or neutral—if these tests can do what their proponents say they can do, then obviously, a management—without directly attacking a union, without doing anything to the union that is in existence—can, in the long run, seriously weaken the union and weaken its ability to protect the workers by using the test to weed out those people they feel would be good union members.

Millstone: Do you feel that a company should not use aptitude tests to determine whom they want to hire and whom they want to promote?

Gottlieb: Where we have a group of workers who have been employed in a factory for many years, our general feeling is that the most important thing that should be taken into consideration in promoting these workers to higher paying jobs and higher skilled jobs is their seniority. A person who has worked for a long time in a particular industry, it seems to me, has a right to be considered for a better paying job.

Now, we would expect, therefore, that a test of questionable validity would not be used in these situations, that a person would be given a chance. After all, the most important way, the best way, to find out whether a person can do a job or not is to give him a crack at it—give him a chance to do a job, give him a chance to learn.

Let me give you what I think is an excellent illustration of this, Mr. Millstone. In 1965, the Chrysler Corporation in Detroit needed a substantial number of additional arc welders. Local 212 of the UAW was successful in getting 365 low-classification workers an opportunity to qualify for these higher-skilled and higher-paying jobs.

Before entering the training programs, the 365 men were given an aptitude test by the Michigan Employment Security Commission. Over 90 percent of these men failed. Many of them had been long-term employees of the Chrysler Corporation and yet they failed this test.

After negotiation with the union, the company agreed to give the workers an opportunity to train for these jobs. All those who completed the training—and the largest majority of them did—all those who completed the training are now, over a year later, successfully performing the work for which the test claimed they had little or no aptitude.

In other words, even if the tests could do what their proponents say they can, we would still feel that workers who had contributed to the industry should have a right to be trained and given an opportunity to do jobs which will enable those workers to get the better-paying jobs and make a better contribution to the industry.

Gilbride: Mr. Gottlieb, would you prefer that the use of these tests be abolished altogether or is your aim to get them to some degree of accuracy on which both sides can agree—both labor and management?

Gottlieb: Well, I would think, in terms of the status of testing today, we might best abolish them at least temporarily. Here is what one of the most authoritative evaluators of tests in the United States said recently, I quote now:

"At present, no matter how poor a test may be, if it is nicely packaged and if it promises to do all sorts of things which no test can do, the test will find many gullible buyers. Counsellors, personnel directors, psychologists, and school administrators seem to have an unshakable will to believe the exaggerated claims of test authors and publishers."

In other words, testing today is, in most cases, in the hands of salesmen who make money by selling tests—tests of doubtful validity and doubtful reliability.

Millstone: Mr. Gottlieb, you haven't mentioned one objection that I have heard to testing—that's invasion of privacy. I wonder if you consider that to be a major factor in objections to the way tests are used?

Gottlieb: Well, Mr. Millstone, invasion of privacy enters into what we normally call the psychological testing area rather than the aptitude testing area. Generally speaking, aptitude tests do not go into the area that we would consider an invasion of privacy. The tests which are supposed to determine numerical ability, abstract reasoning, space relations and mechanical reasoning abilities, normally don't get into the problems that we are concerned with when we talk about invasion of privacy.

The psychological testing area does. Many young people—people of all ages, in fact—when applying for jobs, are asked questions which, in our mind, have no right to be asked by people administering tests—questions which, if they are ever asked at all, should be asked only by skilled psychiatrists who have training and know when these questions can be asked without damage.

But, young women applying for jobs of all kinds in companies are asked questions about their sexual habits, about their backgrounds and about their family life. In fact, many of us, if we knew some of the questions being asked of our children in school, would probably storm the gates of the school and ask them to stop using tests.

Millstone: What is the justification for these kinds of tests?

Gottlieb: Well, Mr. Millstone, unfortunately, there is very little justification, other than the fact that some people like to gather statistics. When they ask your child what income level you are in, I don't think the school administrator who okays the use of a test has any Machiavellian motives. But, I would say that is, basically, none of the school's business.

Yet, I would venture to say that most of us in this area—in fact I know that my children were asked this question to indicate which level my income was in. My children have also been asked to indicate how often we go to church, and whether my wife and I fight.

These are the kinds of tests—questions—that are asked our children. When we allow our children to be conditioned to accepting these kinds of test questions, Mr. Millstone, is it any wonder that they don't object when they go out to get their first job and are asked similar questions?

Millstone: Is this a matter of concern to organized labor? Is this a matter for negotiation also, do you think?

Gottlieb: I would say it's a matter of grave concern. And, where our people are active in communities on school boards and so on, they do attempt to prevent this kind of question being asked of our children. But, our concern basically, of course, in terms of tests is in terms of their industrial use.

Flannery: And there, your objection is to possible indiscriminate or uninformed use of such tests?

Gottlieb: That's right, Mr. Flannery. I think tests, by themselves, are impossible to take a position against. You just can't say, "we are against testing, period." What we can say is, testing can be dangerous. In most cases today it is dangerous. Therefore, we have to work to protect workers against the use of these tests where they are not properly used.

Emory:
might be of
interest
Fred Smith

Testing

It's Measure for Measure

'Chitling Test' Is a Genuine Stickler

By PAMELA HOWARD

Cultural bias in job testing for unemployed Negroes in the District has brought forth a new kind of IQ test which "would put the shoe on the other foot," according to Frank Hollis, acting director for Manpower under the United Planning Organization.

"We call it the 'chitling test,' after one of the 30 questions included in the multiple choice quiz," he said. All the questions are admittedly exaggerated to point up the cultural differences, but Mr. Hollis feels strongly that something of the sort ought to be devised to aim at Negro culture instead of repeatedly toward the middle class white population.

"How many white people could answer these questions?" Mr. Hollis asked, listing some samples:

"Cheap chitlings (not the kind you purchase at a frozen food counter) taste rubbery unless they are cooked long enough. How soon can you quit cooking them to eat and enjoy them?"

(a) 15 minutes
(b) 2 hours
(c) 24 hours
(d) 1 week (on a low flame)
(e) 1 hour

(answer: c)

"If a man is called a 'Blood', then he is a ——

(a) Fighter
(b) Mexican-American
(c) Negro
(d) Hungry hemophile
(e) Redman or Indian

(answer: c)

"If you throw the dice and '7' is showing on the top, what is facing down?"

(a) "Seven"
(b) "Snake Eyes"
(c) "Boxcars"
(d) "Little Joes"
(e) "Eleven"

(answer: a)

"Down home" (the south) today, for the average 'Soul Brother' who is picking cotton (in season) from sunup until sundown, what is the average earning (take home) for one full day?

(a) 75 cents
(b) $1.65
(c) $3.50
(d) $5.00
(e) $12.00

(answer: d)

"The opposite of square is?

(a) Round
(b) Up
(c) Down
(d) Hip
(e) Lame

(answer: d)

"And Jesus said, 'Walk together children ——'

(a) Don't you get weary There's a great camp meeting.

(b) For we shall overcome.

(c) For the family that walks together talks together.

(d) By your patience you will win your souls (Luke 21-19)

(e) Find the things that are above, not the things that are on Earth (Col. 3:3)

(answer: a)

Some of the more sophisticated Negro professional workers in UPO were stumped by the test when it was passed among employes recently, but sub professional workers with roots in the ghetto passed with flying colors, Mr. Hollis said.

It isn't a test anybody uses, but groups are studying it to see how something similar can be incorporated into standard job tests.

The quiz was actually conceived and written by Watts worker, Adrien Dove, who used it to demonstrate how cultural bias in job testing was preventing the people in Watts from getting jobs. Hence its official title: The Dove Counterbalance General Intelligence Test — A measure of cultural involvement in the poor folks and soul culture.

On a trip to California, Ben Segal, liasion director for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission discovered the test and brought it back to Washington.

He admits it was written with "tongue in cheek", but this way it shows effectively how tests can be made to discriminate against whites as easily as they can against Negroes.

He said that the Wonderlic test, a standard employment quiz used all over the country, is a typical example of exams that are aimed at the white middle class community.

It includes such questions as:

"A contest always has —

(a) an umpire (2) opponents (3) spectators (4) applause (5) victory.

(Answer: 2).

"Which one of the six statements below explains the following proverb?

'Any port in a storm.'

(1) A conscientious worker need no prodding.

(2) Geese that lay golden eggs are too tough to eat.

(3) In dire distress, any aid is acceptable.

(4) Don't destroy the things that do you good.

(5) A willing horse should be whipped lightly.

(6) Ships should not venture out to sea in stormy weather.

(Answer: (3).

"A man who is averse to change and progress is said to be—"

(1) democratic (2) radical (3) conservative (4) anarchistic (5) liberal.

(Answer: 3).

"Which of the following is a trait of character?"

(1) personality (2) esteem (3) love (4) generality (5) health.

(Answer: 1).

Tests like this, Mr. Segal says, "tend to discriminate against the Negro and others from the disadvantaged and poverty areas. They often bear little relationship to the requirements of the job. These tests do a better job of determining how much of the white middle class culture the Negro absorbed than of measuring the ability to perform the job."

This problem of testing is only one of several obstacles in the way of the presently unemployed Negroes in our metropolitan area, Mr. Segal related here this week in a speech to a local group fo Community Advisors on Equal Employment. He often cites the Dove test in his speeches because he feels it helps to dramatize the inadequacies of the testing method.

Here in Washington (where Negroes number almost 63 per cent of the population) many companies and Federal government agencies have begun delving into the problem.

Many companies are either modifying the tests that already exist or are not using them exclusively as criteria for hiring or advancement.

EEV

The Wall Street Journal
Tues. Feb. 21, 67
P. 1

Testing

EMPLOYMENT TESTS face tougher standards emerging from Federal bias cases.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission develops a harder line against testing methods rated discriminatory against minorities. Recent EEOC decisions indicate the agency will demand firmer proof that higher-scoring job candidates actually perform better on the job; most employers can't show that now, officials figure. Automatic rejection of candidates scoring under some set minimum is rated unacceptable.

EEOC officials zero in on testing for promotions or transfers; they want employers to reply on the employe's work record instead. One official hails as a "major victory" a Southern paper company's decision to eliminate all testing for promotions; the EEOC found the exams screened out nearly all Negroes.

The Labor Department and Urban League launch an experiment to find if tests truly reflect Negroes' job abilities.

* * *

Oil, Atomic + Chemical Workers Thus

Changes Coming in Job Tests

3/67

IF YOU are a typical employe, the odds are that before you got your job, you had to take one or more tests to measure your general intelligence, personality and/or skills. The odds are also that the tests made you nervous, you considered them unfair and you tried to "beat" them in one way or another.

Take heart, particularly if you are a member of a minority, "disadvantaged" group.

The long arm of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act is now reaching out to force a major overhaul of job testing practices in the U. S. to make sure they are "not designed, intended or used to discriminate because of race, color, religion, sex or national origin."

SOME of the current practices of the great majority of employers seem to be in conflict with guidelines released by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) on testing," says Prentice-Hall on the basis of a national survey a few months ago.

At least indirectly, "the EEOC guidelines seem to be attacking the very popular general intelligence tests which are given to all applicants by three out of five offices and by a majority of Southern plants."

"There is an urgent immediate need for companies to improve their test procedures because EEOC has a mandate to see that bias is eliminated from testing," emphasizes Dr. Jack W. Dunlap, board chairman of the research firm which bears his name and is headquartered in Darien, Conn.

Dunlap, who has 43 years of experience in test construction, considers this "favorable over the long-term because it will force the construction of more reliable and valid tests and this

By SYLVIA PORTER

will result in selection of a better personnel."

THE ramifications of Title VII become ever more wondrous to behold. The EEOC does not plan to bar testing. This would be a ridiculous move.

But the EEOC must, under the law, try to eliminate bias from tests and testing procedures. The following suggests the extent of the problems of discrimination.

- The general intelligence test may be not only culturally biased but also misleading. It may test your ability to unscramble sentences, for instance — but not your memory for ideas, ability to evaluate and solve the kind of problem found in the job, your awareness of implications. These factors may be far more indicative of your fitness for the job than your general intelligence.

- The tests may claim to measure your ability to perform a job but the scores may not measure how you actually would perform on the job and the passing scores may be obsolete or unrealistic. The EEOC says employers must validate their tests, make sure they are authentic and up to date. According to the Prentice-Hall survey made in conjunction with the American Society for Personnel Administration, almost half of U. S. employers are not doing this and are thus violating the guidelines.

- The EEOC says employers should validate the tests especially for minorities to eliminate "hidden discrimination" or "inadvertent bias." This is an explosive area.

- Crucially significant is the attitude of those administering the tests. In Dunlap's words, "An examiner might deliberately create an atmosphere of apprehension or hostility, which will usually result in the degradation of a test score."

Clearly, there is a great gap between testing practices and the EEOC's guidelines for nondiscrimination.

Local to Observe

Testy

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VOL. CLXXVIII NO. 1 ★

Probing the Mind

Brain-Wave Monitor Seen as Improved Way To Gauge Intelligence

Cultural Factors Don't Affect Results; System Also Used In Medicine and Psychiatry

7/1/71

Another Way to Pigeonhole?

By RICHARD A. SHAFFER
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Canadian psychologist John Ertl says he can tell how smart a person really is by flashing a light in his eyes.

The light makes tiny changes in the brain-waves, and Mr. Ertl says that the speed of this response reflects intelligence: the quicker, the brighter; the slower, the duller.

Others agree the test works. Moreover, it's just one of the ways that scientists are beginning to probe the mind by studying how the brain reacts to changes in the world around it, from flashing lights and beeping sounds to shocks and even puffs of air. Some say this research one day may open the door to the first intelligence and personnel tests that are fair to minority cultures and races. It also could yield important clues to serious mental illness.

No one yet knows for sure whether brain-wave testing will fulfill this early promise. But that such tests are possible at all is a major breakthrough. A few commercial applications already are being made. For instance the intelligence test devised by Mr. Ertl, who is director of the Center of Cybernetic Studies at Ottawa University, goes on the market this month—and others are likely soon.

Traditional Tests Assailed

As it happens, this comes at a time when traditional pencil and paper tests of mental ability are more in disfavor than ever.

Public schools in many big cities have abandoned the traditional IQ tests because, they say, the scores for ghetto children are misleading, sometimes branding bright students as dull and spoiling their futures when the truth may be that the child has scored poorly simply because he has inadequate command of English. In addition, a Supreme Court ruling this spring has apparently made it all but impossible to use the standard intelligence tests in industry—long a common hiring practice—on the ground that they are racially biased and don't give minority group members an equal chance at the better jobs.

Mr. Ertl's test avoids these pitfalls, as does the brain-wave testing method in general. The subject isn't required to read, write or even speak, so ethnic bias can't distort the result. To

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Mr. Ertl's test avoids these pitfalls, as does the brain-wave testing method in general. The subject isn't required to read, write or even speak, so ethnic bias can't distort the result. To take the Ertl test, for example, all the subject does it put on what looks like a football helmet and sit quietly in a dark room watching a light flash 200 times until his score appears on a computer about the size of a small typewriter. The brain-wave changes caused by the light are picked up by electrodes in the helmet and timed by the computer. The whole affair takes about five minutes, compared with about an hour for the usual IQ test. And it's more accurate in a significant number of cases, Mr. Ertl and others maintain.

The changes in the brain's natural rhythm generated by the light—or any other known outside stimulus—are called the evoked response. Lately, scientists have been able to correlate the frequency, amplitude and other parameters of these evoked waves with a wide variety of psychological states.

Work With Mental Ills

In the first application of this research to clinical psychiatry, Dr. Charles Shagass at Philadelphia's Temple University Medical Center found that the early evoked waves tend to be unusually deep in patients with schizophrenia, psychotic depression or character disorder. W. Grey Walter, director of the physiological department at Burden Neurological Institute in Bristol, England, has determined that an evoked response even occurs when one merely expects something to happen. He calls this the "contingent negative variation," or expectancy wave, and reports that it is reduced in anxiety and schizophrenia, increased in obsessive neuroses and totally absent in psychopaths.

True, scientists have long suspected that brain waves mirror the activity of both worlds beneath the scalp: not only of the brain that surgeons handle but also of the mind with which psychologists and psychiatrists deal. But that has been a difficult theory to prove or disprove, because the brain usually is doing so many things at once that its electricity is a jumble of signals not easily unscrambled for study. Brain waves do vary to some degree with the state of consciousness. But since it's so much easier to tell, for example, whether someone is awake or asleep just by looking at him, the actual clinical usefulness of brain waves was, until quite recently, limited to diagnosis of physical disorders: epilepsy, tumors, brain damage.

What changed all this was computer analysis of the evoked response. And now, scientists say, the electrical activity of the ordinary human brain is apparently at last turning out to be a helpful guide to its mental activity.

Leaving the Grass Standing

The evoked response is so weak and brief (usually less than one-thousandth of a volt, lasting less than a half-second) that it normally is drowned in the brain's ongoing electrical patterns, which, on the average, are from five to 20 times more powerful. But a computer can sort them out. "It's like having a lawnmower that cuts down weeds but leaves the grass standing," explains psychologist Ertl.

It works because the evoked response for any particular person always seems to follow its stimulus by the same amount of time. If the stimulus is repeated many, many times and all the brain waves that follow it for a certain period are added in a computer, the brain's random activity acts like noise and tends to cancel itself out, leaving the evoked response as a quite visible wave. This wave is known as the averaged evoked response, or AER.

At the University of Oregon Medical School in Portland, pediatrics professor Dr. Rudolf Engel has discovered that age differences of only a few days bring dramatic changes in the average evoked response of newborn infants. He believes that brain-wave testing could en-

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Probing the Mind: Brain-Wave Monitor Helps Test Intelligence

Continued From First Page

able hospitals to quickly separate healthy but small full-term babies from large premature infants who are prone to respiratory infection if not properly treated. "Moreover," he says, "proof of the length of gestation at birth may be helpful in jurisprudence.'

Dr. Enoch Callaway, chief of research at the Langley Porter Neuropsychiatric Institute in San Francisco, has used the average evoked response to distinguish patients who have genuine sensory loss due to hysteria from those who are only malingering.

As electronic technology improves, other uses for brain-wave testing are rapidly coming of age, according to Dr. Callaway.

"Talking to children, severely psychotic patients, and people whose cultures are foreign or divergent may be difficult, yet language plays an important part in almost all current psychiatric and psychological procedures," he has written. "Quick, reliable, language-free measures of such things as intelligence, personality, attention deployment, and assignment of meaning would obviously have great value . . . (and such uses) will soon be ready for practical application."

That hasn't happened yet, however. For one thing, the whole field is so new that scientists don't yet agree on what part of the evoked wave to measure or how to measure it, so they often can't evaluate the results of each other's work and resolve or confirm apparent contradictions. For instance, although Mr. Ertl's finding that intelligence correlates with the speed of response to light has been confirmed in his own laboratory—and by two independent researchers—with a total of 1,028 subjects, two other experimenters using a total of 48 subjects haven't been able to duplicate Mr. Ertl's work. Nobody has yet been able to explain why.

In addition, in many cases, particularly medical applications, the brain-wave tests rarely give any information that isn't easier and cheaper to get some other way—such as simply asking a patient what's wrong with him.

Costs Become Secondary

However, "usefulness is a relative matter," as Dr. Shagass explains. And if an evoked response test "were shown to provide unique information of a nature decisive for clinical management, such as provided by radiological procedures, it would be used without much regard to cost."

This already has occurred with brain-wave testing for diagnosis of hearing defects. The procedure, for instance, has been used for some time as a matter of clinical routine with children at the Central Institute for the Deaf in St. Louis. Instead of asking a subject whether he can hear a particular tone, the institute's staff watches his brain waves for a response. If the tone alters the brain waves, doctors know the subject has heard it—even if he says he hasn't. If the brain waves aren't altered, doctors know the tone wasn't heard.

"Although the number of children for whom this particular method really makes a difference is not very large, nevertheless the method allows us to make an important early decision as to the handling of the young child," according to Dr. Hallowell Davis of the institute. "This justifies the expense of the method."

Princeton Applied Research Corp., a New Jersey concern that makes a $15,000 brain-wave audiometer, says it sold 15 to 20 such machines last year. And Associates International Inc. of Shreveport, La., which owns the marketing rights to Mr. Ertl's invention, expects to lease 500 to 800 of his intelligence testers at about $200 a month in the next fiscal year.

No Clues to Causes

The Ertl test, however, isn't likely to replace the standard IQ tests for many years, if ever, critics say.

The principal reason is that although its score may be more meaningful in some cases, it gives no clues to what's behind it. For example, although it might detect a learning problem, it would be of little help in the actual diagnosis and correction of that problem, practicing psychologists say, because its single score doesn't distinguish among the many factors that make up human intelligence—verbal, mathematic and spatial abilities, to name a few—which are commonly given as separate scores on IQ tests.

And even Mr. Ertl admits that the future of his test may not please everyone. "I expect that it will be misused to pigeonhole people, just as the IQ test was," he says unhappily.

In fact, it already would be possible to test the evoked response of an unborn child, he adds, "and that brings up frightening possibilities."

ers are likely to drop out of the national bargaining organization before 1973.

7-14-70 EEO-Testing

PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS find fewer backers among personnel men. W-S-J

Smith Kline & French Laboratories and Western Electric no longer use psychological tests at all in their hiring programs. A Deutsch Corp. subsidiary making electrical equipment deemphasizes the tests as screening devices for prospective managers. The company complains the tests tend to "create the concept" of the average employe, and thus work against creative types who may not conform.

Many firms use the tests more sparingly. Philadelphia National Bank employs them only after applicants have been hired. "We don't use them as a (hiring) crutch on which to lean," explains an official. Scott Paper makes the tests optional, and gives employes the right to have scores removed from permanent files. Another problem: Adept test-takers sometimes flop on the job, some employers say.

* * *

Employment — Testing

Karl U. Smith

". . . nor shall it be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to give and to act upon the results of any professionally developed ability test provided such test, its administration or action upon the results is not designed, intended or used to discriminate because of race, color, religion, sex, or national orgin." - - -Title VII, Section 703, Civil Rights Act, 1964.

Undoubtedly many of the members of Congress who voted in favor of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 thought the above quotation entirely harmless. In fact, some of them likely considered the paragraph an important safeguard against discriminatory hiring practices. Employers, after all, do administer such tests. It's common practice just about everywhere. Everyone accepts their validity, and so let us be absolutely certain that the results aren't abused. What could be more in keeping with the spirit of the new law? How could anyone sympathetic to the rights of minority groups possibly object?

Yet one extremely vital objection has been raised. Are not pre-employment ability tests unfair, per se, to Negroes as a group because they are based on cultural and education levels unfamiliar to many Negro applicants and thus underestimate Negro learning ability? The question was discussed in a policy guide published by the Bureau of National Affairs in 1965. The attitudes of a representative panel of industrial and personnel relations executive were examined in the report. By a ration of eight to one the group rejected the idea that enviornment had any relation to test results.

Comments from the men are interesting for what they say about the average American's ideas about testing in general. One, for instance, replied that his company's tests were tailored to deal equally with all, regardless of race. Another recognized

that enviornment and educational backgrounds could be a factor in how Negroes scored on the tests, but then he begged the question entirely with the observation that there had to be some yardstick with which to measure individual ability. Regardless of color, said one executive, people have to rely on their innate abilities. Changing the test standards for one would be unfair to the majority, he said. Yet another businessman said his company realized that tests weren't perfect barometers and so it relaxed its standards for Negroes.

To all who were quoted, the basic validity of such tests and their predictive ability were seemingly beyond question. This attitude is also reflected again and again in the literature of racists seeking to prove Negro inferiority on the basis of comparative IQ scores. By the same token one even detects a certain defensiveness from liberal whites presented with the results of such tests.

This sort of attitude is hardly surprising in view of the fact that throughout this century the testing movement has been expanding in education, industry, business and government. This movement originated in the 1890s with attempts by Jastrow to measure scholastic aptitudes and by Cattell and Binet to measure intelligence in children. However, the main impetus for widespread testing came when Yerkes, Hunter, Woodworth and others created general intelligence and personality questionaires for military selection purposes in World War I.

Today, psychological testing has grown into a tremendous commercial, industrial, and educational activity. The sale of tests alone exceeds twenty-five million dollars yearly. But even more significantly, tests are used extensively by educational and industrial consulting firms, which sit astride the personnel organization and executive appointment programs of every major industry and many major school systems of the United States.

The implications of such a situation ~~is~~ are frightening. Without regard for human elements or for enviornmental factors, without regard for the effects that industry, school, institutional atmosphere has upon those subjected to tests, or the ways that one administering them can influence and control what he supposedly is measuring, the testing movement seemingly has convinced the American people of its total, complete authenticity.

Yet based on more than 30 years of professional experience in the field of psychological and personality testing, extensive research at the University of Wisconsin Behaviorial Cybernetics Laboratory, it is my firm conviction that all such tests which purport to predict individual ability, personality, or intelligence are simply elaborate hoaxes.

I do not make the statement capriciously. In the three decades in which I have been involved in the testing movement I have participated actively in planning construction, validating and statistically analyzing verbal, paper and pencil performance, and psychomotor tests for such diverse purposes as the testing of general intelligence, English aptitude, radar operator aptitude, radar night-fighter apitude, flexible-gunnery aptitude, supervisory ability, occupational aptitudes of convicts, adjustment of tubercular patients to the sanitorium enviornment, salesmen aptitude, and aptitudes of industrial workers. Tests from some of this work have been used in the military and industrial fields. Since World War II the writer's major interest in participating in test construction and validation activities has been in evaluation of the extent to which test procedures can be reduced to or related to experimental and scientific methods.

The material from which I base my evaluation of the testing movement consists of a report which embodies two special studies.

These are entitled "Cybernetic Analysis of Personality Assessment Procedures, "And "Cybernetic Analysis of Psychological Testing and Test Prediction."[1] The term "cybernetic" is used in this connection to mean system study, feedback study, study of the interactions of tests and people, of tests and institutions. As applied to the testing field, we study the way in which the tester himself controls situations in order to arrive at what he considers predictions, the way in which the institution affects the testee and causes him to display certain characteristic forms of behavior that might be probed by the tester and which may be set up as a standard or performance for development of the test.

Just after World War II, serious investigation in psychology began to examine for the first time many of the activities of psychological testing. Some psychologist recognized that the use of tests during the war had been a failure and that the predictive significance of most tests was very near or below chance level. Evidence indicated that none of the test had predictive efficiency beyond that of differentiating between extremes of intellectual and occupational competency. After the war, a number of psychological research programs on testing and training in the Air Force failed spectacularly. One of the most ambitious of such projects--possibly one of the most ambitious of all time--was established at Lackland Air Force Base in the 1950's to investigate related procedures of military test selection and training. Seven years and approximately fifty million dollars later, this project was summarily discontinued by the Air Force without warning. Although the project drew on the services of some 200 psychologists and educational psychologists, it produced not a single significant positive contribution to psychological testing and military selection. A comparable project in the medical branch of the Air Force had an almost identical outcome.

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1 Published by the Behavioral Cybernetics Laboratory, University of Wisconsin, June, 1965.

A similar failure occured in an almost equally ambitious project conducted by a group of the country's most outstanding clinical psychologists. Using a large battery of the most advanced intelligence and personaility testing procedures known to them, they could not predict significantly the performance of their own students in graduate school courses, in research, or in hospital therapeutic activities. This study proved not only that professional psychologists are limited in their ability to use tests but also that their test and interview procedures provide no means of discerning why and where they fail.

Psychological testing has never had a meaningful scientific theory. Testing theory assumes the existence of certain general or specific traits of intelligence, personality, or aptitude which are held to be intrinsic to the makeup of an individual, and to persist relatively unaltered throughout most of his lifetime. These alleged traits are comparable to the mental faculties assumed in prescientific psychology, although they are referred to as behavioral features of aptitude or personality. These traits presumably can be measured by means of sample questions which are scaled statistically according to performance of some selected social group. This concept of measuring deviations of performance from a socially defined norm is basic to all testing activities, but the use of such statistical measurements for predictive purposes is not verifiable by experimental procedures.

At best, testing is a process of selecting test items that seem to resemble the assumed trait in which one is interested in order to measure that same trait. It is thus a process of proving that an unknown X equals another unknown X. Such processes and the assumptions that underlie them are not susceptible to checking and refinement by means of the experimental methods of science.

The giving of a test or the validation of a test is not an experiment, as is sometimes claimed. Experimental procedure requires concepts and hypotheses which have objective operational meaning, the controlled variation of known and objectively defined

variables, and the use of measurement scales whose units and references base can be shown to be equally applicable to all instances of their use. Testing and test validation have none of these characteristics of experimental procedure.

The testing movement has reflected none of the advances in experimental methodology which have marked the science of human behavior over the past several decades. The major advances in scientific analysis of human behavior since 1935 are those related to analyses of the feedback control mechanisms and the processes of sensorimotor interaction which determine learning, perception, and motor patterning in the activities of speech, visual behavior, auditory perception and sound perception, hand coordination and instrumental behavior. These advances have had no impact on the testing movement. Testing concepts and methods were devised largely before Hull (1928) wrote his book on aptitude testing and have not changed significantly since Hull's early days. Most of the tests in use today and the criterion measures on which they are based were set up before 1940.

Because tests have no real scientific or experimental basis related to individual behavior, their scaling procedures must be based on estimating deviations from socially defined norms. In establishing such group norms for validation studies, test specialists never have followed the minimal rules governing representative population sampling. Their population groups, on which the validity of the test depends, typically are preselected groups favored in one way or another. No test in use today is based on a representative population, and few if any tests have ever been checked for their degree of discrimination against people not represented in criterion groups. Further, testers have not investigated the social effects of such test discrimination in the different classes of people affected--that is, children with educational differences, children with histories of childhood diseases, injured children, children of the foreign born, Negroes, children from broken homes, the underprivileged and disadvantaged children from homes of the unemployed and disadvantaged, farm children, children from deteriorating industrial areas, in general, those children and adults who are not easily accessible to the tester in his limited validation studies.

As a result of the bias of their validation groups, psychological tests amount to socio-economic discriminative devices. They are a superficial prop for institutionalizing social, economic, job and educational discrimination processes in the guise of being "scientific instruments." They are used widely in schools to establish special classes, privileges, activities, opportunities and rewards for "bright" students and to depreciate the activities of students labelled "dull" by the tests. Test labels and the test-related class records are attached to students for their entire educational careers. The influence of the testing process on the student's grades often is very direct, for students in a "bright" class automatically receive A or B while those in a "dull" class can never make an A even with outstanding talent and effort.

The use of intelligence and so-called ability tests in schools discriminates particularly against children who have suffered illness, or injury, and those with reading, writing and speech disabilities. Testers in public hearings claim that their procedures help the children with educational difficulties, but these are the ones who are hurt the most, both in school and in their subsequent occupational activities. In dealing with individual problems, the testing approach is largely negativistic, except in the use of vocational interest inventories. Intelligence, ability, and personality test scores are used universally to justify negative actions--sometimes custodial actions--against workers, but they are used only rarely to provide positive help in making decisions or solving problems.

Test psychologists try to give the impression that the field of testing is continuously engaged in research activity to improve the design of tests and their accuracy, but available evidence indicates no really successful research on testing has occurred in the last quarter century. Students of the writer have obtained data from some of the country's most advanced industries indicating that no meaningful research has been or is being conducted by those companies in regard to the accuracy of their college-student recruitment and selection programs. Companies that claim test

studies are being conducted cannot describe the nature of the research or give any data whatever on the results.

The situation with respect to test validation in education is somewhat different. Research on psychological testing constitutes a major activity of graduate students in educational psychology. Using sample tests which can be obtained cheaply or without cost, such students can obtain a series of measurements, assemble the data and present them toward a degree. Researchers and students in this area conduct their studies on the assumption that the general procedures of testing are highly valid and scientifically founded. They add a few more data to the general body of testing knowledge, but do not probe the basic assumptions or validation procedures of the testing movement. Thus current testing research in the academic domain is no more scientific than its parent field.

One feature of the so-called validation research in education is disreputable by standards of scienfific honesty. Testing firms and test agencies claim to validate their tests by receiving performance data and test scores from selected educators and teachers located in different institutions around the country. However, these academic representatives of testing firms sometimes are paid consultants of the firms and thus have a vested interest in the activities they supposedly are subjecting to scientific verification. While this situation is not true of all test researchers, where it exists it raises questions concerning honesty of intent and practice.

Let us now describe what we believe to be the first systematic cybernetic (feedback) studies of the effects of institutional enviornments on emotional manifestations in behavior and on behavioral criteria used in test standardazation procedures. Such study amounts to investigation of the feedback effects of the institutional envioronment on individual and group behavior. Testing theory assumes that sampling behavior will reveal the intrinsic trait make-up of the individual. The purpose of this research was

to determine whether the so-called traits that testers sample actually are produced by the social and institutional conditions under which people live.

This research was conducted during a period of over two years when the writer directed a program set up by request in a state prison to develop vocational testing and guidance procedures for prisoners. The prison authorities agreed that graduate research could be carried out on all aspects of behavior related to the program, and the writer agreed to serve on the Assignment Committee of the prison, a committee of five or six major prison officials who decided the educational, vocational, and custodial assignments of the inmates.

From the vantage point of a research facility located inside a prison, an attempt was made to study the prison as a mechanism of behavior control, including control imposed by testing and allied psychological techniques. Observations were made on prison officials from the warden down, relative to their attitudes, modes of behavior, and avenues of influence in imparting certain standards of performance and pressures of response control on the inmates. One of the most important aspects of this research was that prisoners could be observed for months or even years in order to note any changes in behavior that occurred after their first entry into the prison. Tests and lengthy interviews were given the prisoners two or three days after they entered prison and again some three to six months later. In addition, the writer talked informally with nearly every prisoner without disclosing to him that the intent was to make systematic observations on his behavior.

The theoretical idea behind our prison research is that an institution is a feedback system characterized by certain features which influence behavior and emotional patterning of its inmates. This idea conforms with our general cybernetic notion of feedback control of behavior in closed-loop systems. Research strategy is to discover the variables in the system which define the pattern of control and to establish relationships between feedback variables and behavior variables.

From the first, our experiences in the prison led us to believe that features of prison life have direct repercussions on patterns of behavior and emotional expressions of the prisoners particularly but also of prison guards and officials. The dominant theme of prison management is custodial control through threat of punishment, social isolation, or restriction or change of activity. The dominant patterns of behavior can be described as withdrawn, surly, regressive, suspicious or paranoid, secretive, depressed, repressed, and so on. We observed that these patterns become more noticeable during the first year of prison life, especially in younger prisoners.

Inasmuch as these features of behavior are closely related to the so-called personality traits which are said to be measured by many tests, we attempted to obtain data showing progressive changes in test performances during prison life. Such changes would indicate that the measured characteristics of behavior or personality are not necessarily intrinsic traits of the individual but are generated in him by the control pattern of his environment.

The results of the studies show that the institutional environment (1) can affect behavioral criteria used to validate personality tests (2) can influence test scores, (3) exerts these influences in a negative or inverted direction relative to normal standards of social and emotional adjustment and (4) can institutionalize these effects so that all individuals in the system are affected. The traits generated in people by institutional enviornments thus <u>are not an expression of individual makeup as much as they are a reflection of environment design</u>. The criteria of abnormality which have been used to validate personality tests are not bona fide intrinsic behavioral standards but reflect the inverted human control standards that are characteristic of custodial institutions.

The question may be raised as to whether school and industry enviornments also are characterized by control features that influence thebehavior and emotional adjustment of students and workers. We believe that in many cases they are. It follows that test criteria performances and test scores made by individuals within these enviornments are contaminated by the characteristics of the enviornment. We have seen workers in industries and students in universities whose behavior patterns obviously were modulated and constrained to conform to the demands and pressures of their institutional environments. Sampling such behaviors by means of psychological tests is a poor way to predict individual performance outside the institutional pattern of control.

Our industrial studies reveal many direct and indirect ways in which psychological consultants and clinical psychologists mix personality test procedures causing an influence on job performance factors or the behavioral status of the testee. These include (1) suggesting to the testee that he has personality difficulties (2) influencing promotion and social status of the testee by recording test scores in relation to test potential (3) revealing the judgment that the testee has a personality problem; (4) relating test scores to potential development of the individual in special training programs; (5) defining special job specifications in terms of the personality test factors; (6) influencing and pressuring testees on the basis of test results while serving in the role of personnel counselor; (7) relating test results to need for special training, counseling, psychotherapy, or psychiatric treatment; (8) influencing the adjustment of wages and fringe benefits to correspond to test factors; (9) participating in actual rating or grading of testee performance on the job or in school; (10) setting up special classes which lead to grading or assignment of testees in relations to d test-dominated class standards; and (11) serving as a personnel officer who provides references and recommendations for promotion, transfer, or job seeking of the testee.

Test psychologists, clinical psychologists, and consulting psychologists attached to industries, schools, and institutions carry out these practices of mixing their test programs with personnel control processes in the course of doing their jobs. The inevitable result is to increase the apparent validity of the tests. When testing programs are challenged, psychological counselors and consultants have plenty of data to show correspondence between test results and subsequent performance. What is not made clear is that the correspondence is due for the most part to the control activities of the counselors. The industrialist or school official or director of an institution accepts the activities of the psychologist in the belief that they are scientifically substantiated, not realizing that the mixed bundle of psychological services serves to substantiate itself.

The main conclusion from our cybernetic analysis of testing as an institutional control operation is that tests become predictive devices only insofar as the tester is permitted to control or influence the status of the worker or of the work performance to be predicted. There is no evidence which shows that a pure, unmixed testing program provides significant predictions of human ability or performance.

But the apparent validity of tests is enhanced by the way they are used in selection or screening procedures. Tests as we have seen, are not scientific instruments for measuring individual behavior, but a means of estimating statistical deviations from group norms. Thus the claims that testing is directed toward understanding individuals and their behavior cannot be verified. The statistical socially defined measure of tests are in no way comparable to operationally or experimentally defined individual behavior variables.

Tests are used widely today in the belief, fostered by test specialists, that indications of superiority and deficiencies in specific behavior factors can be read from the test scores.

However, the individual items of tests do not disclose anything meaningful about the dimensions of individual response because the items do not represent objectively defined variables and dimensions in behavior. This fact lies behind the widely recognized dilemma of the testers: no two psychometricians can agree on the meaning or definition of personality and intelligence or of their supposed sub-traits, and no two scales of the same name in different tests mean the same thing. The reasoning of testers and their claims that tests can be used both to scale the social deviation of individuals and to probe their individual response systems are neither scientific nor logical. The failure of tests to measure individual factors must be recognized in order to assess their use in selection and screening.

The use of psychological testing to set up classes of students in our schools is not only unscientific and inaccurate, it is undemocratic and jeopardizes the opportunities of individuals both in education and future work. Further, the test classification procedures in our schools obstruct truly scientific advances in understanding behavior and its disturbances and deficiencies. Tests never have yielded any information about the individual behavior mechanisms underlying writing, reading, spelling, speech, and other skills or deficiencies in these skills. The nearly universal use of test selection programs in our schools has had the effect of obscuring the need for and of frustrating any attempt to do direct research on educationally significant skills and behavioral deficiencies of school children, including their emotional deficiencies. The main feedback effects of testing programs is to obscure the needs of the individual child by classifying him arbitrarily and inaccurately, and to distort the design of his educational enviornment by substituting test - oriented objectives for individually oriented schooling.

The effects of such "testing-caste" processes in industry are

equally dangerous. There is clear evidence that one of the feedback effects of the psychological testing movement in industry is to impair motivation of the lower uneducated and economic groups in seeking employment. By the artificial elevation of employment requirements as determined by test cutting scores, test selection methods have raised the stated qualifications for jobs beyond the level required in the job itself. Evidence shows that the general educational level of applicants tend to shift upwards in any industry which adopts testing procedures to cover all types of employees, even though the job requirements in the industry are not scaled upwards.

We believe that one of the main effects of test selection procedures has been to create an artificial management philosophy toward work demands in American industry and thereby to magnify the effects of the tests in creating a caste of unemployable persons. Management has been led to believe that work success and training can be predicted in terms of quickee tests and personality estimates, and that responsibility of industry and government for creating work is confined only to those who pass these tests. We are just beginning to learn the costs of an unemployed caste society and to the government. Our view is that mush of the underemployment in this country is due in part to the direct and indirect feedback effects of test selection programs in inflating employment requirements and in degrading the value of nonverbal skills in industry.

Psychological testing has mushroomed into a multimillion-dollar industry in which a few organizations and a relatively few individuals go far toward defining the primary machinery of educatinnal and job assignment of the American people. We have presented evidence to show that testing has no basis in objective science and that its presumed predictive effects are feedback effects of the testing activity itself. To use such dubious apparatus to control the status and behavior of students and workers is unethical and illegal even when the activity is carried on by well-meaning people. It becomes immoral when combined with certain'

other charlatan procedures sometimes indulged in by psychological consultants, including secret psychiatric analyses of unsuspecting applicants and employees and using data as props to justify workers at all levels. If an unscruplous management wants to cover up some devious program of depriving people of educational opportunity or their work rights or jobs, the testers and the clinicians are called in. This process apparently has come to full bloom in several government agencies which use clinical psychological testing and psychiatric intrusions in order to make periodic checks of employees and to fire them if their personality readings do not satisfy the tester. Rather than promoting educational and work opportunities which will expand basic liberties, agencies and industires which rely on tests and clinical practices are depriving people of their constitutional rights, constraining freedom of thinking, and thus are undermining the democratic process.

Testing & Tracking

TM REPORTS

NUMBER 3

FEB 1973

Ability Grouping: Status, Impact, and Alternatives

ERIC CLEARINGHOUSE ON TESTS, MEASUREMENT, & EVALUATION ■ EDUCATIONAL TESTING SERVICE, PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

Conducted by Educational Testing Service in Association with Rutgers University Graduate School of Education

SRC REFERRAL SLIP

TO: E.V. DATE: 1/4/73

FROM: G.H.

FOR YOUR	PLEASE
Information ✓	Note & Return
Approval	See Me
Comment	Respond

Emory this is letter of transmittal and support material encouraging SRC's co-sponsorship of the Confon Testing, including the Conf. Budget.

Testing

National Conference on Testing in Education and Employment
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213

December 3, 1972

Tel. (412) 621-3500
Ex. 489

Mr. George Harris
Southern Regional Council
52 Fairley St.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Brother Harris:

It was good to rap with you about the substantive issues around reforming the assessment of minorities in America. I applaud SRC efforts to convene the February conference on intelligence testing and public policy. Please keep me informed about development as I am vitally concerned about the conference theme.

In this letter, I am mailing you some additional materials which will give added data for your efforts to help us secure funds to launch our five year research and development project at Hampton Institute April 1, 2, 3, and 4.

I will mail you the revised conference budget just as soon as it is completed.

Let's keep in touch!

Yours for reform of testing!

Norman R. Dixon

Norman R. Dixon, Ph. D.
Director, National Conference on Testing

enclosures

National Conference on Testing in Education and Employment
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213

December 26, 1972

Mr. George Harris
Southern Regional Council
52 Fairley Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Brother:

Our progress towards the National Project on Testing in Education and Employment has been commendable. Beyond a doubt, we are succeeding in mobilizing powerful forces for changing minority group assessment in this Country. The job must be done and we, as the agents of a great social purpose, must dedicate ourselves anew to the destruction of the barriers to opportunity and advancement represented by standardized testing in America. We welcome the Southern Regional Council as a co-sponsor for the National Conference on Testing in Education and Employment. From my several dialogues with you, I am convinced that the Southern Regional Council is taking care of business.

By telephone, we have extended a request to the Southern Regional Council to join the ranks of our sponsors. This letter comes as a formal communication of that invitation.

Second, the co-sponsor fee-check should be made out to the National Project on Testing. Third, as I have indicated to you by telephone since I received your letter, co-sponsors are meeting two or three times before April 1, 1973. Of course, you will be informed, as you already know, of every such meeting. These meetings will be designed to take a hard look at programming action to implement our plans for changing testing in America. Fourth, we have been in contact with the following foundations, which I cited to you over the telephone: The Pittsburgh Foundation, The Spencer Foundation, The Ford Foundation, the John Hay Whitney Foundation, The New York Foundation and The Johnson Foundation. The Ford Foundation, the John Hay Whitney Foundation and The Spencer Foundation all have stated that they will help fund the 5-year project on testing. The New York Foundation plans to help us with preliminary planning; the Pittsburgh Foundation contributed $5000 for continued planning. The Johnson Foundation contributed $2500 and meeting facilities for our 3-day work session - July 11-13, 1972 at Racine, Wisconsin.

Our big job now is raising the necessary funding for the Hampton Institute Workshop. I mailed you the budget for this earlier. I hope the above points address themselves to the questions of your earlier letter to me. If not, Brother, just call me for additional information.

I have tried several times to get in touch with Jean Fairfax of the Legal Defense Fund, but without success. I shall continue to try and I hope we can get her over here when you come January 10.

As a member of our steering committee, you, of course, should feel free to invite Jean's participation and you may urge her to contact me for further information. Also, please feel free to contact Dean Paul Yervirsaher of the Harvard Graduate School of Education and invite the School to become a sponsoring organization. I would be happy to talk to him and you in the conference hall. Of course, any other ideas you have for making our Project become an effective tool for social change in this Country are welcome, and knowing how devoted and capable you are in taking care of business, I am sure you will share them for test reforms for our people.

Sincerely,

Norman R. Dixon gr

Norman R. Dixon, Ph.D.
Associate Professor
Director of the National Conference
on Testing in Education and Employment

NRD:gr

Enclosure

BUDGET
FOR

National Workshops to Identify Critical Areas and Key Personnel for a Five Year Research and Development project to Improve Minority Assessment Techniques

Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.. April 1, 2, 3, 4, 1973

BUDGET ITEMS	FUNDING REQUESTED	SPONSORS CONTRIBUTION	TOTAL
1. Workshop site facilities (auditoriums, office space, room for research presentations, etc.		$26,500	$26,500
2. Office machines for reproduction of research papers		300	300
3. Local telephone services (workshop site)		60	60
4. Salary for workshop director (before, during, after)	$ 7,000	18,000	25,000
5. Travel funds for director and staff	2,400		2,400
6. Staff per diem at workshops (4 @ $40 per day for four days)	640		640
7. Communication (printing of programs, name badges, stationery, telegrams, postage long distance telephone calls	2,500		2,500
8. Supplies (paper, stencils, pencils, envelopes, tapes)	850		850
9. Production and dissemination of workshop proceedings	6,000		6,000

BUDGET CONTINUED

BUDGET ITEMS	FUNDING REQUESTED ($19,930)	SPONSORS CONTRIBUTION ($44,860)	TOTAL
10. Three major speakers (national leaders as theme analyzers @ $500 each	500		$1,500
11. Per diem for 3 national leaders and theme analyzers @ $40 per day	120		120
12. Travel for 3 national leaders and theme analyzers @ $300 each	900		900
13. Twenty major researchers and presenters @ $150 each	3,000		3,000
14. Travel for 20 major researchers and presenters @ $200 each	4,000		4,000
15. Per diem for 20 major researchers for one day @ $40 per day	800		800
16. Contingency fund	4,000		4,000
	$33,710	$44,860	$78,570

Bethune-Cookman College

DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA 32015

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SECRETARY-TREASURER

JAMES E. HUGER
BUSINESS MANAGER

OFFICE OF DEAN

July 24, 1972

Dr. Norman Dixon
Associate Professor Higher Education
School of Education
University of Pittsburg
Pittsburg, Pennsylvania

Dear Dr. Dixon :

I read with interest your role in stimulating the changes in standardized testing in this country. Bethune-Cookman College would welcome an opportunity to participate in this effort, should the need arise.

Please keep us informed as to the progress of your efforts, and if we may be of any service, do not hesitate to call on us.

Sincerely,

William F. Kornegay

William F. Kornegay
Academic Dean

WFK/kw

Moton Consortium on Admissions and Financial Aid
Mrs. Mary T. Coleman, Director
Dr. James J. Cunningham, Associate Director

Suite 603
2001 S Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009
Telephone (202) 332-7383

July 10, 1972

Dr. Norman R. Dixon
Chairman, Planning Committee
National Conference on Testing
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15213

Dear Dr. Dixon:

I was very elated to hear from you and was more exhilarated to have been selected as one of the chosen few to participate in a work session to design the National Conference on Testing in Education, Industry and Government.

At the present time, it is impossible for me to attend this conference in that we are involved in the evaluation of the admissions and financial aid offices in 30 of our institutions. The evaluations, hopefully, will be completed by July 28, 1972.

Since I will be at Central State College on the 12th of July, I would like to attend your conference then because I am very interested in your task. However, if I don't get a chance to see you at that time, I would appreciate it if you could let me know what I could do to help. You also might be interested in an instrument that I have developed that will predict college success of Black disadvantaged youth. The norms are located and I will conclude my validy checks in about a month. If you are interested, please let me know.

Looking forward to a continuous working relationship.

Sincerely,

Jim

Jim Cunningham

Technical Assistance Consortium To Improve Colleges Services

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR
EQUAL OPPORTUNITY
IN HIGHER EDUCATION

2001 "S" Street, N.W. • Suite 450 • Washington, D.C. 20009 • Telephone 202/232-8500

July 20, 1972

Dr. Norman R. Dixon
Chairman
Planning Committee
National Conference on Testing
617 Cathedral of Learning
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15213

Dear Dr. Dixon:

I wish to thank you for extending to me the invitation to participate in the three day series of work sessions to design the National Conference on Testing In Education, Industry, and Government held on July 11-13, 1972 at the Wingspread Conference Center in Racine, Wisconsin.

I regret that pressing matters here in Washington prevented my coming to this meeting.

I will be interested in the future direction of this Conference and when and where it will be held. I hope that I will be able to arrange to be present.

If I can be of help to you in your deliberations, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Miles M. Fisher, IV

Miles M. Fisher, IV
Executive Secretary

MMF:jbm

OFFICERS and DIRECTORS: *President*, Dr. Herman Branson, Lincoln University (Pennsylvania); *Vice-President*, Dr. Vivian Henderson, Clark College (Georgia); *Vice-President*, Dr. Herman Long, Talladega College (Alabama); *Vice-President*, Dr. J. Louis Stokes, Utica Junior College (Mississippi); *Secretary*, Dr. Milton Curry, Jr., Bishop College (Texas); *Treasurer*, Dr. G. Leon Netterville, Southern University (Louisiana); Dr. Broadus Butler, Dillard University (Louisiana); Dr. James Cheek, Howard University (Washington, D.C.); Dr. Lewis Dowdy, N. C. A & T State University (North Carolina); Dr. Lloyd C. Elam, Meharry Medical College (Tennessee); Dr. Hugh Gloster, Morehouse College (Georgia); Dr. Charles Hayes, Albany State College (Georgia); Dr. James Lawson, Fisk University (Tennessee); Dr. Lionel Newsom, Johnson C. Smith University (North Carolina); Dr. Benjamin Perry, Florida A & M University (Florida); Dr. Lucius Pitts, Paine College (Georgia); Dr. Granville Sawyer, Texas Southern University (Texas); Dr. Walter Washington, Alcorn A & M University (Mississippi); Dr. Albert Whiting, North Carolina Central University (North Carolina).

Black Colleges Produce Over 70 Percent of the Black College Graduates in America

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH
PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA 15213

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

June 29, 1972

Dr. Norman R. Dixon
Associate Professor
Department of Higher Education

Dear Dr. Dixon:

I have followed with considerable interest the development of the idea of the National Conference on Testing in Education, Industry, and Government. The focus on test validity, socio-economic, racial, and ethnic bias, and procedures for inducing change in test producers and test users is indeed timely. The conference is of grave importance to the welfare of our nation because it aims to help education, industry, and government to identify and nourish human talent more effectively.

The School of Education heartily endorses the conference. Through support of your work in our Department of Higher Education and throughout the United States we have demonstrated institutional concern. Furthermore, the proposed national conference addresses significant testing problems in which I have long been vitally interested.

Because of our concerns the School of Education endorses your presentation of the conference idea to external sources for funding. I shall be glad to do whatever I can to increase the possibilities for success in your search for funding.

Sincerely,

Paul H. Masoner

ep

Paul H. Masoner
Dean

HAMPTON INSTITUTE
HAMPTON, VIRGINIA 23368

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

November 22, 1972

Dr. Norman R. Dixon
Associate Professor, Higher Education
Director, National Conference on Testing
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15213

Dear Dr. Dixon:

In these days of rapidly changing trends in higher education, it is important to have a better understanding of the true usefulness of our various indicators (test) of performance, potential and information acquisition. This is especially true in higher education because of the broadened spectrum of students from all walks of life now attending or seeking entrance into college. Because of these facts and the present demonstrated weaknesses in our testing system, I welcome the idea of a National Conference on Testing in Education and Employment.

Hampton Institute heartily endorses this conference and stands ready to do whatever it can to assure the success of such a conference. More precise evaluative instruments are sorely needed in our daily attempts to evaluate the multitude of persons presenting various cultural and ethnic differences. It is important that we be able to speak intelligently and analytically to these differences.

As a traditionally Black institution, we have a special interest in the promotion of such a conference and therefore endorse your presentation of the conference idea to external sources for funding. We are hopeful that these initial steps will pave the way to a total elimination of the drastic national manpower losses due to inadequate and inappropriate evaluative instruments.

Your and your colleagues are to be commended for your initiative in developing and promoting this much needed national conference.

Sincerely yours,

Roy D. Hudson
President

RDH:c

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

December
One
1 9 7 2

Mr. George Harris
Southern Regional Council
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Harris:

The Office of Minority Affairs of the Ohio State University is one of the sponsors of the National Conference on Testing in Education and Employment to be held at Hampton Institute on April 1-4, 1973. I have been on the Steering Committee since its organization. Dr. Norman R. Dixon, Conference Director, has told me about your interest in this event.

I am writing to encourage your active support in a movement that is bound to have a significant impact in areas crucial to the education and employment of Blacks. We need $30,000 to help defray conference expenses and launch a very significant five-year follow-up program. As you know, we are not planning a three-day conference to talk about problems but will develop a five-year action program designed to make the changes in testing that will adequately open doors of opportunities for Blacks in education and employment. To this task we are wed.

It has been a privilege for me to work on the Steering Committee with a distinguished corps of scholars, educators and administrators. Excellent planning has been done thus far. Your influence and assistance with our funding program will be a highly valuable contribution adding power to our thrust to make this event not only historic but highly valuable.

Sincerely,

William J. Holloway

William J. Holloway
Vice Provost

WJH/eab

cc: Dr. Norman R. Dixon

Office of Academic Affairs / 308 Administration Building / 190 North Oval Drive / Columbus, Ohio 43210 / Phone (614) 422-5881

Testing

Research Brief

DEPARTMENT OF RESEARCH AND INFORMATION SERVICES
Russell B. Vlaanderen, Director

1972 LEGISLATION AND ACHIEVEMENTS: ACCOUNTABILITY, ASSESSMENT AND TESTING

Education Commission of the States

P.A. Bob A.
V.J

EV

I would love to have this back. Thought you might be interested in Ernie Green's whereabouts, in case you didn't know.

E.A.V.

SPECIAL EDITION

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Honorary President

ROWLAND WATTS
President

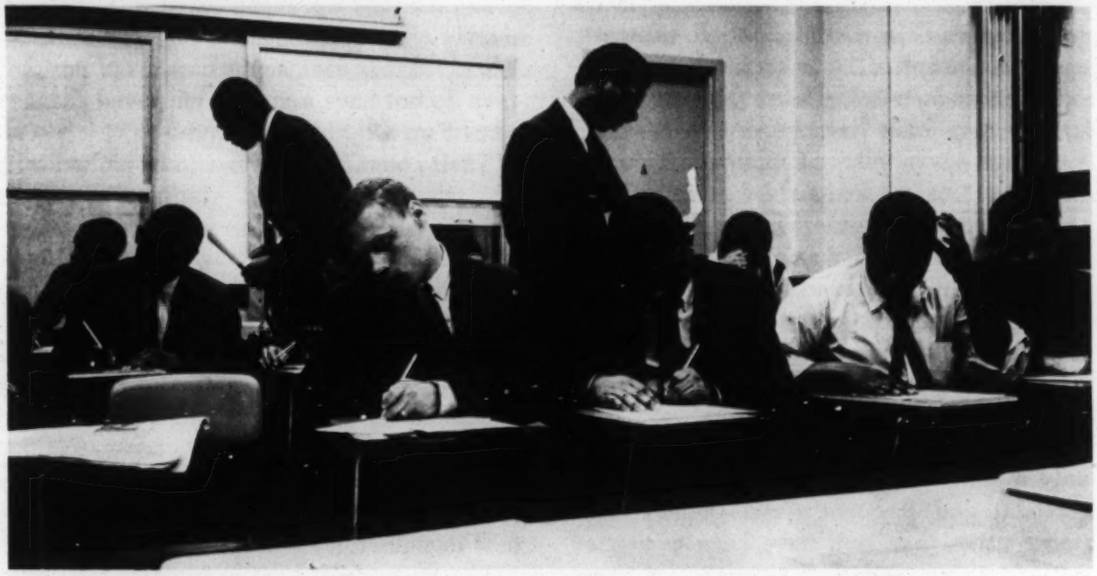
PEARL WILLEN
Chairman of the Board

RACHELLE HOROWITZ
Executive Secretary

WDL NEWS

published by **Workers Defense League**
112 EAST 19TH STREET, NEW YORK 3, N. Y. C.

WINTER, 1965



Staff Members, Ray Murphy and Ernest Green Tutor Sheetmetal Applicants

Training

The Meritocracy of Labor

by Murray Kempton

The most public life Ernest Green is ever likely to know is now not quite seven years back in his past. He is only 23 now. Ernest Green was the first Negro to be graduated from Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas. He was for awhile a subject for all the news photos, a thin child with glasses walking through the crowds in the fall of 1957, and then still a thin child in a black robe with his classmates in the spring of 1958, a graduate, thanks to the protection of federal troops.

He was one of 601 seniors at Central High School. Just 14 of them wrote their good wishes in his class yearbook.

"I really admire you, Ernest," the secretary of Central High's student government wrote under her picture. "I doubt if I could have done half so much if our positions were reversed. May you achieve all your goals and they be the best."

The fifties focused on the special Negro, and his story was always inspiriting. Now the sixties are confronted with the ordinary Negro and he has almost no story at all.

Ernest Green departed the South to complete his education at Michigan State University; and few of the strangers who saw him in his singular high school year can have thought much about him since. The other day I went to Brooklyn, from some small curiosity about the ordinary Negro, and came upon Ernest Green.

He has found his goal in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area, which is Brooklyn's Harlem. He spends his days trying to find jobs for young Negroes as plumbers, electricians and carpenters.

It would be too much to say that it is as hard for an ordinary young Negro in New York to be taken on as an apprentice in a skilled trade as it is for an extra-

ordinary young Negro to be admitted to a Southern university. But it would not be a great deal too much to say.

In 1958, the year of Ernest Green's high school graduation, the New York State Commission Against Discrimination made an ethnic survey of the apprentices in the state's construction industry. Apprentice training is the only means of entry into those building crafts which have always been the best general opportunity for comfort and pride available to the young whose education ends with high school. In 1958, the State Commission Against Discrimination estimated that perhaps two percent of New York's 15,000 construction apprentices-in-training were Negroes.

That estimate may have been generous. We have lived since through seven years of numberless protest demonstrations by Negroes and hardly more computable responses in plea and intervention by government. The State Commission Against Discrimination has become the State Commission for Human Rights. For all that has been said, no responsible agency will assert yet that more than two percent of the construction apprentices now in training are Negroes.

The skilled-job market has, of course, always been controlled by a company of trade unions which have been the only medieval institutions in the city, being hierarchic, feudal and frequently consanguine. Apprentices, more often than not, have been connected by blood or friendship with full members of these guilds. The tradition of the job as property to be bequeathed or given away has done as much to bar the Negro as any lively prejudice against his color. There were 3,000 union plumbers in Brooklyn a year ago last August; nine of them were Negroes, none of whom held the "A" membership card and earned the $4.10-an-hour wage which are the rewards for survivors of the apprenticeship stage.

Last spring the State Commission for Human Rights found Local Union 28 of the Sheet Metal Workers Union guilty of discriminating against Negro applicants. Local 28 had and has 3,300 members, none of whom was or is a Negro. Some 26 of the 30 applicants accepted for the local's apprenticeship program in July, 1963, were related to union members. A journeyman fitting the standards of this guild earns up to $6.15 an hour. Under pressure of court orders, Local 28 has agreed to give up selecting its apprentices by family bond and to subject all applicants to an aptitude test supervised by New York University next month.

A chance in the construction crafts is coming then to depend less on favor and more on objective standards. Last year, the Taconic Foundation made a grant to the Workers Defense League to seek out young Negroes to take these tests. The League set up its apprenticeship program headquarters in the most impressive building on its shabby block on Fulton Street. Ray Murphy, holder of the master's degree in clinical psychology, which is so much easier for a Negro than a plumbers union work permit, is its director and Ernest Green is his assistant.

What Poor Schooling Can Do

They have perhaps 150 young Negroes on their rolls as prospective applicants to any apprenticeship class a union opens up. None of them went to schools remotely as good as Central High in Little Rock. They had no chance against the barriers of custom; and now they do not have a greatly improved chance under the test of merit.

Their common problem can be embodied in the case of Arthur Harris, 19, a graduate of Thomas Edison Vocational High School in Queens, where he was selected above all his fellow seniors as laureate in the plumbing award of the ladies auxiliary of the Master Plumbers Association. In April, 1964, Arthur Harris tried to follow the bent indicated for the best plumber in his class by enrolling in the apprenticeship class sponsored by Brooklyn Plumbers Local Number One. Local One did not answer his letter; Ray Murphy intervened and in October the education committee of Local One agreed to let Arthur Harris take its aptitude examination.

The new merit system for neophyte plumbers administered by New York University is not one of rigid intellectual standards. An applicant, to be eligible for apprentice training, need only show himself above the level of the bottom quarter of the average American high school senior class. Arthur Harris could, then, have passed with a score of 100 out of a possible 400. He scored a 63; and, at that, may have done no worse than a majority of the other applicants, all of them white graduates of New York City schools. No more than 20 of the 60 testees seem to have achieved what in essence is a 25 percent passing grade.

Arthur Harris scored *five* out of a possible 100 in the category of "mental alertness"; *seven* out of a possible 100 in mechanical reasoning and *five* out of a possible 100 in numerical ability.

Ray Murphy guesses that a young man who had mastered the elements of the ninth grade would achieve the passing mark on this test. There can be no sensible quarrel with the honesty of the academicians who conducted it. We can only conclude then that the best prospective plumber in a New York City vocational school had been equipped by his teachers to rank less than a point above the *lowest five percent of American high school graduates* in alertness, mechanical capacity and skill with numbers.

Arthur Harris has dropped from sight since this

disaster; Ernest Green is afraid that he has given up. Most of the young Negroes who sit in Bedford Stuyvesant are like Arthur Harris and other graduates of vocational high schools, which means that they belong to a category of persons trained for no vocation at all.

We can assume, however, that if the Taconic Foundation and Ray Murphy and Ernest Green are patient enough, the building trades unions will have to yield their privileges and accept their apprentices on objective merit. But even that surrender is by no means imminent; most of Ray Murphy's day is spent in the continual interventions necessary to persuade or press union officials to give his charges a chance just to take their tests.

There is the case of Emmett Washington, a member of the maintenance division of Local Three of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. In June of 1964, Local Three sent out letters to its members asking if they had any sons who might like to be apprentices to its construction division. Emmett Washington wrote back that he had no son but that he himself was a member of the union still young enough to be an apprentice. He got no answer; Murphy inquired for him and was told that the local had decided not to hold a class this year.

"I took one kid down to Local Two of the plumbers union to see a man named Kearns who is secretary of their joint apprenticeship committee," Murphy said. "When we got there Kearns came out and said that Kearns wasn't in. We had to go back again before he'd give him an application. I'm still not sure when he will take a test.

"I took two kids to Local 40 of the iron workers last October and they told us they weren't interviewing applicants unless they were accompanied by two sponsors who were union members. They had promised two years ago that they would no longer require sponsors. I got in touch with the secretary-treasurer and reminded him of some of these things and he called back to say that it had all been a mistake and we should apply again.

"We went back down and while we were waiting, one of the white applicants said we could go in first because his *sponsors* hadn't gotten there yet. Anyway, we were finally able to make an application 10 days ago."

Same as in the South

Still, the tests are coming; the problems that cannot be righted by any pressure at Murphy's command is the condition of the tested. When we think of the ordinary Negro, we recognize that the New York school system has settled into a mold as segregated in class as anything we have deplored in European education. The South, of course, traditionally drew the distinction of race; the academic public high school was for white children; the industrial or vocational school was for Negroes. New York has come unconsciously to a system which, in essentials, ends with the same result.

A child's pattern is set when he is 13 and ready to enter the complex of city high schools. He may, if he can pass its tests, enter an academic high school and hope to go on to a municipal college, where the tuition is still free and open to any high school graduate with an average of 85 in his academic subjects. Short of that, he can try for a technical high school, where the academic standards are also exclusive and where he can learn a trade. Failing all tests, there is no place for him except the vocational school where he learns almost nothing and serves no purpose beyond the requirements of the compulsory school education.

On the bulletin board in Ernest Green's office, there is a clipping from *The New York Times* telling the story of Michael Stewart, the first Negro apprentice to be accepted by Local 40 of the iron workers union. " 'His father, Malcolm Stewart, writes technical manuals for Sperry Rand'," Ernest Green read from the *Times*. "Now there's a working class background."

Cont. last page

From the Desk of RACHELLE HOROWITZ, Executive Secretary

Progress in Apprenticeship Training

The WDL Apprenticeship Program is still very much a pilot project. After nine months in Bedford-Stuyvesant, we have discovered that discrimination by trade unions is only the last (and sometimes unnecessary) step in a long process of exclusion that begins with public apathy and that includes an outdated vocational school system and a morass of government red-tape and bureaucracy.

Despite all the new rules and regulations and the occasional public proclamation, we are far from the day when an individual Negro or Puerto Rican applicant will be able to enter the trade of his choice without the assistance of a determined staff and the weight of a national organization behind him. Unions are turning more and more to objective criteria for admittance to training programs; therefore, the focus of the WDL program will turn toward the vocational school; Murray Kempton has not exaggerated the school's shortcomings.

The Apprenticeship staff has convinced the Board of Education to hold an annual career conference for students interested in vocational trades, and to invite trade unionists to speak before vocational school assemblies. Next we shall have to convince the Board that in an age of automation, intermediate mathematics is more important than woodworking.

Acknowledgements

The article by Murray Kempton is reprinted with the permission of *New Republic* magazine; the photographs of apprenticeship applicants being tutored at the Northside Center for Child Development were taken by Burt Shavitz.

Just a reminder: Have you paid your membership dues yet?

OF LABOR

Cont. from page 3

Sheet Metal Workers Local 28 sent out word last week that on February 13, it would conduct its objective test for apprentice applicants as prescribed by court order. Murphy and Green think they might have as many as 60 candidates; Dr. Kenneth Clark has agreed to hold classes for them at the Northside Center for Child Development and do, in the little time remaining, whatever private tutoring can to repair the damage which has been done by public education.

"You know, five of our kids did pass the electricians' apprenticeship tests on Long Island," Ernest Green said. "Of course, three of them were college students. They were over-qualified. Maybe I'll take the sheet metal test myself."

He is the graduate of a Southern high school and a Midwestern university. It does not seem that attainments significantly less impressive will soon give a Negro a chance to work at a skilled trade in New York.

Welfare Strike

WDL has always fought for the rights of labor and New York City's Welfare workers were no exception. While the office mobilized public support and additional pickets, WDL officers Norman Thomas, Rowland Watts, A. Philip Randolph and Board members Michael Harrington and Bayard Rustin sent the following wire to Mayor Wagner on behalf of WDL:

> WE HAVE LONG URGED THE REPEAL OF THE CONDON-WADLIN ACT AND FAIL TO UNDERSTAND HOW ITS USE TODAY TO DISMISS 5,398 WELFARE WORKERS HELPED THE POOR AND UNDERPRIVILEGED OF THIS CITY. BOTH LOCAL 371 AND THE SOCIAL SERVICE EMPLOYEES UNION HAVE AGREED TO THE APPOINTMENT OF A FIVE-MAN FACT FINDING BOARD. THE CITY HAS DONE A TERRIBLE DISSERVICE TO ITS POOR AND TO ITS SOCIAL WORKERS BY REFUSING THIS DEMAND. WE URGE THAT CONTINUOUS NEGOTIATIONS ON ALL GRIEVANCES PRESENTED BY THE STRIKING WORKERS BEGIN AT ONCE, AND THAT CITY OFFICIALS GET DOWN TO THE SERIOUS BUSINESS OF GUARANTEEING DIGNITY TO ALL WORKERS AND ALLEVIATING POVERTY.

Please send this newsletter and additional information about the WDL to

1. _____
Name

_____
Address

2. _____
Name

_____
Address

(Please tear out this form and send to WDL, 112 E. 19 St., N.Y. 3, N.Y.)

WDL NEWS
112 East 19th St.
New York 3, N.Y.

...ety programs.

Training

Union Helps Train Youths In 'Man's Job'

AFL-CIO News 1/15/66

Syracuse, N.Y.—Operating Engineers Local 545 and the New York State Employment Service are looking for 60 unemployed young men willing to tackle a rigorous training program as the first step to a lifetime of work at good pay.

The opportunity is sponsored by the local in cooperation with the State Dept. of Public Works and the Neighborhood Youth Corps as part of the war on poverty and is open to youths not scared off by the union's offer of "real men's work in the outdoors —sometimes it's wet, sometimes it's cold, but it's always interesting and the pay is good."

The 60 accepted candidates will

(Continued on Page 3)

SIXTY YOUNG MEN from three New York State areas will receive training as rod and chainmen under a Neighborhood Youth Corps program sponsored by Operating Engineers Local 545, Syracuse, and supported by the State Dept. of Public Works. Going over some of the details are (left to right) Business Mgr. Jess Webb of Local 545; State Industrial Commissioner M. P. Catherwood; IUOE Reg. Dir. Howard Dalton; J. Burch McMorran, DPW superintendent, and Daniel McGraw, Jr., IUOE assistant regional director.

Union Program Trains Youth for 'Men's Work'

(Continued from Page 1)

be chosen from the Erie County (Buffalo), Onondaga County (Syracuse) and Essex County (Elizabethtown) areas and will be given 21 weeks' training as surveyors' aides to prepare them for work in the construction industry under union agreements with contractors.

During the training period they will work 32 hours a week and receive $1.25 an hour, and will be covered under all statutory insurance and the Operating Engineers Welfare Fund.

During training they receive will

way to beat poverty is to put people to work at good wages. Our three projects across New York State will give 60 young men the chance to get started on a lifetime career in a well-paying job.

"Our local union and its members are happy to be able to join with the state and federal governments in this effort to break the poverty cycle, while at the same time providing our contractors with qualified survey party members."

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During the training period they will work 32 hours a week and receive $1.25 an hour, and will be covered under all statutory insurance and the Operating Engineers Welfare Fund.

"The training they receive will [illegible] instruction and on-the-job [illegible]ce as entry level surveyors," [illegible]iness Mgr. Jess Webb of [illegible]5. "Upon successful com[illegible] of their training they will be [illegible]alified rod and chainmen, [illegible] have had considerable ex[illegible]e as instrument men.

[illegible]e rates for rod and chain[illegible] under our collective bargaining [illegible]s vary from $2.175 to $2.65 [illegible]r. We expect that the con[illegible]n industry will be able to [illegible] all of these trainees shortly [illegible]ey complete their course."

[illegible] training will be given un[illegible] direction of highly-skilled [illegible]of-party who belong to [illegible] Local 545-D and are quali[illegible] instructors, Webb said. It will include use of the transit as well as instruction in the duties of a rod and chainman.

The project has a $100,000 Neighborhood Youth Corps grant of which the State Dept. of Public Works is providing 10 percent "in kind" by assigning equipment and tools to the trainees and giving them space in DPW garages out of which they can work as they move from one construction site to another.

Qualifications Listed

Potential trainees are being sought through the combined efforts of the union and the Employment Service with the cooperation of community and church groups. Applicants must be between the ages of 18 and 21, come from families whose 1965 income was no more than $3,100, be in good health and have an interest in mathematics.

The project has the hearty approval of the IUOE international office and Gov. Nelson Rockefeller (R). Commissioner of Labor & Industry Martin P. Catherwood and Deputy Commissioner Nicholas Valentine arranged to have employment counselors assigned to the program in all three areas. The Employment Service is screening the applicants for basic qualifications, with qualified surveyors making the final selections.

"We feel this is a meaningful and positive step in the war on poverty," said Webb. "The real way to beat poverty is to put people to work at good wages. Our three projects across New York State will give 60 young men the chance to get started on a lifetime career in a well-paying job.

"Our local union and its members are happy to be able to join with the state and federal governments in this effort to break the poverty cycle, while at the same time providing our contractors with qualified survey party members."

Training - Job Corps 1/29/66

Morgan Says:

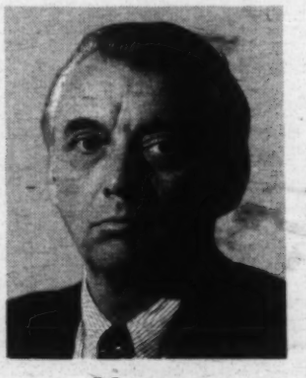
Job Corps Woes Show Need Of New Ways to Fight Poverty

By Edward P. Morgan

(This column is excerpted from the nightly broadcasts of Edward P. Morgan, ABC commentator sponsored by the AFL-CIO. Listen to Morgan over the ABC network Monday through Friday at 7 p.m., EST.)

TROUBLE SEEMS to be breaking out all over in the Job Corps and if it isn't properly understood—and thus treated with understanding—there is a danger that the war on poverty may be lost.

Last Aug. 20 there was a serious riot in the Job Corps camp at Fort Breckenridge, Ky. There has been a running dispute for months at the Camp Kilmer Job Corps Center in Edison, N. J., between academicians and businessmen on how to run the camp.



Morgan

Last week it was revealed that the Office of Economic Opportunity, Sargent Shriver's GHQ in the war on poverty, was cancelling a $9 million contract with Southern Illinois University to run the Fort Breckenridge operation. The cancellation stemmed from the riot. Some industrial corporation will take over on July 1.

Another corporation, a subsidiary of Intl. Telephone & Telegraph called Federal Electric, has the Camp Kilmer contract to the tune of $11.5 million and nobody quite knows what the upshot will be to the argument between the company and Rutgers University professors, hired as consultants, over administrative policies. The Rutgers group and Job Corps teachers contend Federal Electric is trying to impress "business methods" on a sociological assignment—the preparation of poor youngsters, most of them school dropouts, for a productive role in society.

As if these difficulties weren't enough, the Job Corps share of the "poverty" pie has been cut from $310 million in the current budget to $228 million in the budget for the next fiscal year. The anti-poverty program will expand but more slowly than if Viet Nam were not draining dollars from domestic projects. This is too bad but not tragic—especially if everybody, including the politicians, the poverty experts and the public—will use the interval to take sharp but constructive looks into the methods used so far in waging this worthwhile but strange sociological revolution.

One fact sticks out. The desire to wage it is not enough. Take the camp at Fort Breckenridge. It added up to how not to train a Job Corps. There was good will here. But it slipped into a crevasse of misunderstanding widened by an almost utter failure of communication. The staff and the volunteers simply did not speak the same language. Some of the mistakes were so obvious that their commission seemed incredible. Most of the 750 volunteers came from big cities, like Chicago and Los Angeles. Many had never been beyond their city limits. Here were urban fish flung out of familiar waters, into a strange Kentucky countryside. The nearest town, Morganfield, was off limits; local custom was still segregated. So for infrequent leave the youths, black and white, had to take long bus rides to Evansville, Ind., where no proper preparations were made—no "hospitality center"—to receive them.

Inevitably there were incidents. Security patrols were put on the buses, the men were searched for knives and other weapons while their girl friends watched. They came quickly to regard Breckenridge as a prison, not a door to opportunity. Home leave was rigidly controlled, partly due to expense, but this was never adequately explained and even when parents sent money for fare, a pass might not be granted. Suspicions rose that the staff feared dropouts and a blot on their record.

FEW IN THE CAMP administration seemed to comprehend the low threshold of patience among their charges. When you live a life in which things are constantly denied you and then comes a glimmer of getting something, you want it now. Skeptical, suspicious in the first place, these recruits decided to see what the promises were. And what did they find? Chores of cutting grass for "discipline" because job training courses weren't ready when they arrived. Trips to Mammoth Cave to kill time—which were suspended when some, in the fury of frustration, misbehaved.

These reluctant, homesick migrants from city slums were sophisticated after their fashion and burned with resentment when the staff, from the director down, referred to them as "boy" or "son." "Treat me like a man," one youth said. "If you treat me like a man I'm gonna act like a man." With a self-image of virility their pride was outraged by clothing issues of ancient Navy bell-bottom trousers and khaki shirts.

Inextricable racial tension helped explode the riot but it undoubtedly was a mistake to bill it simply as a "racial incident." There were scores of other angry sparks—over inferior classrooms, lack of equipment, long waits in the chow line.

Nobody in his right mind would argue that these tough young charges be given a silver-spoon-and-Little-Lord-Fauntleroy treatment. But more adequate preparation, with some realization of their problem and how to communicate with them on their own terms, is vital. The old condescending social welfare approach is out. Nor can this experiment in social revolution be successful if the local community is uncooperative. One man who had a fat construction contract at Breckenridge ran a motel and bar in Morganfield that barred Negroes.

The nub of the problem—which the OEO seems belatedly beginning to realize—is this: if we're going to win the war on poverty we've got to train more cadres in new ways to fight it; the old ways simply aren't good enough.

Jobs vs. Training

Many Negroes Prefer Former, Government Stresses Latter

By MONROE W. KARMIN

"Antique."

The Negro was unsure of himself. "I don't know if that's the right word or not, but you know what I mean. Like back in Roosevelt's time, leaf-raking, cleaning up, fixing things. They say that's out of date now but, I don't know, it sure would seem like it would make jobs."

He stopped. He had said enough, perhaps too much. His words carried a quality of criticism, and the Negro felt it was not his place to criticize. After all, he was just a nobody from Oakland talking to a somebody from Washington.

Still, the man from Washington had come, unannounced, to the hangout in Oakland's ghetto to hear first-hand what the people were thinking. And the Negro had just returned from work: A hundred-mile journey, each way, to pick tomatoes from dawn to dusk to bring home a net pay of $2.75.

That was today. Tomorrow there would be no work, nor the next day, nor the day after. So he decided to take the risk. "What we need here," he blurted out, "is jobs, jobs, jobs, not training for *no* jobs."

The gamble paid off, but only for a time. The Washington somebody returned to the nation's capital convinced that Federal policy was missing its mark. Yet that conviction soon eroded under the weather of Washington reality. The Oakland Negro was right; his ideas are considered out of date by the Johnson Administration in today's fiscal, economic and political climate.

The President's Preference

The President's new budget makes clear his preference for aiding the unemployed via long-term routes that promise more lasting benefits than would a major revival of New Deal make-work programs. Expenditures for education, training and the like are slated next year to jump nearly 60% over what they were last year. Spending for job-creating public works is scheduled to slide back next year to about last year's level.

In part, the trend is the product of belief. Today's thinkers hold great faith in the power of education and training to generally uplift the unemployed so that, eventually, he will be better qualified to survive in the competition for jobs without artificial support.

But the choice also reflects hard fiscal and political realities. The Vietnam war's mounting cost leaves Mr. Johnson's budget little room to accommodate a massive new investment in job-creating public works, without reneging on his commitment to education and training. Even the President's most ambitious new public works-type venture — the $2.3 billion plan to rehabilitate neighborhoods in selected "demonstration" cities — starts modestly ($12 million the first year) and stretches out its cost over six years.

[illegible] a political risk, too. No matter how desperate the plight of the urban jobless, the fact remains that national unemployment has fallen to its lowest level in nine years. Hence, the danger that massive public works spending of the New Deal variety might offend the public consciousness as an unwise extravagance.

And extravagance is about the last thing the Administration wants to be accused of at a time when the economy is steaming along so briskly that inflation is now a major Washington worry.

Sensible as all this may seem to Federal planners, it fails to impress the Oakland Negro. To him, education and training may be fine, especially for the youngsters, but his most compelling need is for money to feed his family; not a handout but the dignity of a job—and fast.

There's no assurance, of course, that the Oakland Negro's solution for his problems is any more accurate than Washington's. But it does seem obvious that a communications gap exists between the ghetto dweller seeking help and the Federal official offering help, a gap that prevents either party from achieving satisfaction. It epitomizes the contradictions of contemporary society:

The country as a whole. Despite the ample dimension of Johnsonian Great Society spending, the frustration of the Los Angeles Negro erupted last summer in the worst race riot of the century. Now Washington lists 21 "high tension" cities that threaten to produce more violence in future summers.

Or a single community. Despite the investment of some $45 million of Federal funds in Oakland over the past several years to finance a variety of Neighborhood Youth Corps, anti-poverty, training and related projects, Negroes there insist "all we get from Washington is talk."

The talk flows both ways, and the Oakland Negro has his champions in Washington. Last fall, in the wake of the Los Angeles riot, Federal officialdom hummed with discussion of a "Depression style" make-work program to combat "Depression-style" ghetto conditions. (In Oakland, for example, unemployment among Negro males is five times the national average, or 20%).

From California, Governor Edmund Brown began beating the drums for a $2.5 billion Federal program to create 500,000 jobs. The call was heard by officials within the anti-poverty Office of Economic Opportunity who deliberated ways to put the plan into effect. Leaf-raking appeared to be coming back into vogue.

But Vietnam's expense continued to mount, national unemployment continued to fall and, perhaps most important of all, Federal policymakers began to worry, for real, about inflation. All of these influences had their effect on the President's budgetary decisions.

Not that public works spending is neglected entirely. Far from it. An estimated $7.6 billion will be spent for non-defense projects that are unabashedly make-work, such as the anti-poverty Green Thumb effort that will offer part-time employment to needy, retired farmers on roadside beautification projects.

But the public works expenditure line is flattening out, and new authority requested by the President for future-year spending suggests the trend will continue unless there is a major policy turnabout.

An illustration is the special, accelerated public works program that got started during the Kennedy years to promote quick employment. It will disappear before long. Just $8 million is budgeted for the coming year to wind up the program; last year this job-creating scheme doled out $322 million.

Boost Fails to Materialize

While the demise of accelerated public works is no surprise, it was expected that a new public works agency, the Economic Development Administration (EDA), would get a hefty financial boost in the new budget. This agency came into being after the current fiscal year had begun. But EDA isn't getting, for the new year, any more appropriations than it got during its abbreviated first year. Effect: A cutback.

In contrast, cutbacks are hard to find among the various Federal education and training activities. Aggregate spending will climb sharply to $6.4 billion in the coming fiscal year, from $5.7 billion this year and $5.2 billion the year before. Authority requested for future-year spending points to a continuing steep rise.

The multi-billion dollar program to create new jobs that was considered last fall is conspicuously absent from the new budget. Instead, the poverty-fighting Office of Economic Opportunity will spend $1 billion for education and training programs in fiscal 1967. As the President's message declares, "Education is vital to the achievement of a Great Society and is our major weapon in the war on poverty."

More training for the unemployed also is being planned by the Labor Department, which will direct its program toward the unskilled in an effort to, as the budget explains, "increase the availability of productive labor to meet the demands of our expanding economy."

Should Vietnam's cost ease, or national unemployment worsen, or the economy plunge into a tailspin, future Federal budgets may be telling a quite contrary story. Certainly, there are those who continue to argue the point; a special Presidential committee on automation this month recommended massive spending for job-creating public works.

But, as far as the fiscal 1967 budget is concerned, the die has been cast in favor of educating and training the unemployed. Mr. Johnson may well be right, but the Oakland Negro doesn't think so.

Ed – Higher – Ha

Harper Sponsors Second Parent Education Program

Atl Daily World

The second parent education program, co-sponsored by the Youth Incentive Committee of the Atlanta Urban League, and the Guidance Department of Harper High School, is scheduled at 7:30 p.m. Thursday, Feb. 24, in the school gymnasium.

The necessity for parents as well as youth to be informed of the present day demands for earning a living, what is expected, and the qualifying requirements for employment are to be discussed.

Workshops on job preparation and job opportunities will be the subjects for discussion.

Workshop Areas and Leaders are: Apprenticeship Training, Merlin Taylor, Bureau of Apprenticeship Training, Industrial Training Advisor, U. S. Dept. of Labor.

Employer Preparation — Nathaniel Arnold, executive director, Atlanta Urban League.

Student-Teacher Relations — Dr Huey Charleton, professor, Atlanta University, C. B. Feagan, administrative assistant, Charles L. Harper High School. 2/23/66

Civil Service — William Gaines, training specialist Post Office Department — Atlanta Regional Office, Reid A. Brookins, property management officer Federal Housing Bureau.

Manpower Development Training —Richard T. Lyles, director vocational services Atlanta Urban League.

Parent-Student — Mrs. Edith Ha rick, Director Social Service Department, E. O. A. Summer-Hill McCamicsville Service Center.

I. B. M. Machines — Don Hall, registrar Hoke Smith technical school, Schrader, representative I B. M.

Sales — Mrs. D. Fierst, director of training, Rich's Inc. Paul E. X. Brown, representative sales & marketing Atlanta Coca-Cola Bottling; Sub-Group Chairman, Youth Incentive Committee, Atlanta Urban League.

Supervision and Foremanship — Charles Prothro, industrial development specialist, Economic Development Program.

(Continued on Page 6, Col. 5)

Training

Harper Sponsors

(Continued from Page One)

All parents, especially senior parents and friends are urged to attend this program.

Kennon Thompson is Principal Mrs. Fredericka Hurley, guidance coordinator.

Miss Sara Elizabeth Wingfield, school counselor, chairman; and Rudolph Hinds, reporter.

Merlin Taylor

AFL-CIO NEWS

TRAINING CONTRACT was awarded recently by the Labor Dept.'s Office of Manpower & Training to the Coordinating Council on Education for the Disadvantaged for a demonstration program to help train young adults for sub-professional jobs in New York, using the halls of eight unions. Shown at the signing ceremony are, from left, seated, OMT Dir. Curtis C. Aller; Benjamin F. McLaurin, eastern zone official of the Sleeping Car Porters and CCED chairman; U.S. Senators Jacob Javits (R) and Robert F. Kennedy (D); Gus Tyler, assistant to the president of the Ladies' Garment Workers, and Herman Kressel, manpower development training director for the city Board of Education; standing, Mel Bartell, CCED secretary-treasurer and president of Radio Station WADA, New York's Spanish language station.

Unions Open Meeting Halls For Training

New York—A demonstration program aimed at qualifying 17-to-22-year-olds for chronically unfilled jobs, with union halls as the

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Unions Open Meeting Halls For Training

New York—A demonstration program aimed at qualifying 17-to-22-year-olds for chronically unfilled jobs, with union halls as the first classrooms, has been set up by the labor-backed Coordinating Council on Education for the Disadvantaged. The CCED will undertake the project under contract with the Office of Manpower & Training of the Labor Dept.

Known as Program SAVE (sub-professional and vocational education), it will prepare young men and women whose high school educations have proved inadequate, most of them Negroes or Puerto Ricans, for entry into community colleges where their training will be completed.

Job Follow-Up

A follow-up program that includes working with U.S. Employment Service offices will channel them into jobs.

Eight unions have offered their halls for use in the program—Sleeping Car Porters, Ladies' Garment Workers, Intl. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 3, Teachers Local 2, Longshoremen's Local 1814, Seafarers, Auto Workers Reg. 9-9A and Millinery Workers Local 2.

SAVE is financed to serve 800 young men and women in its first year. Upon registration at a union center, the student will be given an appointment with a counsellor who will assign him to qualified and sympathetic tutors in the subjects in which he needs help. When he is fully prepared he will be assisted in entering the community college for his sub-professional training, during which SAVE will keep an eye on his progress, and thence into a job.

The program is intended to deal with the problem of those whose education has left them unprepared to enter the world of work so that they go jobless while many jobs are unfilled.

CCED membership includes AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany, several AFL-CIO vice presidents, Pres. Harry Van Arsdale, Jr., of the New York City AFL-CIO and officials of many New York unions. The chairman is Benjamin F. McLaurin, eastern zone official of the Sleeping Car Porters and a member of the Board of Higher Education of New York City.

AFL-CIO News 2/26/66

Job Training Pact Signed By BSEIU

A school for the unemployed offering training in custodial work will be set up in Washington within the next two weeks by the Building Service Employes under a contract with the U.S. Office of Education.

The school, co-sponsored by Washington Locals 82 and 536 as well as the international union, has rented its own facilities and will operate on a classroom basis with full-time instructors. Each of the four training periods planned for 1966 will enroll 40 students and last for 12 weeks.

Prospects will be supplied through local and federal agencies, screened by the U.S. Employment Service and indoctrinated so they will be aware of the type of training they will receive and the type of job for which they are heading. BSEIU Rep. Richard E. Murphy will be administrator of the school.

"Our main purpose in sponsoring this school," said BSEIU Pres. David Sullivan, "is to secure jobs for unemployed workers after they have completed the course. The school represents a concrete effort to support Pres. Johnson's War on Poverty. If it is successful we hope to establish similar schools in other cities."

Tracy

AFL-CIO News

Vol. XI | Issued weekly at 815 Sixteenth St., N. W. Washington, D. C. 20006 $2 a year | Saturday, February 26, 1966 | No. 9

Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C.

Job Training Program Set with Urban League

Bal Harbour, Fla.—The AFL-CIO and the National Urban League will join in a cooperative movement to enhance job and promotion opportunities for Negroes, Federation Pres. George Meany announced here.

The program was approved by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, which voted $10,000 a year for three years to help launch it after an appearance before the council by Whitney M. Young, Jr., executive director of the league.

Meany at a press conference termed the Urban League approach "very positive" and a "good program" in terms of pre-apprenticeship training for Negro youths and job promotions for Negro workers.

He said the AFL-CIO is "not satisfied" that discrimination is being eradicated at all levels of the trade union movement as quickly as desired, but stressed that "constant improvement" and progress are being made. Complete elimination will take time, he noted, and the AFL-CIO will continue to press for results.

Voicing support for the AFL-CIO's civil rights program, Young told the council that "we both recognize" that unfortunately there still remain "many gaps between the stated policies of the AFL-CIO and the practices of some local unions."

The great increase in the number of Negro union members, Young said, "is due to their growing awareness of the advantages to be gained from such membership." Working with the unions, the league "will encourage more active participation of non-white workers in unions and community activities." It is "imperative," he added, "that minority youth be assisted in making early vocational choices" based upon first-hand knowledge of the requirements necessary to enter into

(Continued on Page 3)

TrainingPlan Set by Labor, UrbanLeague

(Continued from Page 1)

apprenticeships and into technical and other occupations."

The League program, in cooperation with the AFL-CIO, will:

- Set up programs to improve the position of Negro workers "in those occupations, industries and business enterprises" which have union contracts.
- Disseminate within the Negro community information on job prospects in the blue-collar labor market, the nature of unions and the rights and responsibilities of union membership.
- Establish a national trade union advisory committee within the urban league to further the cooperative relationship for job opportunities in organized skilled trades and assist in the placement of qualified individuals in job categories where their skills can be fully utilized.

Young told reporters at a press conference he hopes the program will open a "new era of cooperation" between the labor movement and the Negro community, because the condition of the Negro worker today is little different than it was five or 10 years ago.

With unions opening doors to Negroes in greater numbers, he said, the challenge to Negro groups is to provide men who can take advantage of the opportunity.

Training

SOON-TO-BE SKILLED CRAFTSMEN meet with Assistant Dir. William E. Pollard (left) of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Civil Rights after attending a Conference on Apprenticeship Opportunities held for New York City high school students. Already taking part in union training programs are, left to right, Robert Auld, Intl. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 3; Scott Green, Sheet Metal Workers Local 28; Herbert Hall, Machinists Local 15; Richard Treolia, Sheet Metal Workers Local 28, all apprentices, and David Peterson, classed as a helper in Operating Engineers Local 94.

Apprenticeship Appeal Given New York Youths

New York—New York City youths were told "you are wanted, you are welcome" as apprentices in the city's building trades unions.

Pres. Peter J. Brennan of the New York Building & Construction Trades Council, principal speaker at a conference on Apprenticeship Opportunities for high school students told the youths, "If you have a skill you are needed, and while some crafts may be disappearing from our industry, others will be around for many hundreds of years and will need skilled workers."

Construction unions, Brennan declared, have an obligation to admit apprentices, including those from minority groups, and give them the same opportunities enjoyed many years ago by today's labor leaders. The industry can absorb them in a dozen and a half different crafts, he said, but he added a warning about job opportunities.

"Public works is the key to the whole problem of construction today," he declared. "Private industry can build only so much, and this is why the government must come in and pick up its proper responsibility.

We want the government in Washington, D.C., in Albany and here in New York City to know that we need more job opportunity. We want government officials to know that more public works building can not only fill the need for residential and commercial structures but also help keep employment in this industry at a high level."

He asserted that the present New York City administration has more than $3 billion worth of construction plans pending that should be put into operation.

Hope that the city's Board of Education would cooperate in making high school students aware of existing job opportunities was expressed by Bayard Rustin, director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and conference chairman.

"We trust that the Board of Education will let us go into the schools and see that information about the apprenticeship program is brought to the attention of the thousands of young people who stand to gain," Rustin said.

He held that the Johnson Administration's war against poverty is linked directly with training young people in specific skills and with eliminating illiteracy.

Other speakers included Vice Pres. David Crockett of Local 6, Typographical Union; Thomas Van Arsdale, business agent of Local 3, Intl. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; and Myron Horwitz, a representative of the Bureau of Apprenticeship Training, New York State Labor Dept., who urged the students to "stay in school and get as much training as you can."

Apprentice Trainees Are Wanted At AFB

Macon Weekly 3/5/66

Warner Robins Air Materiel Area is actively seeking young men and women who are interested in learning a trade and being paid while in training. WRAMA is actively looking for this type of person. They have recently developed a special Apprentice Program and are taking action to fill these jobs.

Eligible applicants will be hired at a starting pay of $1.91 an hour with step increases each six months until they complete the eighteen month training program. The skills for which training will be given include:

a. General Aircraft Mechanic, b. Aircraft Sheetmetal Worker c. Free Gyro Repairer, d. Radar Repairer f. Radar Airborne Electronic Computer Repairer, g. Electrical Equipment Repairer, h. Electro-Mechanical Instrument and Controls Repairer, i. Powered Ground Equipment Mechanic.

These programs have been designated to bring employees into the Federal Service who have aptitudes in one of the mechanical trades. Employees hired under this program will progress through the various levels of the trade until they are fully qualified as junior level mechanics. The program will provide for eight hours in the classroom each week and thirty-two hours on the job training. The class room portion of the training will be conducted by the Macon area vocational school. Employees in these programs will attend the school for [illegible] each week and will spend the rest of the time working at Robins AFB, Ga. Employees will be paid for the time they are attending school.

Trainees will be encouraged to participate in all Self Development activities sponsored by the Robins AFB including the College Program offered by the University of Georgia Center in Macon and Warner Robins. A trainee may secure a two year certificate in Business Administration by attending one of the centers two nights a week on his own time.

If you know anyone who would be interested in this employment, he sould apply in Civil Service Examination No. AT28-12 (25) by submitting Form 5000AB to the Board of Civil Service Examiners, WRAMA, Robins Air Force Base, Georgia. The forms may be obtained from the Board located in Building 1678, or from most first or second class postoffices. Any applicant passing this test will be offered immediate employment if he meets all physical and security requirements.

p!! Win A Trip To M
acon" Pageant. S

Training

Atl. Const. 3/15/66

Industry & Finance

Wirtz Denies Labor Crisis

WASHINGTON (AP)—Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz said Monday it is "cockeyed" for any one to say the current 3.7 per cent unemployment rate is too low and would cause labor shortages.

Wirtz, at a news conference, said the government will continue to try to push the nation's jobless rate down to what it considers the rock bottom level of 2.5 per cent of the civilian labor force.

"There is not a manpower shortage in this country today," Wirtz said.

However, he added, there are budding labor shortages in some areas of the country and in some trades.

He said the problem now is to train the unemployed, totaling 3.1 million, for the jobs that do exist.

A partial answer to the problem, he said, is for people to move from surplus labor areas to areas where manpower shortages may be developing.

Wirtz said in trying to match unemployed workers with available jobs, the problem has become both economic and sociological. Wirtz made the comments after signing two contracts to train the unemployed.

One, for $521,287, was signed with the National Tool, Die and Precision Machining Association to train 1,800 persons to become apprentices in that industry.

The other contract was for $56,680 with the National Urban League to train the poor and disadvantaged for jobs.

Pov - EOA - Job Corps

Training

for EP

'IT'S A GOOD THING'

Job Corps Seeking 1,000 Atlanta Boys During April

By FRANK WELLS

Dexter Hammonds, 17, dressed himself neatly in a dark blue T-shirt, a corduroy jacket and his best pants.

David Brodsky

He wanted to make a good impression on the interviewer, because Dexter wanted to get a job. The job he was looking for was one in the Job Corps where he could learn a trade at the same time he earned some money.

Dexter was just one of 400 Atlanta boys who have joined the Job Corps, and Economic Opportunity Atlanta is looking for 1,000 more during the month of April.

Dexter talked with David Brodsky, an interviewer and recruiter for the Job Corps. The interview took place at the Economic Atlanta NASH-Washington Neighborhood Service Center at 247 Ashby St. NW.

The recruiters had been around for a couple of days, riding around the neighborhood in a sound truck telling about the Job Corps and handing out leaflets.

But Dexter said he had heard about the Job Corps from a friend who told him "it's a good thing to get into."

Dexter has finished the ninth grade at Archer High School and before his application was processed fully he took some tests to find where his level of education stood.

"I don't know what trade I'll study for," Dexter said. "I want to get in some basic education first. You got to have that first."

Dexter said he didn't care where they sent him as long as he could get some training.

Washington's Job Corps office has said that Atlanta boys have the highest Job Corps success rate of boys from any city in the country, and the lowest dropout rate. That's the reason they asked Atlanta to send them 1,000 boys in April.

There are 115 rural and urban Job Corps Centers located throughout the country. It usually takes a boy from one to two years to graduate.

The Centers are no vacation spots. The boys spend up to 14 hours a day in job training, basic education and plain hard work. Each earns a dollar a day and each month $50 is put into a savings account for them so they will have some money when they graduate.

If he chooses to do so, the Job Corp boy can send $25 of this savings home each month and the Job Corps will match this amount.

The Corps is still a new opportunity. To date 13 Atlanta boys have graduated from the Job Corps. Of these seven are working, two have joined the Air Force and one joined the Army (all three had previously failed the Armed Services enlistment tests), two boys are looking for jobs and one has moved and EOA doesn't know what happened to him.

EOA is responsible for recruiting and screening Job Corps applicants for Atlanta and Fulton, Cobb, Clayton, Fayette, Douglas, DeKalb, Rockdale and Gwinnett Counties. Recruiting offices are on the fourth floor of 101 Marietta Street.

An example of how the Job Corps is paying off in human values is found in the story of Robert J., a 19-year-old 9th grade dropout who had been out of a job for 23 weeks when he came to the Job Corps recruiting office.

He said he had done construction work, but was laid off. The Job Corps sent Robert to the Cispus Job Corps Center in Randle, Wash. While there he studied basic education and cooking. He graduated in nine months with a General (High School) Equivalency diploma and came back to Atlanta just last month where he has found a job as a cook's helper making $1.75 an hour — with every chance for further advancement.

Helps You Overcome
FALSE TEETH
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No longer be annoyed or feel ill-at-ease because of loose, wobbly false teeth. FASTEETH, an improved alkaline (non-acid) powder, sprinkled on your plates holds them firmer so they feel more comfortable. Avoid embarrassment caused by loose plates. Get FASTEETH at any drug counter.

Training

Youth Corps a Year Old--and Still Has Far to Go

TASK FORCE report

Page 8 Monday, April 11, 1966

The Neighborhood Youth Corps has been in action to help the teen-agers of Georgia and the rest of the country for just a little more than a year.

Georgia has 27 projects now under way—but has had a total of 39 projects approved.

During calendar year 1965, 14,820 young people between the ages of 16 and 21 were approved for enrollment in Georgia, according to William S. Harris, regional director of the NYC. (The NYC is operated under the direction of and financed by the U.S. Department of Labor.)

Of this total, 12,496 were in the in-school program and 2,324 in the out-of-school category.

Federal funds totaling $7,402,634 were spent on these programs during 1965, Harris said. And the program is growing. For instance, the Atlanta program for out-of-school youngsters is authorized 873 enrollees. At present it has only 677.

The programs range all the way from 1,000 youngsters authorized (and taking part) in the in-school program in Atlanta to only 12 taking part in the program sponsored by the Chattahoochee-Flint Area Planning and Development Commission. This commission is authorized 54 out-of-school trainees, but has not as yet filled its quota.

The in-school programs seem to be better able to fill the allowance of students authorized to participate than the out-of-school programs. This is probably because the schools have counselors who are already in full knowledge of the problems of some of their students and who have been looking for some such program to help out.

Out-of-school programs have more difficulty in reaching the youngsters who should be helped, although Neighborhood Youth Corps officials are doing all they can to find the ones who need help the most.

Here are the organizations now using NYC help (some of them in more than one project:

Atlanta Economic Opportunity, Inc.; Atlanta-Fulton County Boards of Education; Gainesville City Schools; Georgia Mountains Planning and Development Commission; Northeast Georgia Planning and Development Commission; Chattahoochee-Flint Area Planning and Development Commission; Economic Opportunity for Savannah - Chatham County; Bibb County Board of Education; Rome Board of Education; Walker County Board of Education; Oconee Area Planning and Development Commission.

West Georgia Planning and Development Commission; DeKalb County Board of Education; Heart of Georgia Planning and Development Commission; Cartersville City Schools; West Central Georgia Planning and Development Commission; Coastal Area Planning and Development Commission; Murray County Board of Educatin; Altamaha Community Action Authority, Inc.

Polk County Board of Education, and Chatham County Board of Education.

Staff Photos—Charles Bennett

Cora Sue Porter Polishes Flasks as Part of Her NYC Job in Habersham County Hospital

For the Desperate, There's New Hope In Youth Corps Jobs

By FRANK WELLS

Desperation is a feeling that can come early in life . . .

It can come as a youth searches vainly for work and is turned down each time because he has no training, no experience and no way to get any.

It can come to a high school student who feels completely left out of school activities because he has no money and no way to get any — and his family would need it all anyway.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps, sponsored nationally by the U.S. Department of Labor, is furnishing an answer to a small percentage of the frustrated youths in this country. In Georgia, nearly 7,000 boys and girls between the ages of 16 and 21 are enrolled — some in school, others who are dropouts.

The idea behind the whole thing is to break the vicious circle of poverty — to teach these boys and girls that it is not necessary for them to remain poor, untrained, fit only for menial jobs, if they can find even those.

The idea is working, and the program probably will be enlarged.

Here's a typical reaction as told by an official supervising the work of some of the Neighborhood Youth Corps enrollees:

"This lad had been working for the Neighborhood Youth Corps for just a week. He got his paycheck — with the usual deductions for taxes, Social Security and the like.

"He seemed to be more interested in the deductions than he was in the remainder of the check. He asked what each deduction was for and then exclaimed, 'Well, look at that! I'm a taxpayer! Me, a taxpayer!'

"He couldn't get over it. He showed his check to everyone around, pointing out that he was PAYING TAXES. These kids want to be contributors to society. They don't want to be on relief or the welfare rolls, and they can see the importance of learning."

The official emphasized that it is important to the individuals enrolled to feel they are needed and of value to the job at hand.

"It is sometimes the first time they have ever felt as if they were needed — not just another mouth to feed, not just a drain on meager resources. It stops the 'born to lose' attitude of many poor youngsters.'

PROJECT GROWING

Right now Georgia has 27 projects using the Neighborhood Youth Corps enrollees, according to figures of the Department of Labor.

Largest number of enrollees are in the Atlanta area, with 1,000 in-school participants and 677 dropouts. The programs, of course, differ.

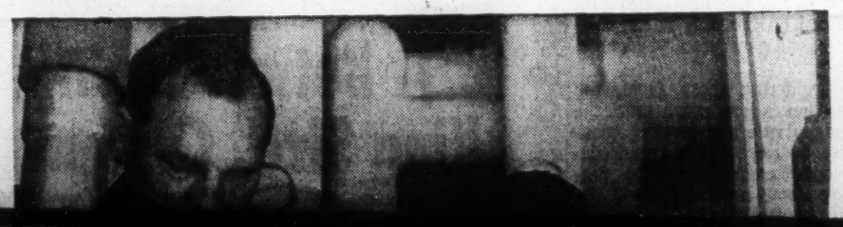
The in-school enrollees work after their regular school hours and are employed in other schools, mainly elementary schools. They do all sorts of work, ranging from ground maintenance to clerical and library work.

THEY'RE LEARNING

They are learning in school, and they are learning after school.

'LIKE I'M ON MY OWN'

$10 Check Brings Confidence Into Their Lives Each Week



Staff Photos—Charles Bennett

Cora Sue Porter Polishes Flasks as Part of Her NYC Job in Habersham County Hospital

'LIKE I'M ON MY OWN'

$10 Check Brings Confidence Into Their Lives Each Week

By MARGARET HURST

A $10 check each week can mean self respect, confidence, and a sense of responsibility to a young girl who may be the first in several generations of her family to have a steady job.

Several young high school girls participating in the Neighborhood Youth Corps' In-School Work Training Program in Atlanta put the meaning of the $10 in their own words:

"I can help my sister with her six children and help my brother some. They help me when they have money. It makes me feel good. . . ."

"My mother doesn't have to give me lunch money. . . ."

"I gave my father $7 to pay the light bill. . . ."

"Like, I'm on my own. . . ."

"It makes you feel a kind of security. . . ."

These girls represent only a small sampling of the 1,000 Atlanta high school students who are participating in the NYC program.

Students interested in the program are interviewed by one of five project counselors to determine their eligibility and enrollees are placed on job assignments within the school system at schools where help had previously been unobtainable because of a lack of funds.

IN 25 SCHOOLS

One of the project counselors, Miss Marian Baker, points out that this is not a "make work" situation. Enrollees help out in over 25 elementary schools with such jobs as library-aide, clerical aide, secretarial aide, lunchroom aide, grounds keeper and custodial aide.

The fact that the jobs are not just created for the students helps them to realize they are not taking "welfare" but are actually making an "honest living."

The students are paid $1.25 an hour and may work a maximum of eight hours a week. Students receive reimbursement for whatever transportation is involved.

EIGHT TO 10 IN FAMILY

Miss Baker said that the students usually come from families which have an average of eight to 10 persons. And in some cases the student is the only member of the family working at present.

Criteria used to help determine the eligibility of enrollees includes the following:

Pupils from families receiving financial aid through the Fulton County Department of Family and Children Services.

Pupils from families receiving welfare assistance from any other welfare organization.

Pupils from families whose members received benefit from a free lunch program.

Pupils from families whose income classified them in the poverty bracket.

Dr. Hugh F. Moss, project director, said that while close to 1,000 students are being assisted in finding jobs through the NYC that there are "easily" 2,000 more in the Atlanta area who are eligible and who would like to take part in the program.

The NYC has a workload limit of 1,000, or 200 enrollees to every project counselor, and at present no additional federal funds are available to provide more counselors. He said in one Atlanta school alone there are 3,300 students who are eligible to come under the NYC program.

The project counselors have three major areas of responsibility: selection and placement including pre-work counseling, general supervision of enrollees, and personal and vocational counseling of enrollees.

The students are supervised on their jobs by a school staff member and by providing this supervision the city-county pays its one-tenth share of the program. The major portion of money for the NYC comes from federal funds.

According to Miss Baker, once the students have gotten "the feel of working" on the jobs provided by the NYC they can find other jobs. She said the program has fewer boys than girls because once the boys get accustomed to working they want more money and, therefore, they find other jobs.

Miss Baker said money means a lot to these students because in most cases "it's the first money they've had." She said the counselors, who meet with the enrollees two hours each week, try to teach the students neatness, punctuality, how to apply for a job and to show them how their work will help them in the future.

The Atlanta program is sponsored by the Atlanta and Fulton County boards of education through the Metropolitan School Developments Council.

In other areas of the state, NYC programs for persons in-school and out of school have produced the same rewarding results.

In Gainesville, Beverly Wilson, 16, who dropped out of school in the 10th grade, is empolyed in the office of the Georgia Mountains Planning and Development Commission.

She is learning to be a cartographer — how to draw maps.

30 HOURS

She works 30 hours each week and is given six hours of training by a cartographer. Beverly traces maps — taking pertinent information off a master map and creating a new one with these details shown.

"I thought at first it would be too hard for me, but it's not. It's real interesting work and you can put your mind to it," Beverly said.

One of her supervisors said that after Beverly's training period is up, she can easily get work as a cartographer's aide in many different government offices and can start at something like $2.25 an hour.

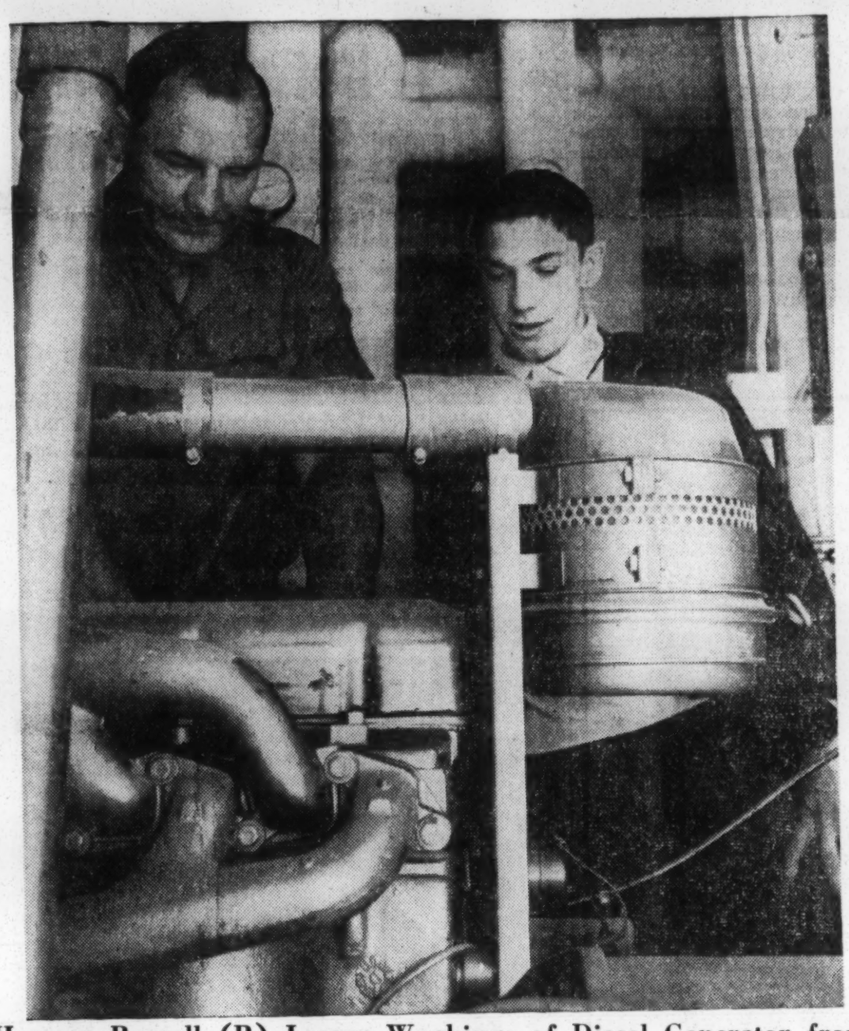
Cora Sue Porter, 19, who passed the ninth grade before she quit school, works in the laboratory of the Habersham County Hospital.

"I really like what I'm doing, I really do," she said.

Cora Sue does mostly clerical work for the laboratory — learning how to keep patient's charts up to date and keeping the monthly reports and inventory in order. She also helps out in keeping the many, many pieces of glassware in the laboratory clean.

Cora Sue wants to be a laboratory technician, but she doesn't have enough education. However, she is learning how to be a laboratory technician's helper and is getting a good basic training in clerical work.

Beverly Wilson Learns to Trace Map



Herman Burrell (R) Learns Workings of Diesel Generator from Alfred Stroud

Youth Project No Orphan--- Its Lineage Goes Back to FDR

Back in the days of the Great American Depression a man named Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected president and almost immediately started a program to help the impoverished and uneducated youth of this country (among many other things).

He started the Civilian Conservation Corps, which took youths off the street corners of America and put them to work building and conserving America's natural beauty spots. Many a youth swung an ax who had never seen one until the program started.

And he also started the National Youth Administration, which gave young people jobs while they were completing their education. Many youths earned their spending and living money in college working on the campus itself.

Then came World War II — and after that the GI Bill of Rights which gave every veteran the opportunity of furthering his education.

Wells

Hurst

Bennett

Then there was a lag.

Now federal and state governments are interested again in seeing that every youth in the country who wants one can get an education. And those who have "interrupted" their educations by dropping out of school are also included in most programs. More government-financed educational programs than ever before are now in effect.

One of these programs is the Neighborhood Youth Corps, sponsored and financed by the U.S. Department of Labor with the help and cooperation of local, non-profit groups.

On this Task Force Page, Atlanta Constitution reporters Margaret Hurst and Frank Wells and photographer Charles Bennett examine the NYC and the work it is doing in Georgia.

21 are enrolled — some in school, others who are dropouts.

The idea behind the whole thing is to break the vicious circle of poverty — to teach these a taxpayer! Me, a taxpayer!'

"He couldn't get over it. He showed his check to everyone around, pointing out that he was PAYING TAXES. These kids

Largest number of enrollees are in the Atlanta area, with 1,000 in-school participants and 677 dropouts. The programs, of course, differ.

The in-school enrollees work after their regular school hours and are employed in other schools, mainly elementary schools. They do all sorts of work, ranging from ground maintenance to clerical and library work.

THEY'RE LEARNING

They are learning in school, and they are learning after school.

Emphasis is placed on developing desirable work habits like thoroughness, dependability, punctuality, independence, self-reliance and honesty. They are also taught the value of a good appearance.

The youngsters in the in-school program are paid for their work. The pay is not much — but it is often the first money these teenagers have ever earned — and it helps them keep up with their classmates. It also is valuable assistance to their families in many instances.

BASIC PAY

The out - of - school enrollees work longer and are paid more. They put in 30 hours a week at their jobs and six more hours in training — for some such basic education as reading and writing and arthmetic. For their 30 hours they are paid $1.25 an hour, the basic minimum wage.

The Atlanta in-school program is run by the Atlanta and Fulton County Boards of Education. The out-of-school program is run by Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc.

Typical of the out-of-Atlanta programs are the ones headquartered in Gainesville. There the in-school program is administered by the Gainesville city schools and the out-of-school program by the Georgia Mountains Planning and Development Commission. The out - of - school setup takes in 17 mountain counties.

HOSPITAL EMPLOYE

One of the out-of-school enrollees is Herman Burrell, 17, who completed the eighth grade. He is working in the Habersham County Hospital at Demorest, helping in maintenance of the modern hospital.

"Well, I like it," Herman said. "I've always liked mechanical work, and I'm learning how to go about it."

Maintenance in such a building requires knowledge as an electrician, a carpenter, a plumber, a mechanic and most anything else that comes along.

DOING WELL

Alfred Stroud, who supervises Herman's work, said that he is sure the boy is learning and will make a good employe for "anybody" when his training is complete.

"Herman is a bright boy and, more important, he is willing and wants to learn. He is interested in everything we give him to do," Stroud said.

Herman didn't hear this comment — he was down in the sub - basement "blowing the tubes" on the furnace.

WSJ 4/26/66

ON-JOB TRAINING draws increasing attention as a key to Negro advancement.

Stepped-up employer training of Negroes will get top emphasis at the White House civil rights conference in June. Federal officials, rights group leaders will urge private companies to launch expanded training for the disadvantaged even if they have no specific job vacancies; the trainees could compete better in the labor market generally.

Private employers will be pressed to do more to hire Negroes. Ideas talked of: More "positive recruitment"; breaking up skilled jobs to let unskilled helpers do part of the work; lowered testing standards; even locating new establishments so Negroes can travel to them more easily. Federal men concede any big expansion of industry's training efforts might require tax incentives, however.

Government officials find many companies shy from expanding training programs on their own; they don't want to risk training workers that someone else might hire away.

* * *

UNCLE SAM STRIVES to link job training and job creation projects.

Three-man teams, one each from the Labor Department, Health, Education and Welfare and the Office of Economic Opportunity, travel to Boston, New York, Chicago, San Francisco and six other major cities. They'll seek reasons for lack of coordination, report back with remedies for White House consideration; they may hit 29 cities before they're finished. Object is to increase efficiency of the multitudinous programs, which together cost more than $1 billion a year.

By July 1 the President's Committee on Manpower hopes to have preliminary conclusions based on the teams' reports. Its recommendations could range from simply improving communications to a major reshuffling of responsibilities among the Washington agencies. One possibility is an effort to pool their money for joint support of job programs, hopefully getting better results than separate efforts. One Federal official estimates 250,000 job trainees could be added by reducing inefficiency and duplication.

* * *

CITIES HIRE more outside experts to handle an expanding array of services.

A National League of Cities survey finds outside consultants handling 112 different kinds of jobs in 105 scattered cities for a total outlay of $17.3 million. Nearly half of some 1,500 urban renewal tasks are being planned by private experts; the bill approaches $80 million. The consultants also help out on cities' race relations, zoning, public works, mass transportation, computer operations and other tasks.

Economy is one reason given; New York City finds it spends 63% more having its own bureau of design plan school buildings than if outside architects were hired. Lack of municipal staff to handle expanding demand for services is another.

Baltimore's comptroller declares "increasingly large expenditures on consultants have aroused (taxpayer) concern, suspicion, and demand for curtailment."

* * *

HIGH-PRICED TALENT [illegible]

* * *

PLASTERERS STRUGGLE to stem a job drain from use of substitutes. WSJ 4/24/66

The union, along with contractors, backs a "Keep New York Plastered" campaign that will pump $100,000 into radio, television, billboard ads in the city this year, up from $65,000 in 1965. Union locals and contractors in Minnesota are winding up a $75,000 drive to extol plaster's superiority over cheaper wallboard substitutes.

The job loss runs high; a Chicago plasterers' local says its membership has fallen to 1,400 from 2,500 five years ago, blames the increased use of wall board. But the gain in drywall use elates the carpenters' union; its members install the board.

Use of cheaper methods and materials worries other unions. The AFL-CIO Building Trades Department runs a survey to find out how extensively prefabricated housing is eroding craft union jobs.

OCCUPATIONAL OUTLOOK QUARTERLY

VOL. 10 NO. 4 DECEMBER 1966

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR BUREAU LABOR STATISTICS

Ben Brown

The Negro's Occupational Progress

Training

IUE Recruits Job Trainees In 12 Cities

Members of the Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers will conduct a house-to-house drive in 12 key cities to recruit 1,500 disadvantaged persons for on-the-job training programs in the electrical manufacturing industry.

Under a $156,000 Labor Dept. contract, the IUE will seek out unemployed and underemployed persons for training and assist them during the training period, Labor Sec. W. Willard Wirtz announced.

The cities selected for the first recruiting drive are Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, New York, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Louis, Indianapolis, Boston, Newark, N.J., and Springfield, Mass.

IUE Pres. Paul Jennings signed the Manpower Development & Training Act contract with Manpower Administrator Stanley H. Ruttenberg and assigned IUE Civil Rights Dir. William S. Gary to the drive.

Ruttenberg said the IUE is the first union to launch an on-the-job training program on a wide scale with a "buddy" system to aid the disadvantaged.

Manpower — Training

60 Pay Base Lost Wages

Rep. John H. Dent (D-Pa.), made it clear that he wasn't accepting any such amendment and the issue went to two votes.

The first test was a non-record vote while the House was meeting as a Committee of the Whole. With a number of members absent, the teller count was 160 for the Ayres amendment, 121 opposed.

As observers noted and newspaper stories reported, Powell did not vote either way on that test.

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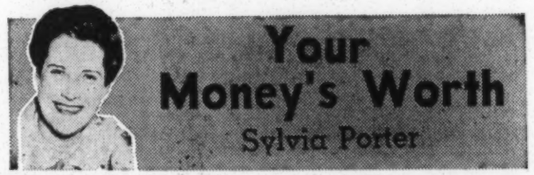
the small society by Brickman

Unemployment Program

U.S. Helps Jobless to Move Into Labor-Short Regions

By SYLVIA PORTER
Financial Analyst



So far this year, in an experimental project, 104 men and women, principally aerospace workers laid off by a Sacramento, Calif., firm, have received financial help from the U.S. Government so they could move to new jobs in California and as far away as Salt Lake City and Detroit. Instead of being unemployed, these workers now are earning sums ranging up to $4.90 an hour.

In the past few months, more than 50 unemployed welders and metal machine workers in Virginia have moved, again with federal financial assistance, to new jobs with a major shipbuilding company in another part of the state. These workers, some of whom had been unemployed for a full year, are now earning starting wages up to $2.13 an hour.

Also this year, more than 300 West Virginians, mainly ex-coal miners and their children, have been helped to move to new jobs on the East coast and in the Midwest. Many of these workers were formerly on welfare rolls or were youngsters who had never held full-time jobs. All are now drawing regular paychecks in skilled, unskilled or trainee positions.

This fiscal year an estimated 6,000 U.S. workers may be eligible for federal financial help under an experimental Labor Department "labor mobility demonstration program" to move unemployed workers to jobs in labor-short areas of the nation. Through the program, financed under the Manpower

also may receive a cash allowance to tide them over until the breadwinner is settled in the new job. In some cases, transportation costs for the worker to go for a job interview in advance are paid, too.

This concept of federal assistance to workers to move away from home to new jobs has been successfully pioneered by other countries, notably Sweden, Great Britain, France, Canada, to ease labor shortages or to alleviate pockets of unemployemt. But until now, the U.S. has provided no general worker relocation assistance.

Today, though, the U.S. is facing the twin problems of unemployment pockets and local labor shortages. While many areas of the U.S. are now suffering from severe labor shortages, there still are eight major metropolitan areas with unemployment rates of six per cent or more, plus nearly 500 smaller areas with "substantial unemployment."

At last count, the unemployment rate in Columbus, O., was a low 2.3 per cent. But in Portsmouth, O., the unemployment rate was above the national average of about four per cent. The unemployment rate in Louisville, Ky., was 3.2 per cent, but in other areas of Kentucky it was as high as 30 per cent.

a rapidly-shifting job market, a more mobile labor force is crucial to our sustained economic growth. Encouraging job mobility will be a key challenge wherever either labor surpluses or labor shortages are problems.

Steady Purchases Called Best

Many Invest in Stocks Monthly

By WILLIAM A. DOYLE
Financial Consultant

Q. I am interested in buying stocks on a monthly basis. I have been told that it is possible to do this with many blue-chip stocks. But I really don't know anything about it. Do you?

A. There are a number of methods for buying stocks on a steady basis. What you have probably been told about is the "Monthly Investment Plan" — MIP, for short.

Through MIP it is possible to invest as little as $40 or as much as $1,000 every month or every three months in almost any of the stocks listed on the New York Stock Exchange. They're not all investment-grade blue chips. But they're about the best-known stocks around.

Most people who use MIP invest "quarterly" — — every three months — because the commission charge on one larger investment is not as big as the commissions on three smaller investments.

But anyway you do it, it's a handy method. All of the money (less commissions) you invest each time is used to buy the stock you select. You buy full shares and fractions of shares — to the third decimal place.

Methods such as MIP make it easy to invest. And steady investors are the ones who come out ahead in the long run.

star dash

Q. In 1940 I purchased $5,000 worth of bonds in a company because of the high interest. In 1964 a new group took over the company and liquidated it. The bonds were paid off at only 66 cents on the dollar. I received $3,300 and suffered a loss of $1,700.

Can I claim this loss on the income tax return I file for 1966?

A. You should report it as a capital loss for the year in which it happened. That was two years ago. So, you should file an amended tax return for 1964 and claim a refund on the taxes you paid for that year.

star dash

Q. The day the papers carried the stories that General Motors profits dropped 62 per cent in the three months ended Sept. 30 (to 34 cents a share), one paper carried the following statement.

"Earlier this month Detroit brokers had heard that GM earnings for the quarter were about 35 cents a share." Where does information such as this come from? Where does it leave the average investor — who must wait for company announcements?

A. "Information" such as that comes from many sources. It would be better to call it an "educated guess." Face it, a drastic change in the earnings of a major company never comes as a complete surprise.

Security analysts and other observers watch a company's operations all the time — checking on its sales volume and anything else that affects the company's profits.

Brokerage firms hire people to do just that — watch how companies are doing. These analysts are far from perfect. Sometimes they're dead wrong. But they can usually call a big change in a company's profit-and-loss statement before it is announced.

It leaves the "average investor" at somewhat of a disadvantage — unless he keeps in touch with brokers who have the information.

Editors to Hear Talk by Reagan

CORONADO, Calif. — (AP) — Ronald Reagan, California's Republican governor-elect, is scheduled to address the 33rd annual convention of the Associated Press Managing Editors here Wednesday.

Reagan plans to speak informally and answer editors' questions at the first general session Wednesday morning.

Upwards of 1,000 persons are expected to attend the conference which opens Tuesday and continues through Saturday.

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Q.
What makes First Federal's
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were formerly on welfare rolls or were youngsters who had never held full-time jobs. All are now drawing regular paychecks in skilled, unskilled or trainee positions.

This fiscal year an estimated 6,000 U.S. workers may be eligible for federal financial help under an experimental Labor Department "labor mobility demonstration program" to move unemployed workers to jobs in labor-short areas of the nation. Through the program, financed under the Manpower Development and Training Act, an unemployed worker who has no expectation of finding a job near his home is offered either a grant or a loan to help him and his family to move to a new job elsewhere. Worker and family

are eight major metropolitan areas with unemployment rates of six per cent or more, plus nearly 500 smaller areas with "substantial unemployment."

At last count, the unemployment rate in Columbus, O., was a low 2.3 per cent. But in Portsmouth, O., the unemployment rate was above the national average of about four per cent. The unemployment rate in Louisville, Ky., was 3.2 per cent, but in other areas of Kentucky it was as high as 30 per cent.

Of course, unemployed workers, and particularly older workers, are not always willing to move away from home. About one in four of the workers relocated under the Labor Department project returns home for one reason or another. As the project continues, a host of other problems will surely emerge as well.

Nevertheless, in an era of

Bus Taken On Joyride

NEW YORK — (AP) — Police arrested five teenagers on charges of stealing a 14-ton, $36,000 city bus from a Harlem garage and taking a criss-cross six-mile joy ride to lower Manhattan.

The boys' one-hour adventure ended when the bus ground to a halt after sideswiping a car. They were arrested by two patrolmen who had given chase in a citizen's car for five blocks.

Before that, the boys had followed the bus' scheduled route from uptown Harlem to midtown Manhattan where a bus driver spotted them and reported to his dispatcher.

Detectives said the youths claimed they had gone to the bus garage "looking for work" when they noticed the vehicle.

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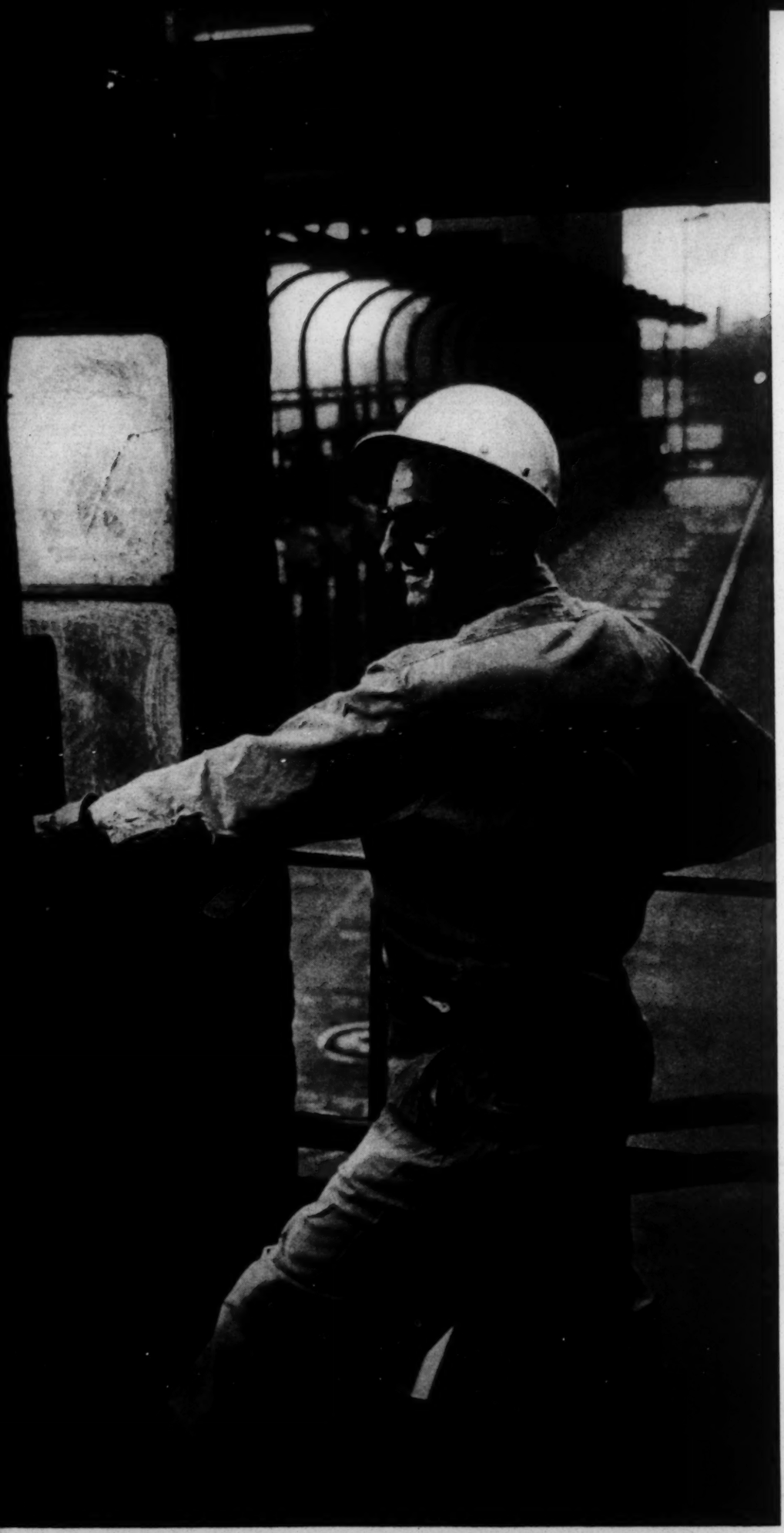
Unemployment Project

Steel men thrive on sabbaticals

Pessimists said they would go to seed. But the facts prove otherwise



Sixteen tons are handled differently these days. Kaiser steelworker Mike Popick operates a "Larry" car—a bin on wheels that charges the furnaces with coal.

Their wives will get sick of them and vice versa. Their children will become unruly. They will not only drink too much, they will soon wear the glazed look of perpetual TV watchers. In short, unless they moonlight, they will be miserable and feel guilty about not working.

Pessimistic observers predicted all this and worse in 1963 when 475,000 steel industry workers won 13 weeks of paid vacation every five years under unique United Steelworkers of America contracts designed to cushion the impact of automation on jobs. Now a Southern California sociologist, who has studied the experiences of 390 Kaiser Steel Corp. employees taking the three-month vacations, concludes that the pessimists were apparently wrong.

The men who answered Dr. William J. Klausner's questionnaire represented roughly a third of the 1,255 workers on extended vacations from Kaiser's Fontana plant during the plan's second year. They reported that:

- They were happier on vacation than at work.
- They felt closer to their families.
- They saw so little need to fill their days with work that only 1.8% took full-time jobs.

Klausner concluded that blue collar workers could indeed handle their leisure.

Among the report's revelations:

Some 81% of the vacationing steelworkers traveled—three-quarters of them outside California, although only a few abroad.

Some 44% attended more sports events than they had previously, but only 27% increased their TV viewing. Some 16% started new hobbies or developed new interests.

Despite the wide opportunities for spending generated by a long vacation, 60% continued their old

savings and investment habits. Nine per cent even managed to save more money.

Most vacationers spent more on travel and entertainment (80% and 57% respectively). Some 18% spent more on alcohol.

Almost half increased their spending on home improvements, and many did some of the work themselves. Painting the house was a common project.

About 75% felt they occupied most of their vacation time usefully.

"Usefully" did not mean "gainfully." In addition to the 1.8% who held full-time jobs, only 8% did part-time work.

More than half reported that their families enjoyed being with them more during their long vacations than before. Only 1.3% said their families enjoyed them less. Few said they felt any need to get out of the house more at night.

Some 77% said they enjoyed the vacation very much and 11% said they enjoyed it quite a bit. Almost all reported no change in their attitudes toward community, company, or union.

The return to work went off just as smoothly. The great majority were not anxious to get back, but when they did, more than a quarter felt their work efficiency had increased. Only 3% found their jobs less interesting than before.

Most of the workers believed that the extended vacation had helped them as individuals, and that it improved their outlook on life and on themselves. About 60% felt it improved their physical health.

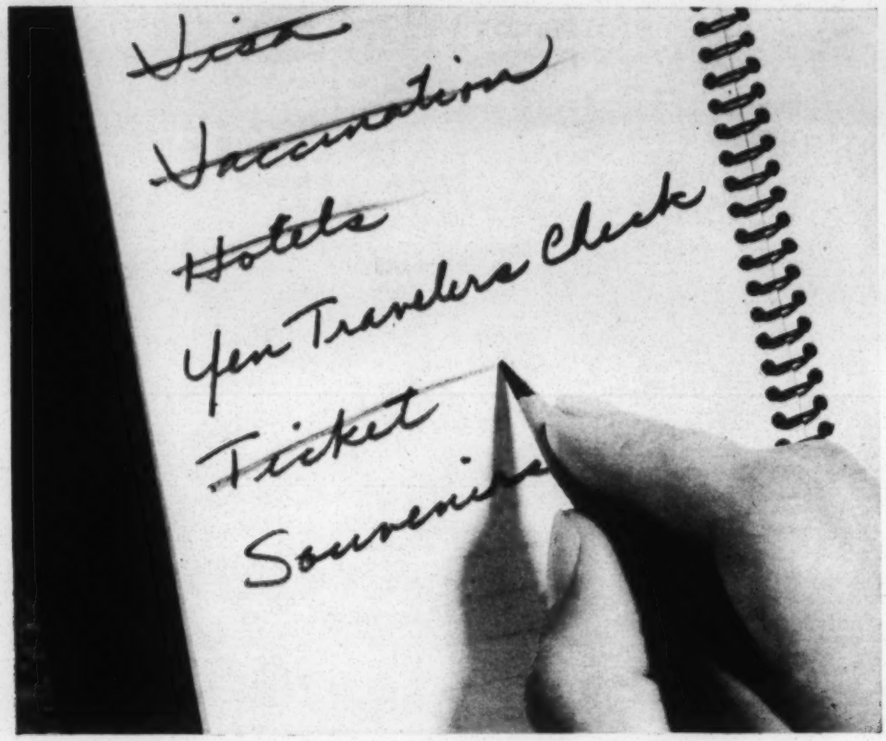
Significantly, many changed their ideas about retirement. More than 38% thought of it more favorably after their sabbatical. Only 3% thought of it less favorably.

Profile. The typical worker in the study was 45 years old, a high school graduate, a blue-collar worker, a married man, and the father of two school-age children. He earned $8,000 a year and owned his own home.

The sociologist who studied him is a University of Redlands professor with a long-standing interest in the social implications of automation, particularly the additional leisure time it is likely to create. The Kaiser vacationers gave him the opportunity to analyze leisure's impact on the family in a culture "where it is assumed the Protestant ethic is salient, and that work is good and leisure is —if not bad—at best not as good as work." Thus Klausner wrote in a paper due to be published shortly in a scholarly publication.

The absence of restlessness and

Steelworkers' vacations have changed, too. The Popicks load up for a trip to the mountains during part of Mike's 13-week vacation, due every fifth year.



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disorientation seemed to show that—despite this assumption—the Kaiser workers consider work as a means, not as an end, Klausner concluded.

"It may at least be hypothesized that the family of the blue-collar worker in America is strongly capable of handling extended leisure, and will grow and flourish with the increase of leisure time," he wrote.

He warned, however, against drawing too sweeping conclusions regarding the need for work. The Kaiser vacationers still work most of the year, they all expect to return to jobs, they feel they deserve the vacation, and "they do not need to redefine roles or adjust self-concepts to that of a nonworker, a violator of the Protestant ethic," Klausner added.

USW officials expressed pleasure at the tenor of the report. They feel it enables them to answer the "vocal minority" of workers who complain that they would prefer more money to more vacations, says James Vezie, president of Local 2869, bargaining agent at the Fontana plant. "This report indicates we've satisfied two needs here," Vezie says, "recreation as well as jobs."

The California study is the only one undertaken so far, but union spokesmen in Pittsburgh speculated that a similar study in their area would probably produce similar results. One observer noted that many steelworkers were critical of the plan before they used it, but "without exception, they praised it afterwards."

Scheduling. Some early criticism also stemmed from awkward scheduling, which required many workers to take their vacations in the fall and winter. Union officials said this was corrected during 1965 negotiations.

The extended vacation plan became a bone of contention during the McDonald-Abel fight for the USW presidency, when supporters of then President David J. McDonald defended the innovation and supporters of current President I. W. Abel attacked it. It is regarded as less controversial now.

On the management side, Kaiser officials noted that the plan exacted a considerable price in reduced efficiency and higher operating costs. A spokesman cites the inexperience of personnel moving up to replace vacationers, the need to train replacements, rescheduling problems, and the temporary loss of skill in workers returning from their vacations. He also says industrial accidents increased as men shifted from one job to another. **End.**

The Wall Street Journal
Fri. Feb 17, 67
p. 1

Manpower — Relocation

U.S. Looks for Snags In a Negro-Relocation Plan—and Finds Plenty

* * *

Whites Don't Want Negroes in Suburb, Negroes Won't Move There for Jobs, Officials Say

By JAMES P. GANNON
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

CHICAGO — An obscure Government experiment aimed at moving unemployed young Negroes out of city slums to jobs and homes in the suburbs is bogging down in a morass of problems here.

For that reason, it's considered quite a success.

This project, tiny by Federal standards but potentially important in helping shape Governmental efforts to aid jobless slum-dwellers, wasn't designed for "success" but to discover the problems of moving ghetto Negroes out of the city. While so far failing to relocate even one-tenth of its quota, the test is providing a gold mine of difficulties for Federal problem-seekers.

Though the project's files bulge with job offers from suburban employers, a double-edged resistance to transplanting the Negroes has largely stymied attempts at relocation. The reactions from white-dominated suburbs, where housing for Negroes is difficult or impossible to find, range from cool to hostile. But the feeling is often mutual. Most candidates for relocation either refuse or are reluctant to trade their dreary but familiar ghetto homes for a less depressed but foreign suburban environment.

So far, only eight individual relocation attempts have been made; five persons have moved to their new work areas, two are working but continuing to commute from their Chicago homes, and another quit work after a clash with his foreman.

Abandoning the Suburbs

Moreover, attempts to relocate Negroes into the nearby "bedroom" suburbs have been dropped. Instead, the project concentrates on towns and small cities way out on the fringe of the metropolitan area. "Relocation to the suburbs has been a failure," says Charles Helfer, the man who runs the show.

All relocations so far have been to working-class towns with well-established minority groups of their own. Four relocated workers live in Elgin, Ill., a city of some 50,000 about 40 miles west of Chicago, where they work in a foundry. Another two found jobs in a Caterpillar Tractor Co. factory in Joliet, Ill., about 50 miles southwest, but they commute daily from Chicago's South Side by auto. One relocated worker lives in Gary, Ind., the big steel center, where he works for a steel fabricating concern.

The few accomplished relocations hold some promise, however, that at least some Negroes from the ghettos can adjust to life and jobs in unfamiliar surroundings. John Paul Jones, personnel manager at Woodruff & Edwards, Inc., the Elgin foundry, says he has had "good results" with the four Chicago men. "I'll take more if I can get them," he promises.

The transplanted workers seem pleased, too. Conwell Carrington, a 26-year-old native of the British West Indies, likes his foundry job, although so far he hasn't been able to find housing in Elgin for his big family. He is living in a rooming house now while his wife and five children stay with relatives in Chicago. But Mr. Carrington hopes to borrow enough money from the project's special loan funds to make a down-payment on his own house in Elgin.

Permanent Program Studied

The Chicago experiment is one of about two dozen "labor mobility demonstration projects" run by the Labor Department. These pilot efforts, involving about 6,000 jobless persons and their families, are meant to test the feasibility of establishing a permanent program to move the unemployed to areas offering jobs.

While nearly all the other projects seek to move workers out of job-poor areas—West Virginia coal-mining regions, poor Ozark Mountain farm counties, towns crippled by massive layoffs and the like—to urban areas of high employment, the Chicago project seeks to move the unemployed out of the big city to surrounding areas with high demand for workers.

This operation was designed to move no more than 75 workers—primarily but not exclusively Negro—and their families at a cost of no more than $115,000. But the project's significance lies in the broad social and economic questions it confronts.

Federal officials are becoming increasingly concerned about unfavorable employment prospects for big-city slum residents. Jobless rates among inner-city Negroes average about 10% nationally, compared with an unemployment rate of less than 4% for the entire labor force. And job growth is concentrating in areas away from the ghettos. A recent Labor Department study shows that from 1960 to 1965, fully 62% of the new industrial buildings (by value) erected in U.S. metropolitan areas

went up in suburbs; in Chicago the suburban share was 77% and in Los Angeles, 85%.

If moving some unemployed slum-dwellers to the job-rich outlying areas seems a fairly logical response, the Chicago test shows the practice isn't as simple as the logic. Labor Department officials in Washington say they haven't decided whether to continue testing such relocation, though it's considered likely they'll try a follow-up project.

Indeed, officials insist they aren't even testing the idea on its merits, but merely seeking the mechanical or operational problems involved in the moves. Whether such a program should be in the Federal arsenal of weapons against urban unemployment is a policy question that won't be asked until research shows whether the mechanics can be made to work, says one Labor Department planner.

On surface appearances, the Chicago project seems a most improbable exhibit of big Government in action. It is run out of a small, three-desk office without a name on its door, housed in a ghetto-area YMCA with a gym-sweat aroma inside and white-paint scrawls of "black power" on its red brick exterior.

A nonprofit group dubbed Job Opportunities Through Better Skills (JOBS) runs the relocation experiment under a 16-month contract with the Labor Department. The man in charge is Mr. Helfer, a 38-year-old bachelor, a former school teacher, welfare worker and Fred Astaire dance instructor who exhibits a hearty disdain for the forms and formalities of bureaucracy but an obvious interest in the hard-up people he serves.

Mr. Helfer's Problems

A few statistics illustrate the difficulties he has had. Working from a list of former job trainees in another Federal manpower program, Mr. Helfer has sounded out by letter and phone more than 2,000 men, mostly aged 18 to 23. Of these, only 109 have been processed through a lengthy series of interviews and questionnaires to determine eligibility for relocation assistance; most others never responded to the inquiry or quickly lost interest.

Nearly two-thirds of the 109 processed candidates were ruled eligible for relocation (some by Mr. Helfer's readily admitted tactic of stretching Washington-set standards "like rubber bands"). But of this number, only the eight have reached the point of trying relocation.

What explains the scant success? One reason is that most candidates aren't anxious to leave their neighborhoods, slums or not. Over one-third flatly reject any relocation, while many more who initially express willingness to move change their minds after exploring the idea.

Those who are willing to move have plenty of job opportunities to explore. When the project was getting under way last March, Mr. Helfer called on about 75 outlying employers and "80% to 90% gave us an immediate job order." One manufacturer listed 187 jobs in a dozen categories. "Virtually everybody needs help out in the suburbs, especially at the entry level and at the semiskilled level," says Mr. Helfer. That is because most people who can afford to live in the suburbs are employed in skilled blue-collar, white-collar or professional jobs.

Though jobs are abundant in the suburbs, housing for minorities isn't. Mr. Helfer sounded out suburban real estate agents, community officials, employers and others on the housing question. The predictable answer: Trying to move Negroes from the inner city into white suburbs would create a crisis. The white suburbs hereabouts are "dead set against" integration, Mr. Helfer finds; when he casually mentioned the Negro relocation project to some young suburban homeowners "they hit the ceiling."

By chance, the project was just getting into full swing last summer when Martin Luther King's open housing marches into white neighborhoods in Chicago and nearby suburbs exploded into violence. These clashes hit the relocation effort at its most vulnerable point. Mr. Helfer admits: "The civil rights activity and the riots have made this job more difficult by antagonizing people."

15 CENTS

Jobs and Prices

Analysts Doubt Inflation Will Slow Without Rise In Unemployment Rate

Nixon Policy Aims at Averting Big Layoffs, but Aides See Joblessness Approaching 4%

The Threat of Urban Unrest

3/26/69

By RICHARD F. JANSSEN
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—A statistical time bomb—the threat of higher unemployment—is ticking away in the White House.

Despite three straight months of joblessness at the exceptionally low level of 3.3% of the work force, Nixon Administration men recognize that the politically sensitive indicator has not been defused. The question isn't whether the rate will rise, one says, but only "when and how much."

The reason for this sober outlook is the fight against inflation. Officials figure they'll have to slow the economy through tight credit and a black-ink budget so that new jobs probably won't be created fast enough to accommodate quite all of the rapidly expanding work force. While Chairman Paul McCracken of the President's Council of Economic Advisers calls any unemployment "a personal tragedy," it's clear that officials are willing to risk at least a little more of it in the near future to avoid a much bigger jolt of joblessness later if unchecked inflation should bring on a severe recession. (Consumer prices rose sharply again last month. See story on page 2.)

Administration aides carefully avoid precise public forecasts, but they are privately poring over projections that range from some slight upticks in the jobless rate to more than a full-percentage-point increase by late 1969. If the worst fears are realized, one strategist says with a shudder, it would mean "almost a million more people out of work"—and a socially explosive situation that could force the Administration to let up in the inflation fight.

An Ominous Curve

The President's planners are acutely aware that a chart economists call the "Phillips Curve" (after its developer, British economist A. W. Phillips) shows that there usually is a close relationship between inflation and employment. While this relationship can vary from time to time, the chart shows that so far in the 1960s U.S. price rises have been small only when unemployment was rather high.

Thus, the Administration is pinning its hopes on "gradualism," a strategy intended to skim off excess demand for goods and services so carefully as to prevent large layoffs. "Some people won't be able to find their first jobs so fast, but that's easier to take than having to tell somebody he's out of a job he already has," one economist says. But he concedes it "takes a lot of faith" to think that such a delicate balance can be struck.

It's "exciting," Federal Reserve Chairman William McChesney Martin says, to try to reduce inflation without a recession. But other authorities caution that gradualism could also

Jobs and Prices: Inflation Battle Is Seen Raising Unemployment Rate

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It's "exciting," Federal Reserve Chairman William McChesney Martin says, to try to reduce inflation without a recession. But other authorities caution that gradualism could also yield quite unexciting strides against inflation. Insiders talk of a "4-3-2-1" countdown against inflation—by which this year's price rise would be limited to roughly 3% after more than 4% in 1968, and so on. But even hopes for such modest progress in 1969 are being weakened by the apparent determination of corporations to splurge on plant and equipment outlays.

Memories of 1960

The policy of gradualism has been determined at the very top, officials say. President Nixon emphasizes to them that a rising jobless rate in the fall of 1960 cost him the election then. "We must find ways to curb inflation," Mr. Nixon recently promised AFL-CIO President George Meany, "without asking the wage earners to pay for the cost of stability with their jobs."

But the rub, insiders admit, is that these ways aren't readily at hand. Mr. McCracken concedes that "no one can be certain" whether the inflation from three years of overheating "can be cooled with no adverse unemployment effects."

Consequently, other key officials say, no one can be sure how far and how effectively the White House and the Federal Reserve Board will press their battle against inflation.

The "critical issue," says board member Andrew F. Brimmer, is how long the public will tolerate a jobless rate drifting back toward the 5% plus levels of the early 1960s, when prices were rising only about 1% annually. "There is little likelihood" of ending or even appreciably reducing the inflation rate "without some increase in unemployment," he warns.

A Senator's Sympathy

The President faces "a very, very painful choice," sympathizes Democratic Sen. William Proxmire of Wisconsin, vice-chairman of Congress' Joint Economic Committee. "Whenever we get to a level of unemployment below 4%," he says, in either that year or the next "prices rise at a rate of 3.5% to 4% or more." Significantly, the 4% jobless rate was a "floor" for the liberal Democratic economists of the Johnson Administration.

But with the jobless rate now at its 15-year low of 3.3%, a Nixon adviser concedes, the Democrats' floor of a 4% unemployment rate has suddenly become a "political ceiling" for the Republicans. "Anything that exceeded 4% would be highly unsatisfactory," Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans says, a view that associates attribute also to Mr. Nixon himself.

With a wary eye on possible fresh unrest in urban slums, Government economists fret that the first sizable increases in the rate are likely to come in early summer, when the high schools will likely pour out more job-seeking youngsters than business can absorb. Of those arrested in riots of recent years, the Joint Economic Committee reports, some 20% to 30% usually were jobless, and most of the rest voiced frustration about low-paying and erratic employment.

Moreover, Mr. Brimmer warns, in an economic slowdown the jobless rate among nonwhites (usually about double the average for the whole labor force) climbs more than twice as fast as that of whites. Even now, some of the "hard-core" unemployed laboriously re-

Please Turn to Page 14, Column 2

Continued From Page One

cruited by auto makers are being affected by layoffs in the industry because their seniority is the lowest.

The specter of widespread layoffs of Negroes only recently trained—at substantial Federal and corporate cost—clearly haunts White House aides, who are studying more generous welfare payments as a possible palliative. The billions of dollars put into antipoverty efforts in recent years, some stress, would be "wiped out" if there's a sizable rise in Negro unemployment. The nonwhite jobless rate, which was 8.1% in 1965, is now down to 5.7%.

In this context, a seemingly innocent shred of economic intelligence contained in a recent Federal Reserve staff forecast is causing some consternation in the capital. Assuming that the board's credit policy remains restrictive, the staff projected this year's average jobless rate as edging up to a 3.8% to 4.0% range from 3.6% last year. For the staff forecast to prove accurate, one analyst calculates, the jobless rate would either have to start promptly edging up by about one-tenth of a point monthly from the December-January-February level of 3.3%, or surge sharply upward late in the year.

An Ominous Implication

The implication, he adds, is that by December the monthly jobless rate would have surpassed the 4% mark, maybe to about 4.3%, maybe to as high as 4.7%. "That would really bring some screams," he predicts. It would mean an increase of roughly one-third in the number of unemployed—to about 3.6 million from 2.6 million last month.

But the Federal Reserve forecast looks too pessimistic to some senior Executive branch aides. They think that even by December the monthly rate may be bobbing along comfortably below 4%. "Employers are going to hoard workers because it's too expensive to let them go and recruit again if you expect to need them in another six months," says one Administration man.

Perhaps the greatest reassurance, stresses Presidential Counselor Arthur Burns, is that the U.S. is increasingly a "service economy." There are more teachers, repairmen, and the like who are far less likely to be thrown out of work by a mild growth slowdown than, say, a worker on an auto assembly line.

With the growth in service jobs helping to prevent unemployment from getting out of hand, key strategists figure it's safe to let the jobless rate drift somewhere close to 4% and remain there long enough—perhaps a couple of years—to permit leveling-off of the price increase trend. "I don't think there's any way out of the box we're in unless we do let the rate drift up," a well-placed aide says.

Even among the Nixon Administration's optimists, no one is willing to guarantee that unemployment can be held precisely at desired levels. If businessmen become convinced that the Government is detrmined to squelch inflation at the cost of more than a year of restrictive policies, officials reason, any current "hoarding" of labor would end and large layoffs might occur.

Generating an Antidote

Inflation itself, some more pessimistic planners say, may already be on the verge of generating its own recessionary antidote. Although retail sales still show year-to-year gains, adjustments for price increases reveal that Americans are buying little if any more "real" goods than a year ago. "A businessman doesn't need any more workers to produce the same number of items to sell for $1.50 each than he does when he's selling them for $1.25 each," one official reasons, so that even while consumers are spending more money joblessness could rise rapidly.

For the longer run, though, Government economists appear increasingly optimistic that they can "shift the Phillips Curve." That's their way of saying that the efficiency of the U.S. economy can be increased enough to keep prices reasonably steady even at a jobless rate consistently below 4%.

The main reason the Phillips Curve is plaguing the U.S. now, the economists say, is a Vietnam-related bulge in Federal spending and borrowing. The extra demand has forced employers to increase pay sharply to retain skilled employes and to scramble for many marginal workers, whose ability to produce doesn't match the pay they can command.

Peace in Vietnam and then an avoidance of sudden Government-caused surges in demand would be a big help in combating the Phillips Curve, officials figure.

Unemployment 3/10/70

Week of March 9, 1970

TWO MAJOR LABOR AREAS ADDED TO SUBSTANTIAL UNEMPLOYMENT CLASSIFICATION

WASHINGTON -- Two major labor areas with rising unemployment, Seattle and New Bedford, Mass., have been reclassified as "substantial" (over 6 percent) unemployment areas, the Department of Labor has reported.

Seattle, including King and Snohomish Counties, and New Bedford, including parts of Bristol and Plymouth Counties, both had been in the "moderate" (under 6 percent) unemployment category last month.

This brings to seven, among the 150 major labor areas, in the "substantial" group. The other five are: Fresno and Stockton, Calif.; Muskegon-Muskegon Heights, Mich.; and Ponce and Mayaguez, Puerto Rico.

Muskegon was the previous major labor area to be classified in this group in June, 1968.

Cutbacks in the aircraft industry were considered the major factor in causing the increased unemployment rate in Seattle. In New Bedford, the drop in employment came in large part from layoffs in textiles and in other manufacturing industries.

These two changes, along with those of 12 very small labor areas, became effective March 1.

An area is considered one of "persistent" unemployment and joblessness has averaged 6 percent or more and (1) has been at least 50 percent above the national average for three of the preceding four calendar years, or (2) has been at least 75 percent above the national rate for two of the preceding three years, or (3) has been at least 100 percent above the national average for one of the preceding two years.

(MORE)

An area is considered one of "substantial" unemployment when joblessness has averaged 6 percent or more of the workforce and is expected to remain so for the next two months or more.

Procurement Preferences

Firms doing substantial business in areas classified as "substantial" or "persistent" unemployment are eligible for preference in award of Federal procurement contracts under provisions of Defense Manpower Policy No. 4 (Revised).

First preference goes to firms in or near areas having concentrated unemployment or underemployment which have agreed to hire a proportionate number of disadvantaged persons living in the areas.

Firms in areas of persistent or substantial unemployment are eligible for second and third preference respectively.

# # #

Unempl. Report

LOCKHEED PHOTO

Ross

BLS draws 'TILT' charge

Arthur M. Ross, the U.S. Commissioner of Labor Statistics, made two announcements last week that brought cries of "tilt" from trade union economists.

In one decision, Commissioner Ross altered the basis for counting the nation's unemployed. He excluded from the unemployed anyone who has not applied for a job within the past 30 days.

In the other, Ross disclosed that the Government's Consumer Price Index had been jiggered to write off last month's jump in automobile prices as improvements in quality. In this way the substantially higher auto prices are not reflected by the price index.

Wage rates for more than 2,000,000 American workers go up when the price index rises.

Predicted

The action offsetting the auto price increase with quality and warranty improvements had been predicted weeks earlier by Gardner Ackley, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers.

Both decisions had been vigorously opposed in advance by the BLS Labor Research Advisory Council. They were also protested by letters to Secretary of Labor Wirtz and to Ross by IAM Research Director Vernon Jirikowic, by Nat Weinberg, director of economic analysis for the UAW, by Nat Goldfinger, director of research for the AFL-CIO, and others.

Jirikowic warned Ross that in his opinion the action to eliminate the "discouraged job seeker" from the unemployment count "is a serious error."

Less sensitive

"To do so," he continued, "means that in the downward phase of the business cycle, the overall jobless rate and level will become an even less sensitive economic indicator. Consequently, public policy actions to combat unemployment may be seriously delayed."

Speaking for the AFL-CIO, Goldfinger wrote to Secretary of Labor Wirtz, "I think the Bureau and the Department are on the verge of a serious mistake."

Labor's protests were overridden, however, as they were on the decision to write off increased auto prices as quality improvements and not count them in making up the October price index.

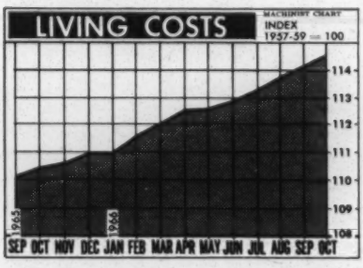
Speaking for the Auto Workers, Nat Weinberg wrote Commissioner Ross on Oct. 19 warning:

"The auto corporations have made use repeatedly of BLS quality adjustments, based upon the incomplete and selective information which they have chosen to provide, to claim that there has been no increase in the prices of their products. In our judgment it is highly improper for BLS to lend its official certification to such claims unless it is supplied with all the data necessary to verify them."

At the press conference at which the October Price Index was announced, Commissioner Ross reported that the suggested retail price of automobiles had increased an average of $55, that on the weighted average this amounted to a 2.1 per cent increase over last year.

However, Ross said that the safety steering column, padded dash, dual brakes, larger tires and extended warranties made up for all but 0.2 per cent of that increase.

Under questioning, the Commissioner conceded that there had been some deterioration in the quality of the new models. However, he refused to reveal what they are.



Price index up .4%

Higher prices for housing, medical care and clothing sent the cost of living up another four-tenths of one per cent in October. The Labor Department announced that the Consumer Price Index hit a record high of 114.5. This means that it now takes $11.45 to buy what $10 bought in 1959.

John Percoul — Unemployment Project

New System For Measuring Employment & Unemployment Announced By A. M. Ross

WASHINGTON—An improved system for measuring employment and unemployment will go into effect in January next year, Commissioner of Labor Statistics Dr. Arthur M. Ross announced.

The changes are designed to make the concepts of employment and unemployment "understandable to the public," to make statistics more "useful," and "ought to provide new insights into manpower problems," Dr. Ross said.

The major changes—expected to affect figures on the unemployment rate by no more than one-tenth or two-tenths of a percentage point—are:

—Children 14 and 15 years old will no longer be counted. About one million youngsters of these ages are employed now, nearly all of them part time. Their elimination will substantially reduce the total employment figure but will have little effect on the unemployment rate.

—Persons will not be counted as unemployed unless they are currently available for work. Under the old definition, a student who was looking for summer work in April was counted as unemployed that month, if he had no promise of a job, even though he would not be available to start work until June.

—To be counted as unemployed, a person must have engaged in some job-seeking activity, such as answering want ads, during the preceding four weeks. The question used at present in the monthly unemployment survey merely asks whether the person interviewed has actively been looking for work without specifying a time period.

—Persons with a job but not currently working will not be counted as unemployed even if they are looking for another job.

Commissioner Ross also said the Department of Labor is considering another change in the unemployment statistics.

This involves adding new questions to the Department's monthly questionaire aimed at identifying those who fail to look for work because they feel certain they could not find it.

Such "discouraged unemployed," as Dr. Ross called them, are at present counted neither as employed nor unemployed, but are considered to be "not in the labor force."

If it proves possible to identify these persons with any degree of accuracy, their numbers may be added to the total of the unemployed at some future date, he said.

Revisions to employment and unemployment figures will be made back to 1948 to take account of the elimination of youngsters 14 and 15 years old from the statistics and to make the statistical series that will begin in January comparable with figures for earlier years.

DON'T BUY LIST

A reminder of products made by companies which, because of their anti-union policies, don't deserve union dollars.

Boss gloves . . . Richman Brothers and Sewell suits, Siegel (H.I.S. Brand) suits, sport jackets and pants . . . Wing shirts . . . Kaynee boyswear . . . Judy Bond blouses . . . Camels, Winston, Tempo, Brandon, Cavalier and Salem cigarettes . . . Old Fitzgerald and Cabin Still whiskey . . . Hanes knitwear . . . Peavy Paper Mill products . . . Jamestown Sterling Corp. furniture . . . Comet Rice Mills Co. products . . . Kingsport Press printing . . . Randa ties . . . Baltimore Luggage Co. products Lady Baltimore, Amelia Earhart, Starflite luggage and Starlite luggage.

FINANCIAL

The New York Times

SATURDAY, JULY 9, 1966.

Unemployment

Emp - South

Boom Is Riding South Along Interstate 85

Industry Gain Spurs a Labor Shortage and Integration

Special to The New York Times

SPARTANBURG, S. C.—An industrial boom is advancing along the fringes of Interstate Highway 85 from Danville, Va., to Atlanta. It is bringing new prosperity to the region, but it also has caused a severe labor shortage.

The labor scarcity, in turn, is spurring a variety of social changes along the four-state route. Employers report marked improvements in working conditions and wages and new strides in integration, with expanded opportunities for Negro workers.

The shortage is probably most acute in Spartanburg County, which last year was invaded, at the invitation of the Chamber of Commerce, by 31 major investments in new plant or additions, with a combined value of about $100-million.

This was one-sixth of the $603-million in new industrial investment made in South Carolina in 1965. Most of the money has come from the North, put up by manufacturers seeking, among other things, to lower their operating costs. Until a year or so ago, low-cost, nonunion labor was in ample supply in most of the state and still is—except along I-85.

'Closed for Lack of Help'

The situation along this new highway has changed drastically. Personnel managers in the busy strip of territory are searching for miles around, advertising for help continuously in dozens of newspapers and on radio and television stations. But in Spartanburg County in particular they are recruiting practically no new workers. The supply has been exhausted.

Nearby villages and towns have been stripped of almost every potential worker, able-bodied or not.

R. C. Burnette in Tryon, N. C., 20 miles from Spartanburg, recently hung out a sign on his Gulf Oil station reading: "Closed For Lack of Help." Another gas station in Hendersonville, N. C., is closing for the same reason. Cooks, maids, yardmen, farmers and other workers are disappearing from their jobs to work in the new mills.

Allen D. Slater, manager of a large cattle farm with more than 500 Black Angus near Landrum, S. C., recently said, "The situation is lousy. We have the capital to build new barns, fences, and do a lot of things, but we can't get men. I hired five men this spring but two quit to work in the mills. We just don't have

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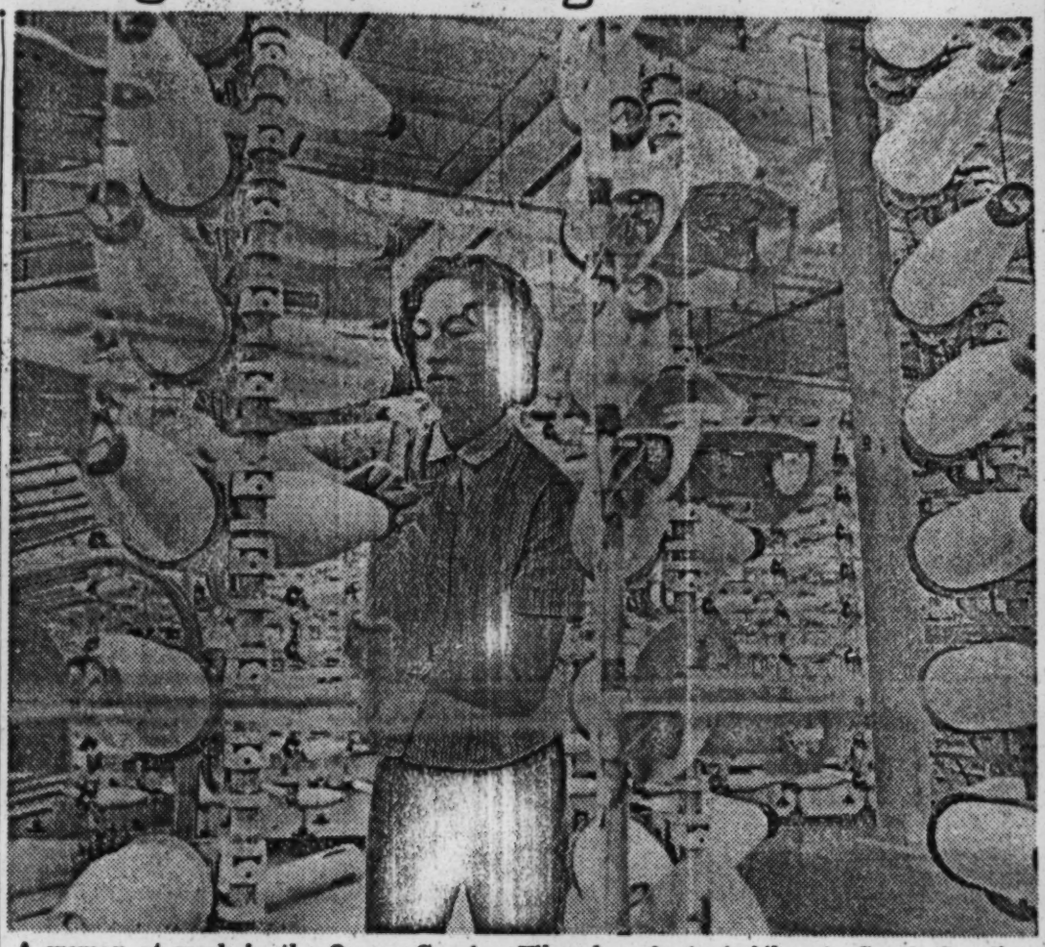

A woman at work in the Owens Corning Fiberglas plant at Aiken in South Carolina

The New York Times July 9, 1966

Industrial boom area

Woman in Dictaphone plant at Pontiac, near Columbia, S.C.

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enough human hands to do the work."

So acute is the situation that prisoners are being recruited as fast as they are released from jail. William Maroney, president of Taylor-Piedmont, a wood processing concern with branches in Spartanburg, Wilmington, N. C., and Augusta, Ga., said:

"We're recruiting at the prison gates. We took a salesman off the job just to look for new workers. He's tried all the nearby prison camps, looking for men becoming eligible for parole. But the supply of prisoners is about dried up. We also tried to get Cuban refugees from Miami. No luck. We've gone to Army-Navy recruiters asking for 4-F's.

"We're so desperate we hired 39 women to do men's jobs. At the end of a month only four remained."

Mr. Maroney believes the shortage of prisoners is attributable to the payment by employers of workers' fines, an opinion supported by the Spartanburg County Supervisor, W. D. Finch, who has complained that he does not have enough prisoners to keep up the county roads.

There are about 135 prisoners in the county's five work gangs at present. Mr. Finch said recently that this left him 45 men short of the amount needed to do the work required by law. While employers are paying some fines, he added, many prisoners now have enough money because of the region's new prosperity to pay their own fines or hire lawyers.

Steps Toward a Union

Housemaids had been in surplus supply in Charlotte, N. C., but now that a shortage is appearing, they have taken the first steps toward forming a union. There are reported to be 700 job openings in Gastonia, N. C., alone.

There has been some pirating of workers. One new concern offered a wage increase of $1 an hour to another company's nine-man maintenance crew, and the crew walked out in a body. One employment manager said frankly, "Anyone who comes into this area has to steal from somebody else."

If many employers think they have problems, they could learn about real trouble from Edward Cronin, personnel manager for Hercules, Inc.'s new $30-million synthetic fiber plant six miles from here. Mr. Cronin, needing 50 semiskilled workers, began beating the bushes in an already depleted labor market last August.

"We set up recruiting offices in every village for 60 miles around. We advertised every way we knew how. By this month we have managed to get 43 workers, still seven short, and we've lowered our standards 'way down.

"Now the company has announced it is adding a $70-million plant to convert our basic product into fabric. The local newspaper has calculated the new addition will require 2,000 workers. I myself haven't been ad[illegible] how many it'll need. B[illegible] it is 200, 600, or 1,[illegible] the o[illegible]

afraid a Negro will get his job. This has meant Negroes can now be advanced where they were held back. We have at least a hundred Negroes in supervisory jobs where a few years ago they never would have had a chance."

Rapid integration was reported by all the employers interviewed. In Columbia, Walter W. Harper, director of the State Development Board, said:

"Economics has brought changes in racial attitudes that the law couldn't. Economics has solved a lot of age-old social problems."

Touching on another key aspect of the labor shortage here, what is bad for employers has not been bad for the workers, and many employers appreciate this. Mr. Burnette, the gas-station owner put out of business by the new mills, said, "Though it's hard on us small-business men, I'm not opposed to the new mills coming into this area. They're good for the people, good for the community."

This view was echoed by Cary Page, principal owner of Jackson Mills, which operates two textiles plants, one at Iva, S.C. and the other at Wellford, S.C.

"Oh, brother! Are we having problems," he exclaimed. "New workers come in, work four or five hours, and walk out. We can't get office help. But still, looking at the general welfare, it's a good thing for the people around here who have been poor, very poor, for a long time, too long a time."

Gains for Workers

Regular hours, shorter hours, higher pay and fringe benefits have been luring men and women out of village and farm jobs into the factories.

A helper in a gas station, for example, until recently received about $1 an hour and worked perhaps 50 hours a week. A farmhand also was paid about $1 an hour and might have had to work 60 hours a week. The same scale applied to domestics. But the mills start unskilled workers at around $1.85 an hour, and a skilled man can get $3 an hour.

Perhaps just as alluring is the spread of the 40-hour week and regular work. Formerly, very few workers in the area received hospital and other fringe benefits. "I don't blame them for going into the mills," is a frequently heard comment, even from employers who have lost their help.

See attached sheet

"You can't bring in [illegible] labor for two reasons," he added. "One, there isn't any migrant labor available and, two, there isn't any housing here for them if you could get them. There's talk around town of $15-million to be invested in new housing developments, but so far it's just talk, not houses, and we need men now.

"The houses are supposed to be in the $10,000-$15,000 bracket. It'll take a long time to build them because the builders are already booked far ahead, and anyhow the price is out of reach for the typical migrant worker.

"Maybe industry around here will have to go back to the old company-owned mill towns that fell into disrepute years ago. Build houses for the workers. It may become a must."

Like Hercules, the United States Rubber Company, announced in February that it would build a big new plant. U.S. Rubber's plant was to be at Moore, S.C., and the company has bought 800 acres of land there. But although details of the new plant were expected to be announced last spring, no word has been given yet, leading to speculation here that the labor shortage may have given the company second thoughts.

A spokesman for U.S. Rubber said last week that he was not authorized to discuss why the awaited announcement had not yet been made, but he added:

"We're aware of the situation and it has affected our plans. As to the proposed new plant, it has been designed to manufacture synthetics and employ 500 people." When and if the plant will be built is still unknown.

Glum Personnel Men

Robert Bridges, assistant personnel manager of Alamo Industries, which has an investment of $25-million in a new man-made fibers plant designed to employ 700 workers, said the other day, "We're looking for 300 men. I don't know where we'll find them. Employment managers in this area are all pretty blue."

The personnel manager of a large machinery manufacturing plant with more than a thousand employes reported, "If school hadn't closed last month, I don't know what we'd have done. We managed to find enough schoolboys to keep going this summer, but next fall? It'll be another story.

"One thing that's happened is the color line has been broken down, perhaps forever, or at least as long as the boom lasts. The pressure has brought integration in the mills and brought it fast. And there have been no problems.

"The white man is no longer

Employment effect of a new industry in a rural area

Undereducated, underskilled workers benefited little when a major aluminum producer built a new factory in Ravenswood, West Virginia

IRWIN GRAY

When a new plant opens in a depressed area, the question is not only how many people get jobs, but who gets the job.

Establishing a new industry in an underdeveloped area can open up opportunities for its inhabitants. But if the local unemployed workers are largely undereducated and lacking in work skills—as is true in most underdeveloped areas—some means must be found to provide them with remedial education and specialized training in order to make them attractive to the new employer. Otherwise, migrants already possessing the desired skills may flow into the area to take most of the available jobs, and the new prosperity engendered in the town will offer scant help for the unwanted workers.

Analysis of the employment growth following construction of a new plant in a rural area provides some indication of the effect of a new industry on the local labor force. Most studies of the effects of new industry on regional employment patterns deal with dollar flows and the extrapolation of quantitative employment patterns. The investigation reported here focused on the qualitative changes in the labor market over the decade following construction of the plant and on the barriers to employment faced by unemployed workers already in the area. In particular, an attempt was made to delineate employment opportunities created within the plant (direct effects), created by suppliers to the plant (indirect effects), and resulting from the growth of population and supporting businesses (induced effects).

In 1956 an aluminum reduction and rolling mill was built by Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Corp. at Ravenswood, W. Va., about 50 miles north of the State capital, Charleston. The study of employment effects was limited to the town of Ravenswood, the aluminum plant, and the immediate environs with full awareness that economic benefits of the new plant could probably be traced well beyond those bounds. However, the area studied was geographically isolated by a wide green belt that surrounds the town on three sides and the Ohio River that bounds it on the fourth. Before construction of the Kaiser aluminum plant the main industry of Ravenswood (and the environs of Jackson County) was agriculture.[1] The agricultural activities were rapidly declining due to the competition of other States' "larger, automated farms operating with mass-production techniques."[2] The rugged land made such automation economically unfeasible in Ravenswood. This decline in farming and dairy activities spurred outmigration, especially among younger people: Between 1940 and 1956, Jackson County lost 16 percent of its population.[3] The population of Ravenswood remained static at about 1,100.

Kaiser provides the only manufacturing employment within Jackson County. All other manufacturing jobs for county residents involve commuting by automobile over 20 miles. Almost all the commercial establishments of Ravenswood (including the aluminum plant) fall within a 6-mile radius of the town.

Direct employment

Kaiser officials recognized that the arrival of a large plant in a rural area would create a number of problems. "It was only right," therefore, that the company maximize the hiring of personnel from the local area, and it did set out to do this.[4] (The local person also had definite advantages from the standpoint of direct communication with the plant and ability to be first on the scene when

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job openings were announced.) However, this standard was relaxed when it became evident that directly applicable skills were lacking in the local manpower pool and even some basic academic preparation was missing.

As parts of the plant went into operation and a particular skill was needed on the production floor, an hourly worker from another of the firm's plants which performed the same production operations was promoted to foreman and transferred to train men and then supervise the operation. The method of training the initial cadre of workers called for "good" men who could learn quickly on the production floor. At the start of operations, the company did not have the time to provide elaborate classrooms or training facilities; the standard of selection of workers was then, by necessity, kept quite high. Once the company had a trained cadre, it was able to advertise job openings, select from a "flood of applicants," test their training and potential, and build up a work force meeting the company's established standards of age, education, and physical fitness (18 years minimum, eighth grade—high school diploma preferred, no serious physical handicaps).[5]

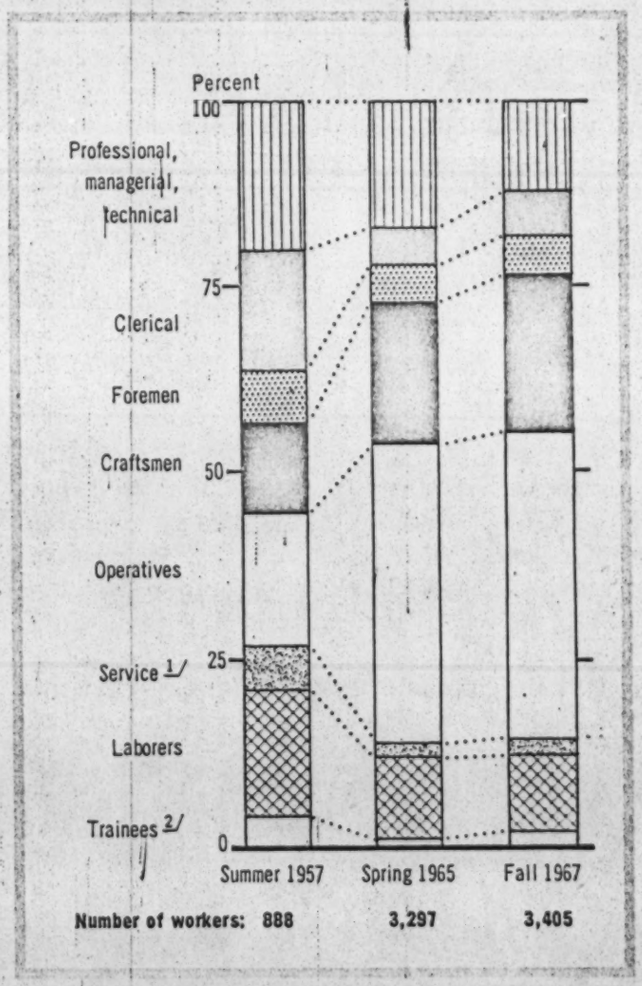
At the start of operations in 1957, the qualifications of most of the unemployed and underemployed in the Ravenswood area fell far short of the company's specifications.[6] As the plant was built, it began to attract applicants from great distances and standards did not have to be lowered to meet the plant needs. Indeed, the standards may have become even more rigorous.[7]

Men from all over the country learned about the Ravenswood plant through different news media, friends, and relatives. The difficulty and complexity of the work within the aluminum plant was compensated for by long term well-paying career possibilities. Qualified inmigrants shouldered aside local applicants who could not match their educational and experience levels. In most cases, the local applicant did not even meet the basic standards of the company. The competition provided by the inmigrant relieved all pressure on the firm to relax its standards, in spite of its preference for the local applicant.

The high standards, responsible duties, and good pay attracted a large number of applicants to the aluminum plant when job openings were announced. The type of man Kaiser needed was likely either to be employed, to have migrated from the area and wished to return, or to be on temporary layoff from some other industrial plant along the Ohio River. The growth of the work force at the plant also brought an extremely wide range of experience to the company. "We have ex-teachers, ex-teamsters, ex-everything in this plant!"[8]

As the chart shows, the number of professional, technical, and managerial employees and foremen was disproportionately large in relation to a "normal" operating work force.

Change in occupational mix



[1] Includes watchmen, janitors, storeroom attendants, etc.
[2] Management trainees.

Source: 1957 data, *Labor Supply and Mobility in a Newly Industrialized Area* (BLS Bulletin 1261, 1960), p. 4. 1965 and 1967 data, interviews with Karl Dunlap, Employment Supervisor, Ravenswood Works, April 27, 1965, and September 11, 1967. These are rough estimates taken from company manpower-situation reports.

Employment at the Ravenswood plant has grown steadily, except for two small dips due to a falloff of business. In September 1967, the plant was operating at capacity with some 3,400 employees. Plantwide seniority which assured promotional opportunities, possibilities of "making foreman," and the highest wages in the area (under a United Steelworkers' contract) combined to produce long term, career-minded employees, and no massive recruitment campaign designed to induce distant persons to move to the plant has been necessary for the last several years.

As plant operations grew in scope from startup to capacity, several changes took place in the skill spectrum of the work force. In the summer of 1957, plant activity was directed mainly toward future production needs rather than toward those of current production.

The decline from 1957 to 1967 in the percentages of service workers and laborers shows that at full capacity operation the uneducated—vying for jobs which require only rudimentary pushing, hauling, stacking, and miscellaneous hand tasks—could not expect to garner even as much as 15 percent of all available jobs, regardless of other considerations such as promotion potential.

Between 1965 and 1967, the highest capacity operating levels, the company's major needs were for skilled craftsmen and operatives. Unskilled men who left the plant payroll were replaced by people with the ability or potential to handle skilled work. Again, such men did not come from the ranks of the unemployed; they were either "coming home" to Ravenswood or were attracted to Kaiser from distant points by the promise of a better career.

In sum, the direct effects of Kaiser's entry into the Ravenswood labor market were disappointing from the standpoint of the lesser qualified persons seeking jobs. The firm, because of the career opportunities it offered and the competition generated for the jobs, found itself with workers who were far superior to the general applicant from the local area. And too many of the local applicants who needed jobs were dropouts from high school with no trade and with little to offer in the way of work experience. Far fewer Ravenswood people benefited from Kaiser jobs than was at first expected.

To the disappointment of the townspeople of Ravenswood, Kaiser was the only plant to move into the area. An aluminum plant has several unique characteristics which lessen its ability to attract satellite industries, but the experience of Kaiser's facility in Ravenswood is still instructive.

The inputs to an aluminum company plant consist in the main of direct labor, materials (alumina, carbon, cryolite), and electricity. The inputs of these materials and of most incidental supplies to operate the plant are controlled by the corporation on a national scale.[9] While the increase in indirect employment caused by the plant's operation could be traced from Ohio (power generating plant) to Louisiana (production of alumina from bauxite), this has not helped Ravenswood. Only three firms have located in Ravenswood to furnish services to the Kaiser plant, and subsequently to the surrounding area, creating approximately 50 jobs. No precise tally of such jobs can be made, but informal estimates were obtained from the staffs of the firms involved.[10]

Other industry

Three factors have hindered the town in its attempt to attract additional industry: (1) Aluminum is sold F.O.B. purchaser's plant. The price to the purchaser next door is the same as to the purchaser in Detroit. There would be no advantage to an aluminum fabricator in relocating near a plant. (2) Kaiser's contracts with the United Steelworkers set guidelines on wage policy for its plants across the entire United States. A low cost or profit-maximizing industry moving to Ravenswood would be confronted by a relatively high wage pattern. Under these circumstances, the new industry would undoubtedly choose to locate in another area rather than next to Kaiser. The arrival of Kaiser and its high wage standard has probably done a great deal to discourage further industrial growth. (3) The school situation is another handicap. The arrival of Kaiser brought new teachers (wives of Kaiser officials) and awakened the school system to new responsibilities. But spending is still low compared with that of surrounding regions. A new industry developer would rather locate where schools are of a caliber to attract necessary engineering and other talent, as well as to provide the basic skills required for high-grade production workers.

The population of Ravenswood grew from 1,175 in 1950 to approximately 5,000 in 1967,[11] with a measurable increase in local employment, adding some 950 men and 500 women and teenagers to the local labor force. The general consensus of the employees of local stores and service units was that in nearly every case the "local boy or girl had first crack at the job." Some of the jobs, of course, were not attractive to outsiders under any circumstances. Of some 300 jobs (this figure is an estimate based on discussions with local businessmen and on personal observation) created by the expansion of business due to the town's population growth, the majority resulted from the opening or growth of service stations and other retail stores. These opened up low skill jobs for farmers, housewives, and others who could not qualify for positions with Kaiser.

Unfortunately, the need for a large amount of capital and business experience has prevented many local people from becoming entrepreneurs. Most of the new stores were started either by persons who brought capital into the town or as branches of firms such as Sears, Roebuck.[12]

About 100 of the new jobs were in the professional category—teachers, physicians, ministers—almost all filled by outsiders.

Expansion of government services at a local level was mainly in street paving, construction, etc.—work done by crews assigned, on a transient basis, by the county commissioners at the county seat some distance from Ravenswood. Exact numbers could not be obtained; the county government does not break down its personnel assignments by location and could only make an informal guess. A reasonable estimate is about 90 additional jobs.

The total picture

The increase in the number of persons employed in the town of Ravenswood due to Kaiser's location there totals about 4,000. Of this number, about 300 to 500 "local boys" are in the aluminum plant, and about 300 local persons are in establishments existing because of Kaiser's growth and economic support of the town.[13]

More local people could be at work, at the expense of inmigrants, if they had had the necessary minimum education or training. As noted earlier, the "local boy" has the advantages of knowing people, having contacts, access to information through his presence at the scene, and a decided employer preference to give the local resident a first chance at a job. That more were not hired brings up some pointed questions about education and skills in general.

The level of education required for the adequate performance of a job's tasks is different, of course, for each type of job. It is the general feeling of people in Ravenswood who are in the position of hiring, or passing on the qualifications of would-be employees, that education is as good an indication of future job proficiency as any other single characteristic, and probably better than most, regardless of the training the person will receive on the job. The feeling about education is especially marked from a negative viewpoint: An employee without education "probably won't succeed and, therefore, an employer should not waste time with him."

No employer in Ravenswood would hire, for a permanent job, a person with less than an eighth grade education; most want at least completion of high school. Proof of completion of high school is used as a character reference. Completion of eighth grade is considered the bare minimum that will allow an employee to fill out reports, calculate time-and-material charges on a job, and be "really useful." The effect is to severely reduce opportunities for workers with lesser educational attainments.

Labor mobility also works to the disadvantage of the uneducated or undereducated. The more education a head of family has, the more likely he is to have the resources to move among labor markets.[14] At first, those with more education leave an area like Ravenswood to look for better job opportunities; this leaves some jobs open to those who stay behind. But with the arrival of a high-paying, long term career opportunity, such as a job with Kaiser, these emigrants return home. News of the plant draws hundreds of others, even from distant cities. As the plant builds up to capacity over the first few years of its operations, it may influence men who might otherwise leave Ravenswood to stay, even in jobs subordinate to those in the plant or entailing a distant drive every day. If there is a possibility of a job in the plant, they want to keep their applications current.

Employers' expectations as to education and job

skills rise with this "improvement" in the quality of the labor supply, and the uneducated find themselves at an even greater disadvantage in the labor market.

With the relative stabilization of plant requirements between 1965 and 1967, and the applicants' realization that job openings call for a specialized background, outmigration has been building up again. This does not operate to the advantage of the "stay-behinds," however, because of the increased employer expectations and, in Ravenswood, the relative stagnation in business job opportunities.

Locating a large production facility in a rural area, or any area that has a large underemployed or unemployed labor pool, can open up opportunities for less well educated workers. However, in an area with largely uneducated or over-age people, migrants take most of the jobs available.

Some of the migrant flow may be former inhabitants—the younger, more educated workers who left their hometown but will return now that better opportunities exist. This return migration and the long-distance commuting of other skilled workers tends to improve the quality of the labor force in the area.

Thus, in order to benefit the unemployed workers with lesser qualifications, the plant would have to lower its requirements to allow the entrance of some of these lesser skilled applicants. The plant would then be hiring workers of less than the best quality available—an unlikely prospect in the absence of financial incentive or moral suasion.

In a small community, competition for jobs still tends to hold down the growth of opportunities for any but the better educated job applicants. As jobs open up in service type businesses, women will be attracted into the labor force.

It appears, then, that if an area is to gain any immediate improvement in the unemployment rate, the main impact of an inmigrating facility on the unemployed must come through the generation of direct employment opportunities suitable to the characteristics of the unemployed. □

——FOOTNOTES——

[1] *Provisional Overall Economic Development Program for Jackson County, West Virginia* (Ripley, W. Va., Jackson County Development Association, 1961), p. 3.

[2] Interview with Phil Fourney, editor, *The Ravenswood News*, April 28, 1965.

[3] *Labor Supply and Mobility in a Newly Industrialized Area* (BLS Bulletin 1261, 1960), p. 2.

[4] Interview with Ford R. Morrow, public relations manager at the Kaiser plant, April 26, 1965.

[5] Interview with Karl Dunlap, supervisor of employment at the Kaiser plant, April 27, 1965.

[6] *Labor Supply and Mobility in a Newly Industrialized Area*, op. cit., p. 10.

[7] Interview with Mr. Dunlap.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Interview with Mr. Morrow, September 11, 1967.

[10] The telephone company repair office consolidated several outlying offices into one plant in Ravenswood. Before the arrival of Kaiser, outside crews were sent into the area for any needed telephone work. The transfer of offices has resulted in a change of commuting patterns more than it has affected the number of new opportunities for local personnel. However, being "in town" has a strong psychological effect.

The second firm supplying services to Kaiser is the Canteen Co., set up to service the construction workers with beverages and packaged foods. About 10 men are needed to service the Kaiser plant alone, and 8 more handle accounts in surrounding towns. If the Kaiser operation was needed to make Canteen an economic feasibility, 18 men owe their jobs to the aluminum plant's existence.

The third example of new jobs arose on the output side. Aluminum sheet, plate, and foil are shipped out by train and truck to markets covering almost the entire eastern half of the United States. The expansion of business for one trucking outfit (which used to haul milk) resulted in the addition of 7 new jobs. The level of education demanded at this firm is at least high school, since dispatchers are wary of trusting a $20,000 tractor-trailer and a $20,000 cargo of aluminum to anyone who did not have the qualities necessary to graduate from high school.

[11] *Community Information for Jackson County, West Virginia* (Huntington, W. Va., Appalachian Power Co., 1967).

[12] Interviews with Claymore Rowley, vice president and cashier, Jackson County Bank, Ravenswood, W. Va., April 27, 1965, and September 12, 1967.

[13] Interview with Mr. Fourney, April 28, 1965.

[14] *The Geographic Mobility of Labor: A Summary Report* (U.S. Department of Commerce, Area Redevelopment Administration, 1964), p. 11.

A GUIDEBOOK FOR UNION ORGANIZERS

Published by:

INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT, AFL-CIO

Publication #42
O.E.I.U. LOCAL 2

September 1961

INTRODUCTION

This guide for union organizers is not designed as a blueprint. It has been prepared, not to present magical new ideas or techniques, but to stimulate the thinking of the union organizer; to get the organizer to re-examine the methods he is using.

As all of us know, organizing the unorganized is a major subject on the agenda of every national and international union. It is the most important union activity in the labor movement.

Scores of resolutions have been adopted at conventions and special organizing conferences calling for greater efforts and new organizing momentum. Labor leaders, well groomed on the subject, have delivered numerous speeches and received loud applause in their call for stepped-up drives and the launching of new efforts to bring unionism to the millions of America's unorganized.

These speeches, conferences, and resolutions have received wide publicity. Newspapers have quoted union officials, and labor has translated resolutions and other action into special leaflets and pamphlets.

We have learned from experience, however, that our call for "organizing the unorganized" has had little or no effect upon the workers we seek to bring into the labor movement. Why? What are we doing that is wrong?

I have discussed this problem with the officers of the Industrial Union Department, the officers of numerous international unions, and many of my other associates in the labor movement. I have had similar discussions with the IUD's public relations, research, and education staff who have assisted me in getting under way the Department's pilot programs in the Greater Philadelphia Area and in South Carolina.

I have found that, with some rare exceptions, the consensus is that the problem of organizing the unorganized has undergone little change since the 1930's.

The fundamental principles of the labor movement remain the same. We still believe that working men and women must organize to: secure higher wage standards, provide job security and dignity, eliminate discrimination, establish industrial democracy, and promote social legislation aimed at bettering the American way of life.

Our history clearly demonstrates that these objectives are sound and constructive. These objectives have brought about an expansion of the labor movement while, at the same time, proving that our movement is an essential instrument in a free society.

If our objectives remain the same, we must ask ourselves if we are failing to convey the message of unionism to the unorganized. Again, the vast majority of those with whom I have discussed the organizing problem are convinced that there is no real substitute for the "old fashioned" organizing campaign and all the work such a campaign entails. Experience in our Philadelphia and South Carolina projects has proved this point.

These discussions with union officials and staff members also have strengthened my conviction that a high powered publicity campaign can never be an alternative to the personal contact work of an organizer.

The organizer has read about the "Madison Avenue" approach and its commercial advantages. He may not like the idea of high-pressure selling, but he can be convinced that if publicity sells soap, it also can sell unionism. My own experience has taught me that publicity -- alone -- does not work in an organizing drive because unionism is a concept, not a tangible product.

To convince unorganized workers that they need unionism requires know-how, a thorough knowledge of the individual worker's job and his role in producing the company's product, and a sincere interest in the worker's specific problems.

The impersonal approach cannot get the organizer's message over to unorganized workers; it can never take the place of person-to-person contact, nor can it cope with the tactics developed by anti-union employers. Management, as we know, has recognized the importance of building up individual relationships with its employees -- through

supervisors and foreman. Organizers cannot hope to be successful until their own relationship with the workforce is strong enough to overcome management's campaign to develop union hostility.

Personal contact, of course, will not guarantee an organizing success. There are many other tools, detailed in this guide, that can be used effectively.

More than anything else, perhaps, we need a revival of the spirit that characterized our early organizing efforts. A spirit that made the campaign more of a crusade than a job.

One way to revitalize this spirit is to redevelop the cooperative campaigns that worked so well in the past. The feeling of fraternalism that can be developed when the organizers of various unions work together in a common effort can go a long way toward bringing back the real meaning of unionism.

The Industrial Union Department's current organizing projects are based upon this belief. We have learned that the cooperation of a number of unions in a campaign that will not directly benefit them has not only renewed the spirit of the organizers, but has helped to resolve numerous jurisdictional disputes.

The IUD's two present projects have eliminated conflict at the plant gate. They have replaced suspicion and mistrust with cooperation and unity. We of the IUD are proud of our efforts to stimulate organizing among our affiliates, but we know that much remains to be done.

This handbook, prepared at the request of a number of affiliates, is not intended as substitute for any union's established procedure. It is not a rule book. It is merely the compilation of ideas and techniques that have worked in the past and which -- we believe -- will still work.

If this handbook is of assistance, it will serve the IUD's purpose of helping to stimulate the staff representative's thinking and aiding his union in getting on with the task of organizing the unorganized.

Nicholas Zonarich

Organizational Director
Industrial Union Department
AFL-CIO

WHY ORGANIZE?

Organizing the unorganized is of key importance to the American labor movement. Organizing builds union strength and aids all labor in its efforts to improve the wages and working conditions of the membership. It extends the benefits of trade unionism to more workers and extends industrial democracy in our complex society.

Lacking self-organization, today's worker has no voice in the nation's political life, its quest for higher living standards, or its efforts to create a better life for all. The unorganized stand alone and are usually ignored and forgotten.

Even ardent conservatives publicly admit that America is best served by a strong labor movement. They may define strength far differently than would a union man but few publicly call for the destruction of unions or their elimination from American life. Most seem to understand that without a labor movement, a dangerous void will be created in the economic, social, and political life of the nation.

Union staff representatives know that a growing union is one that is alive and strong. They know that organizing successes lead to new victories -- victories that benefit both the union and the workers involved. An organizing victory at a new plant may indeed have an important bearing upon a union's ability to make new gains for all its members.

Wages and working conditions at an open shop may vitally affect negotiations in any given industry. Low wages and poor working conditions anywhere in an industry are always a threat to all who work within it and a hurdle in the path of new improvements. The unorganized shop can be permitted to undercut wages and conditions only by imperiling conditions in the organized shop.

The protection of union-won conditions is a major reason for continued organizing drives, since even the presence of the union helps to bolster wage levels and prevent deterioration of working conditions. The organization of a non-union shop may permit an industry to yield new contract gains in collective bargaining since it tends to prevent cutthroat competition based upon sweated wage levels. Because of factors such as this, a successful organizing campaign may have as great an effect upon an industry's wage levels as an immediate set of collective bargaining negotiations.

BUILDING THE UNION

Often, the great need is to complete the organization of plants within a given corporation to prevent the employer from playing off the unorganized workers against the organized. Just as the union's ability to bargain with an industry is determined largely by the extent to which it holds bargaining rights, so is its effectiveness within a corporation often measured by the number of plants for which it bargains.

Pressures within a union to complete the organization of a given company can be very strong. Members employed at one plant soon learn that unorganized plants within the corporate chain weaken their bargaining position. As companies increase the measure of their diversification and seek new markets, the union's need to gain full representation rights becomes more intense.

Organizing an isolated shop may have less strategic impact than a key victory within an industry or company, but the results are of major importance to the workers involved. All workers seeking self-organization deserve the assistance of the labor movement.

Although the staff representative may know that all unorganized plants within his union's jurisdiction are potential objectives, he is usually given a specific target to investigate. Depending on his union, he may have the authority to launch a campaign or he may be instructed to "survey the situation" and make a report to his director.

Either way, however, the staff representative should not jump, feet first, into a wide-open organizing campaign. First, he should learn all about the target -- its management, its labor relations, and the attitudes of its employees.

THE SURVEY

Background information is vital to any successful organizing campaign. Unless the organizer understands the company's operations, the make-up of its workforce, and has a thorough knowledge of in-plant conditions, he cannot make an intelligent appraisal of his "target."

Every survey is based on the assumption that a campaign will be waged. Since an organizing campaign in many ways is like a battle, the staff representative must assemble his facts before determining his tactics.

The organizer's presence in a small community may immediately become known, but this does not mean that he cannot collect important information without getting a page one newspaper story announcing his presence at a plant gate.

Many organizers have learned -- some by sad experience -- that organizing does not start with a handbill. They generally conduct their own survey of the company and its operations before they introduce themselves to the first employee.

The first -- and perhaps easiest -- part of this survey deals with the physical location of the plant. A few hours spent observing the plant and talking with gasoline attendants, waitresses, and bartenders will usually reveal:

- Number and location of plant gates used by employees.
- Starting time, quitting time, and number of shifts.
- Approximate number of employees per shift and their breakdown by sex, age groupings, and race.
- Eating and drinking establishments near the plant.
- Transporation facilities for employees.

A visit to the community library will often provide information about the company's operations. A check of Dun and Bradstreet Credit Reports, Standard and Poor's Corporation Records, and Moody's Investors Service should disclose whether the plant is part of a chain or is locally-owned and the firm's general financial position.

By comparing net sales for the year with net income, for example, the representative can estimate the company's rate of return on sales, while dividing total net worth into net income will indicate the company's profit picture.

If none of the major reference books include the company, or single out the specific plant, the library may have special information printed by the plant's public relations department. Back issues of the community newspaper may provide other data, including annual financial statements.

The next step in the usual survey involves contacting the labor movement within the community. Not only is it important to meet with the various representatives, business agents, and council officials in the area, but they can often be of real assistance.

Active union leaders can provide important background information on the community. Among other things, the representative can learn:

- -Community reaction to organized labor.
- -The names of sympathetic public, civic, fraternal, veteran, and church leaders.
- -The position of community newspapers, radio, and television stations.
- -The degree of company participation in community activities and the names of company officials who are considered community leaders.
- -The labor history of the company.
- -A general idea of wage rates and working conditions at the plant.
- -The names of company employees who are active in the community -- through through their church, civic leadership, sports, programs for children, fraternal organizations, and politics.
- - The names of company employees who formerly belonged to unions in the area or who are known to desire union representation.
- - The meeting dates of local unions and councils in the area.

The initial survey has now been completed. The representative has gathered information that will be of vital importance to any organizing campaign, while remaining relatively quiet. In many cases, not one company employee has been approached. The representative has made promises to no one, and--certainly--no open drive has been started.

It is at this point that the representative will be ready to make his first contacts with workers employed in the potential bargaining unit.

SELECTING LEADERSHIP

The organizer has two immediate objectives when he makes his first contacts with workers at the plant. He is looking for leadership for his campaign and information about the specific problems and complaints of the employees.

There is no blueprint for meeting individual workers and gaining their confidence--conversations can be started in restaurants and bars, through "leads" passed on by other union members, and by acquaintances made through social affairs. If there is any rule at all, it is that contacts are not made by suddenly appearing at a plant gate with a leaflet urging employees to sign a union authorization card and mail it to a post office box.

Most organizers are interested primarily in meeting the type of employee who is respected by his fellow-workers and who has influence inside the plant. Getting to know a few of these employees is more important--at this stage--than meeting the maximum number of workers.

Once a potential plant leader has been contacted, it is important to win his confidence and trust. Time spent in developing this leader, answering his questions about the union, and explaining the benefits of collective bargaining will be well worth while after the organizing campaign gets under way and this leader becomes a union spokesman inside the plant.

Articulate and respected leaders inside the plant are vital to any campaign, but the representative must use his own judgment in selecting the right people. He must be sure that they are not known as chronic "gripers" or "soreheads" and that they are not motivated simply by a desire for revenge or a driving personal ambition.

In the "perfect" campaign, the organizer

will find a leader for every group in the plant--a woman for the female workers, leaders within minority racial and national groupings, and spokesmen for the various departments and shifts. Since the "perfect" situation rarely exists, the staffman must develop a leadership group as representative as possible.

If no potential leaders can be found, the representative had better acknowledge the probability that he will not be able to wage a successful campaign. There is no sense wasting time and funds when all the influential employees are either disinterested in unionism or opposed to it.

Employees must have the desire to organize themselves and--in fact--must do the real job of building their own local union. The organizer can utilize his experience and knowledge to help workers win their rights, but he cannot forcibly organize them.

Once the key leaders have been found, the organizer--who has gotten to know each of them as an individual--should call his people together for their first meeting. By pooling the knowledge of his leaders, the organizer should, at this meeting, get his first comprehensive breakdown of employees in the potential bargaining unit and a picture of the major company policies and practices that are responsible for worker discontent.

The organizer will need a breakdown of employees that includes:

- Departmental structure of the company (including which departments work the various shifts);
- Number of workers in each department, grouped by sex, race, and general age level;
- Departmental morale (including basic complaints, names and functions of unpopular foremen and supervisors);
- Names of employees considered leaders in their departments (including those the key leaders think the organizer should contact);
- Names of employees known by the leaders to work in the various departments.

The organizer will then, if time permits, attempt to learn the complaints of the employees--classifying them as departmental or plant-wide. Justified grievances should be separated from petty matters that will have little or no effect during a campaign.

As the complaints are discussed, the organizer gains a good opportunity to describe how similar problems have been settled through established grievance or bargaining procedures of unions. The meeting may end with an agreed-upon time for another discussion, but the organizer will still not have announced the start of a campaign nor have distributed authorization cards.

Subsequent meetings of the same group can be utilized to add new leaders selected by the organizer, to gain a more complete breakdown of the company's operations, and to secure the names of additional employees.

LEARNING ABOUT UNIONS

The organizer can use this period to describe the various procedures that can be followed to obtain recognition of the union, and the problems that may arise under each of these procedures. There is no sense fooling the leaders; they should know all the facts--including the possibility of long NLRB delays and adverse decisions based on technicalities.

The more the leaders understand about unions and the struggle they may face to secure collective bargaining rights, the better they will be able to withstand future company pressure. Even more important, a well-informed leadership is the organizing committee's best weapon against the anti-union attacks that will probably be conducted by foremen and supervisors.

As the leadership meetings progress, the representative should learn more details about specific company working conditions. By this time, he should know:

- Job classifications and wage rates, and how they compare with similar organized companies;
- Company method of communicating with employees for the handling of grievances;
- Premium pay rates, pension benefits, and insurance coverage;
- All other fringe benefits granted by the company;
- Company violations of any state or federal laws such as minimum wage, health and safety provisions;
- Specific actions by the company--including its supervisors -- that create hardships for individual workers or are clearly unfair.

By holding leadership meetings throughout this stage, the organizer builds an organizing committee able to function as a team. The period--being one of preparation--is used to add leadership to the committee so that it will parallel management's structure as far as possible.

The leaders--representing the maximum number of departments and groupings of workers--learn to articulate the benefits that can be gained by forming a union. They also learn to understand the risks they will be required to take. They gain an understanding of how labor movement ideas and ideals can be translated into practical action for the solution of plant problems. When this stage is reached, the organizer and his organizing committee are ready to begin a full-scale campaign.

COMMITTEES AND PARTICIPATION

Once the organizer has held a few meetings with his leaders, he can expect management and the workforce to know that "there is an organizer around." Even if the company has remained completely silent, the organizer can assume that it knows of his activities and is planning to counteract his campaign.

There is no set rule for the organizer's next move. He may attempt to start a "quiet" card-signing campaign or he may couple card-signing with his first leaflet distribution at the plant gate.

Whichever method he uses, and the method depends on circumstances and judgment, he should make sure that the leaders do the job of signing up the employees--after instructing them on the secrecy of signatures and other questions that will be raised by the workers. Assuming that the leaders are taking cards into the plant, the representative has nothing to gain by attaching other cards to his first leaflet.

The purpose of the first leaflet distribution should be little more than to "show the face of the union" in practical support of the cards that are being taken into the plant. Unlike other distributions, the leaflet can be general in nature and may well be a publication prepared by the union's international office.

As long as the leaflet names the union and includes something about the philosophy of the labor movement or the type of union that is conducting the organizing campaign, it will serve its purpose. The very act of distributing the leaflets gives the organizer the opportunity to stop workers, show them who he is, and--if possible--introduce himself.

Once the organizing committeemen give the organizer signed authorization cards, his activities are stepped up. Cards should be checked against the departmental breakdown and then classified by sex, age group, and race. Using this system, the organizer will soon be able to determine his strong spots as well as his "trouble" areas. He also will be able to check on the relative ability of his leaders, discovering where he must build additional support and where he can shift certain of his key people toward other groups within the company.

The organizer should also attempt to make a house call at the home of every card-

signer. While such a tactic may be impossible, depending upon the size of the plant, these calls are much more effective than letters of appreciation to those who have indicated a willingness to support the union.

In a campaign involving 100 workers, for example, if the organizer secures 70 authorization cards, his job is to convince these 70 workers to vote for the union, not to work on the remaining 30 employees. If these workers can be convinced to vote for the union, the election will be won regardless of the votes of the non card-signers.

PARTICIPATION PAYS OFF

Assuming house-calls can be made, the organizer should attempt to obtain the card-signer's active support in the campaign. Many organizers have discovered that once a worker participates in the union's drive, his sincerity and support become definite.

There always is room for more help in a campaign. Participation demonstrates to the individual worker that he is helping to build "his" union. He also helps to generate enthusiasm for the union within the plant.

As the organizer talks with the card-signer, he should evaluate the worker's potential value to the campaign. If the employee is interested in helping, he may be of assistance in signing up others. He may be willing to serve on a general organizing committee, pass out handbills, work on publicity, or do detail work at the campaign headquarters.

Before the organizer leaves the card-signer's home, he should attempt to secure the names of additional employees, the card-signer's opinion about their union sentiment, and a description of the card-signer's departmental conditions as well as major complaints against the company.

Once enough card-signers have been contacted to establish committees, special meetings should be called and assignments made. Committees may include:

- Membership--to accumulate the name and address of all employees, breaking these names down by department, sex, age group, and race;
- Publicity--to discuss information that should be included in material distributed during the campaign;
- Distribution--to mimeograph, help hand out (or mail) literature, and to maintain an accurate mailing list;
- Strategy--to work with the organizer in planning campaign tactics and timing;
- Community--to explain the need for the union to community leaders and demonstrate that the employees are actively participating in their own organizing campaign.

Obviously, the organizer will not always get enough workers to support the union openly, but when the employees are willing to act, he should take advantage of the situation. Some successful campaigns have found 75 percent of the bargaining unit serving on committees. In such a situation, the company has a difficult time claiming "outside agitation" and attacking "a minority of disgruntled employees."

While any or all of these committees are functioning, the leadership group--often expanded--maintains its key role as the in-plant organizing committee. Without this committee, the campaign has little chance of success. The other committees play supporting roles--and help the organizer to meet and talk with a wider group of employees--but they are not essential to victory.

In large plants or other large bargaining units, area, floor, departmental, or other in-plant organizing subcommittees may be advisable. In these instances, subcommittees should be headed by the proper representative from the leadership organizing committee. The organizer in charge, or another union representative, should be present at all subcommittee meetings to help give direction to planning and to seek to avert actions which may imperil the campaign's progress.

If the organizer is fortunate enough to have several smoothly operating committees, he will be in a better position to spend his time on house calls, the preparation of leaflets, and the coordination of the campaign.

By listening to these committees discuss their problems, he will obtain a better "picture" of the drive and be able to rely more on facts than on "playing it by ear."

After discussing the question with his committees, the organizer may decide to call a general meeting.

MEETINGS

The major purposes of a meeting are to achieve a large turnout, thereby demonstrating solidarity, enthusiasm, and strength, and to get a message across to a number of workers at one time.

Meetings that have been announced publicly--through handbill, word of mouth, or the press--always run the risk of being poorly attended. They should not be attempted until the organizer is certain of good attendance. Once a meeting of all employees has been called, no effort should be spared to fill the hall.

Any big meeting should be carefully planned in advance--with speakers instructed to keep their remarks brief and with time permitted for a question and answer period. If possible, an employee known and respected throughout the plant should chair the meeting. This employee can state the purpose of the meeting and describe why he believes organization is necessary.

Upon being introduced, the organizer should set the tone of the meeting. He should remember that he is not on a soap box and should seek to identify himself with the employees. Big words and generalities should be avoided; the workers have come to hear about the union, not to be impressed with the organizer's oratorical skill.

Most organizers have found that it is important to refer to "our" problems instead of "your" problems and that their knowledge of specific complaints inside the plant will be of great assistance.

Lofty promises of what the union "will do" can come back to haunt any union representative. It is best to be honest with the workers, explaining what "we" can do if "we" stick together and are prepared to fight for working condition improvements.

Unless the major issue in the campaign is the company's heavy-handed approach to labor relations and its refusal to treat employees as human beings, the organizer should not launch a vindictive attack against management. If a firm follows an "enlightened" paternalistic policy, the chances are that calling the boss names will only alienate many of the employees who have no personal resentment against top management.

Even in the case of the paternalistic company, however, the workers should be warned against the possibilities of an anti-union campaign. The organizer who praises management and says that the union has no fight with the company will look ridiculous if the company starts attacking the union.

The organizer should also remember to keep his remarks brief and to the point.

Discussion from the floor should be encouraged, not made impossible by a long-winded speech that drags on late into the night.

Questions asked from the floor should be answered honestly and specifically. When the union representative doesn't have the answer, he will gain respect by admitting he doesn't know and promising to get the information--as long as he follows through on his promise.

Before the meeting adjourns, an attempt should be made to secure additional authorization cards. Workers who are willing to take cards to their friends in the plant should be encouraged to do so. When the meeting ends, the organizer should try to meet as many of the employees as possible--noting potential house calls as he gets acquainted.

NLRB PLEDGE CARDS

Under NLRB rules, a 30 percent showing on union pledge cards is all that is required to petition for an election. These days, however, few elections are won with such a showing. NLRB pledge cards are at best a signifying of intention at a given moment. Sometimes they are signed to "get the union off my back." In other cases, the employer urges workers to sign the cards to get a premature election. In still others, workers sign to scare the boss into a raise. Whatever the reason, there is no guarantee of anything in a signed NLRB pledge card except that it will count toward an NLRB election.

For these reasons and out of long experience, most organizers will not move forward by filing for an election unless they have at least a majority of the workers signed and that majority looks reasonably solid.

There may be times when, because interest shows signs of waning, the organizer will petition for an election with fewer than 50 percent of the workers signed up. This will depend upon whether it is felt necessary to move ahead regardless of results.

If an election is lost or if an organizer determines that further progress is not possible in a campaign at a given time, thought must be given to withdrawal. The worst thing possible is to "pull out" without warning, leaving workers high and dry.

Aside from other considerations, the union may want to return another day. It may be advisable to counsel with the plant leaders to this effect and to try to keep a nucleus alive. In any case, good-byes in this kind of situation should involve full consideration for those who supported the union and who must continue to work in the plant.

THE HOUSE CALL

Visiting a worker--and his family--at home is one of the most important parts of an organizing campaign. It is a central part of the organizer's efforts.

It is during the house call, and only during the house call, that the union representative speaks to the employee as an individual instead of as a nameless part of a collective group.

Every organizer knows that while workers at a given plant may fall into various categories and share common complaints, each individual has his own characteristics, his special wants, and his separate ambitions. No two workers are identical; each will have his own specific reason--no matter how far fetched--for accepting or rejecting unionism.

The house call eliminates the generalities of all organizing campaigns, because it does not deal with the average employee or average family; it deals with a single worker and his own family.

There are very few rules that apply to house calls. Since each worker reacts differently, the representative must judge the people he is visiting. But most union organizers follow a few guidelines:

- They time their calls after the dinner hour--when a person is usually most relaxed and receptive to ideas--and make no new calls after 9 P.M.
- They either speak to a worker before visiting his home, follow up a signed authorization card, or use the referral of a fellow-worker to avoid knocking on a completely strange door.
- They avoid bitter arguments, regardless of how wrong the worker may be, since such arguments only lead to increased hostility.
- They attempt to reduce the time spent with workers who have obviously determined how they will vote and cannot be swayed in their opinions.
- They attempt to involve other members of the worker's family in the discussion since the entire family will be affected by the outcome of the election and may well have an influence on the employee's vote.

The organizer who is a good salesman may not do a good job at making house calls. Person-to-person organizing can be a lot different than selling insurance. A glib union representative often creates the reaction that he is simply "selling his product on a commission basis."

Many representatives recognize that organizing a worker means much more than "closing a sale" by getting his "signature on the dotted line." They have learned that it is often much wiser simply to discuss the benefits of unionism and answer individual questions without resorting to any "hard sell." If the organizer gains the confidence and respect of the employee, the chances are good that he has instilled a pro-union sentiment.

Before visiting any home, the organizer should have a thorough knowledge of his union--its history, its governing rules, and its collective bargaining history. He also should know as much as possible about the company, the department where the employee works, and his friends in the plant.

Upon arriving at a home, the union representative should attempt to create a good impression within the first few minutes of his call. There is no sense trying to push past a reluctant employee who is obviously annoyed at what he considers an invasion of his privacy or the interruption of some family activity. The effective organizer is polite and positive without being overly aggressive. Above all, he is friendly--simply asking if he may enter the house and discuss the union with the employee.

Once in the house, the organizer will probably find that no two house calls are exactly the same. The TV may be on--and may stay on, children may be running in and out, the employee may start talking about sports or world affairs, or his wife may ask about the family life of a union organizer.

An organizer wants to discuss unionism, but this does not mean that all other subjects can be ignored. Often, the relaxed organizer who permits the worker to do most of the talking is doing a good job.

If a personal relationship develops--even though the worker remains unconvinced of the need for a union--progress has been made and a second call should be planned.

If, on the other hand, the worker is receptive to the need for a union, he should be encouraged to become active in the campaign by joining a committee, talking to other plant employees, or distributing authorization cards.

Regardless of how the home call turns out, the organizer should write down his impressions of the employee shortly after leaving. Besides noting whether the worker is "pro-union," "anti-union," or "undecided," it will be helpful later if the representative includes probable ways of gaining the employee's support.

THE TELEPHONE CAMPAIGN

In very large bargaining units, house calls must be selective and involve contacts with key workers.

In such situations, large-scale telephone calling may help to bring awareness of the union message.

Such a campaign will involve the use of volunteers and these will have to be furnished with a short message or with an "approach." Calls are made directly into the homes of workers from lists assigned to each battery of callers.

The Communications Workers of America effectively used this device in the City of New York in a successful campaign resulting in a victory in a bargaining unit of 18,000 telephone maintenance workers scattered through the city's five boroughs and suburbs.

In this case, the CWA installed a battery of phones in the union headquarters and developed teams of volunteer callers, each of whom gave a few hours each week to the campaign. It was found that this activity developed enthusiasm that paid off on the job, and that the workers involved liked the attention devoted to them. It was also discovered that wives were interested in the message where husbands were not home at the time of the call.

The telephone campaign, of course, is not new and it need not be utilized everywhere in the same manner. It has been used by both political parties as an effective device.

PUBLICITY

Just as the house call and telephone call are means of communicating with the employees of an unorganized plant, publicity is another communications tool. It is a weapon to be used in a campaign, but it is only a weapon. Publicity, alone, probably never won any election and the best handbill ever drafted--by itself--probably never guaranteed a single vote.

But, as a campaign tool, publicity can be helpful as the easiest way of communicating with the employees.

The representative who is not afraid to write and recognizes that publicity is nothing more than written organizing knows that the more clearly he communicates with the workers, the better are his chances of success.

Written organizing may take the form of:

- Handbills at the plant gate.
- Letters to the workers' homes.
- Advertising in the press, radio, and TV.

- News releases that are pro-union and helpful to the campaign, but have the advantage of not being paid advertisements.
- Billboards and union movies.

Every organizer knows that there are some things that can be easier said than written. In effect, he recognizes that certain words and phrases have more appeal to the ear than they do the eye and that while certain combinations of words are easily understandable when spoken, they are confusing when translated to writing.

In using publicity, the representative should remember that while his campaign may be based upon facts, he must create an emotional appeal. Words such as "security," "freedom," "dignity," "fear," "equality," "justice," and "self-respect" have this appeal. They are understood and they are uncomplicated. While they may be concepts, each worker can define them in his own terms.

The representative who uses emotional phrases--without resorting to "corn"--and sticks to the facts without attempting to mislead the workers can organize on paper as well as in front of a meeting.

There are, however, a few general rules to follow when using the various publicity forms.

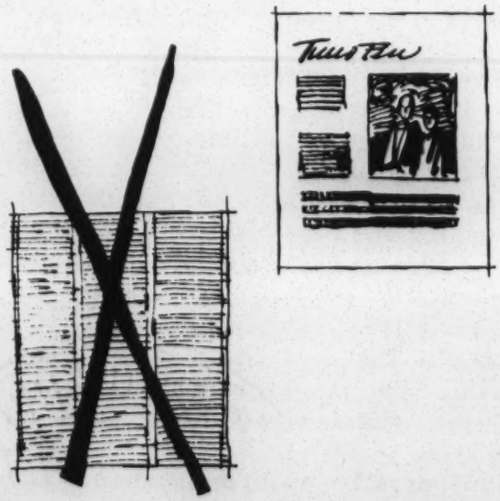
HANDBILLS

The first handbill distributed at the plant gate is the easiest. In most cases, it can be a leaflet describing the union attempting to do the organizing, or discussing unionism itself. This handbill--or leaflet--can probably be obtained from the international union.

Future handbills, and the frequency of their distribution, are a different matter. After gaining an over-all knowledge of the specific union, the workers will no longer be interested in generalities; they will want to know "what's it mean to me." As the campaign develops, handbills should deal with specific situations within the plant and the union's program. Frequency of distribution will depend on the type of campaign, the number of employees, the use of other forms of communication, and the representative's impression of their need.

Basically, each handbill consists of three main points. It has eye appeal to encourage the worker to read it; it presents one--or at most two--issues in understandable and short language; and it suggests a means of dealing with the issue.

To obtain "eye appeal," the representative should use the maximum possible amount of white space. Eyes are lazy--the crowded, single-spaced page "looks" like too much work. Cartoons clipped from magazine advertisements or traced from standard AFL-CIO, other union, or sales company sketches will also help to dress up the handbill. A humorous cartoon may get the worker to read the text.



A "headline" also is helpful. A few words, traced with the help of a mimeograph lettering guide will serve the same purpose as the headline in the daily newspaper. In the same fashion as the newspaper editor, the headline writer should attempt to summarize the handbill's "message" and create interest in reading further.

The organizer can learn something about leaflet writing from the text of newspaper stories. He will notice that sentences are always short and use simple words and that paragraphs can be started at the end of any

sentence when it appears that there is just too much black space (writing) lumped together.

A good handbill will be contained on one side of a piece of paper and will save its best paragraphs for the beginning and end. The first paragraph must be interesting and get the worker to continue reading, the last paragraph must make him say to himself: "That's right!"

Finally, every handbill should be signed--not necessarily with the name of the representative, but with the name of the union organizing committee (individuals when they are willing), or the name of the union.

LETTERS

Letters are often used when longer messages need to be addressed to the workers and when representatives want to involve the families. While they can be several pages in length--although it's best to keep them short--and do not need cartoons or eye-catching headlines, their sentences and paragraphs should still be short and to the point.

The organizer should also remember that the wife may very well read the letter. He will often want to aim some of his remarks directly to her. While the worker may keep in-plant working conditions to himself, the family knows about food costs, stretching the paycheck, and is interested in security. It also has heard about strikes! If the company is paternalistic, the organizer should also consider the family's reaction to sudden, harsh words against the boss. The employer has had years to "work on" the family--no union representative is going to accomplish anything by blasting away in his first communication with the home.

Like handbills, letters also should be signed--either by the representative, the name of a committee, the names of workers in the plant, or the union.

ADVERTISING

A representative's use of advertising will, of course, be determined by the funds he is permitted to spend. It should also be determined, however, by the impact it is likely to have upon the employees and the community.

Newspapers, radio, and TV advertisements in large cities are not only expensive, but often are relatively useless. In a city where organized labor is strong and the general population is large, only the directly affected workers will be at all interested and they can be reached by other means.

In the small community, the situation may be different. Advertisements will be relatively cheap and the organizer may feel that public support is essential to the success of the campaign.

Newspaper ads are priced by the amount of space used. The larger the ad, the better chance of it being seen, but this does not mean that all of the space must be filled. Like the handbill, white space is important. Once the representative knows what he wants to say, he can usually get assistance from the newspaper in securing the best wording and type sizes. He will not be charged for this help.

Radio and TV ads are handled in the same way, but instead of buying space the representative will be purchasing time and the best period for a large audience. Most representatives using radio and TV, purchase "spots"--short announcements between programs--that are bought as a "package." The stations will help prepare the announcements, but the representative should be sure that he gets as many "spots" as possible played when the employees are driving to and from work (radio) or during the evening (TV).

Generally speaking, the organizer should think twice before going into paid advertising campaigns, whether through radio, TV or newspapers. Aside from the need for expert handling, campaigns of this kind may kick back or have no visible influence upon

either the community or the workers directly concerned because of other community or world issues, or because they are "lost" in the shuffle. Use of these media on a sustained basis can be expensive. This is not to say, of course, that ads, TV or radio should never be used.

NEWS RELEASES

The major objective of the news release is to get it used--as news--as closely as possible to the way it has been written. The release that is picked up by the newspaper as prepared by the organizer has the effect of a free advertisement, but more important--since it is not labelled as an ad, it carries the newspaper's reputation for accuracy.

Once again, a release dealing with an organizing campaign must depend upon the community in which the campaign is being undertaken. In a large city, the papers may announce that an election will be held as well as the results, but the average organizing drive simply isn't "news" and won't be given much space, if any.

In the small community, however, the case is often entirely different. A union campaign at a company which provides a large share of the community payroll is very definitely "news" and will be treated accordingly.

The preparation of a news release by a union representative should not be undertaken until the local newspapers have been examined. By reading how the paper "plays" local news, the representative will get an idea of how best to word his release.

Generally, in writing a release, the most important information must come first. The "lead" paragraph must be dramatic enough to guarantee readership. The first few paragraphs must also answer the questions: who?, what?, why?, where?, when?, and how?

Since newspapers, radio, and TV all will attempt to shy away from outright propaganda, the representative should be sure that all of his emotional statements are written as quotations--either of himself or of members of the in-plant organizing committee.

No newspaper story will say: "The management of Company X is violently anti-union and has fired workers seeking to join Union Y," but the paper will print the statement if it reads: "John Smith, Union Y representative, today charged that 'Company X is violently anti-union and has fired workers seeking to join the union.'"

One further point: the newspaper, radio, and TV stations consider news to be especially worth using when it is happening at the time of the release or will happen in the near future. Stories that talk about events happening a few days prior to the paper's publication are not news, they are "history." For this reason, releases should be written in the present and future tenses, stressing that action <u>will</u> take place or is happening <u>today</u>, rather than stating that something <u>has</u> happened.

Radio stations can be given the same releases presented to the newspapers, but an attempt should be made to time the releases so that in some cases the newspaper will be on the streets before the radio announcement, and vice versa. TV stations also can be given the same release, but an effort should be made--whenever possible--to include a picture. Since TV is mostly visual, inclusion of a picture (8" x 10") will help to get the release broadcast.

A few simple rules about preparing a release:

- Type the copy, using only one side of a piece of paper and double-spacing.
- Leave wide margins so that the editor has room to write his own corrections.
- In the top right hand corner, place the name of the union, the name of the representative and a phone number where the editor can contact the representative.
- Above the start of the story--on the left--state the time when the story can first be used. Most stories can be marked: "For Immediate Release."
- Start the story almost half way down the first page, giving the editor sufficient room to write a headline and instructions on type size.

BILLBOARDS AND UNION MOVIES

Billboards, union movies, picture slides, etc., are all visual aids that can be of assistance in a campaign. Their use, of course, depends on the availability of funds and films.

If billboards are to be used, their space can usually be rented by contacting the agency listed on the bottom of the sign that the union desires to rent. The agency also will probably be able to give the union the name of several artists who can prepare the desired message.

Some unions have excellent movies that representatives use to stimulate discussion during organizing meetings. The representative should be sure that he has had a "sneak preview" of the film, so that he can lead an intelligent discussion and give a brief introduction before it is played. Additional films are available from the AFL-CIO Education Department and many representatives carry an AFL-CIO film catalogue with them.

THE ISSUE, THE COMPANY, AND THE COMMUNITY

Every organizing campaign develops its own key issues -- problems that are of major importance to the employees and that are generally viewed as the major reasons for joining a union.

As the campaign gets under way, the organizer should soon recognize what these issues are and how he wants to develop them. While he may want to discuss other problems, he knows that if he can convince enough of the workforce that the union -- and only the union -- has the remedy for these key issues, his campaign will be a success.

Once these key issues have been selected -- whether they are wages, job security, pensions, or working conditions -- the organizer should use all of his organizing weapons to stress the union's solution.

If the organizer does a good job of constantly hammering on these issues, he will hold the offensive and force the company to answer his charges. The theory that a good offense is the best defense holds especially true in organizing.

Handbills, publicity, letters to the home, meetings, house calls, and all other forms of communication should emphasize the issues. The representative should be sure that he sticks to the facts. As long as he does, and as long as he varies his charges enough to maintain interest, the company will end up answering the union throughout the campaign.

The anti-union company that is determined to defeat the union will, of course, also seek to take the offensive. It will tell its employers about union thugs, racketeering, strikes, and violence. It may devise all sorts of false statements in an effort to scare and confuse its employees.

As the company campaign becomes especially vicious, pro-union members of the workforce are almost certain to urge the representative to answer certain management charges. While some statements may have to be counteracted, the organizer must remember that he will be playing into management's hands when the union takes the defensive. Whenever possible, company statements should be ignored, or treated lightly, while the union's communications continue to stress the key issues.

WARNING THE MEMBERS

Once the company has indicated that it is launching a full scale anti-union campaign, however, the union representative should warn the union's supporters of possible management actions. The leadership committee, as well as all other committees, should know -- and understand -- just what the company can do under the law and what the union can do to overcome these tactics.

In describing company tactics, the representative should not attempt to fool the union supporters. It is dishonest and unfair to promise committee members that they "cannot be fired for union activity." Every representative knows that despite the language of the law, active union supporters are fired on other pretenses and either are forced to wait long months before being rehired or never regain their jobs.

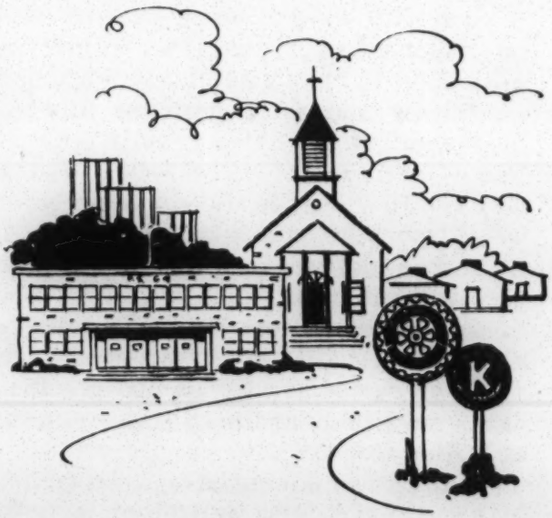
Committee members also should be warned of "captive audience" meetings and the National Labor Relations Board's present interpretation of "free speech." Other legally permissive company tactics also should be described. The union's supporters may be surprised and even dismayed by this information, but advance warning is still better than the last-minute shock and disintegration of a campaign caused by a hostile employer.

While the company's personal attack against the union may be the greatest obstacle for the representative to overcome, he should also consider the attitude of the community. In the larger cities, of course, this attitude may be one of complete indifference and have little bearing on the campaign's outcome, but in the smaller cities and towns, public sentiment can be extremely important.

Management has learned the value of community sympathy and open support. Anti-union firms, especially in the South, have devised programs that place the full weight of community pressure against the union supporter. Since the actions of community committees cannot be blamed on the company--under the NLRB's "agency" definition--these committees often go "all out" in their efforts to defeat the union.

There is no reason why representatives should not try to win community support for the union. In areas where there has been little experience with the labor movement or where the company is the dominant industry, such efforts may prove worthless--but they should be tried. In some communities, union representatives have found strong support and help when they least expected it.

Once the campaign is in the open, the small community knows that "the union is trying to come in." The representative has nothing to lose by approaching various leaders and finding out where their sympathies lie and what they plan to do. House calls on community leaders can be as effective as house calls on unorganized workers.



Other unions in the community can tell the representative what people to visit. If there are no other unions, the representative can start by visiting municipal officials and churchmen. A pro-labor clergyman or a sympathetic elected official--even if they wish to remain anonymous--can often be the source of other contacts.

If there are other unions in the community, the representative will, of course, want to involve them as much as possible in the campaign. Local union leaders, business agents, and council officials should be urged to speak with their friends at the target plant, their employers, and community leaders with whom they have a personal acquaintance. Union officials and members living in the area also can be of assistance by speaking at campaign meetings or supplying the representative with needed manpower for leaflet distributions.

In speaking to community leaders, it is important for the representative to be as objective as possible and to avoid personal attacks on the company. The major point to stress is the right of working men and women to seek self-organization and to vote in a free election. If community leaders are impressed with this fact relatively early in the campaign and the company then launches a vicious anti-union drive, the representative may find that he has won valuable allies.

Should community leaders be willing to support the union openly, the representative will want to take advantage of this situation. A community committee can be formed -- just as management does -- with letters mailed to the workers, ads in the press, and news releases. The more prominent the leaders, the more help they can provide.

The representative who finds interested community leaders who are "on the fence" should attempt to secure literature quoting men in the leader's occupation or profession who support trade unionism. Many internationals have such material, as does the AFL-CIO and the IUD.

Although most representatives will find it difficult to form a community committee that speaks out openly for the union, some personal contacts may succeed in neutralizing the company's planned use of these same leaders. If the community takes the position that a decision to be represented by a union should be left up to the involved employees, the representative has gone a long way toward securing a fair election -- one of his major goals.

In this connection, the union organizer's personal behavior is important because his actions are watched by the workers in the plant. Just because of his work, the union representative must be courteous and avoid situations which can reflect upon him and the union during an organizing campaign.

TIMING

An organizing campaign -- like a battle -- depends on strategy, tactics, and timing. If both the strategy and tactics are properly developed, the campaign can still fail if the representative fails to time his drive so that it reaches its high point on Election Day.

As with every other part of an organizing effort, the timing of each campaign may be different, but the final objective is identical. The representative wants pro-union sentiment to reach its maximum strength when the workers go to the polls.

During the 1960 national elections, many political commentators claimed that the closeness of the final results was caused by the Kennedy campaign "peaking too soon." These commentators charged that the President reached his high point -- maximum votes -- 10 days to two weeks before Election Day and that if the election had come a week later, Nixon would have won.

If the political commentators are correct, what happened during the Presidential election often happens in union organizing campaigns. The representative uses up all of his ammunition, has his drive running at full speed, and then finds that he cannot maintain active interest through Election Day.

Even worse are the campaigns that reach their peak before the NLRB sets an election date, only to dwindle in interest as the Board permits company-requested delays aimed at killing the spirit of the drive.

Many organizers have learned to "hold back" until the election date is set and then plan their publicity and other activities to reach a climax on the eve of the vote. These representatives have learned that when the final union action contains nothing more than balloting instructions, a "last minute" company appeal can have a devastating effect.

As mentioned in the section dealing with meetings, the representative may decide to hold a mass meeting on the night prior to the election. Such a meeting runs the risk of a poor attendance, but a large turnout can do much to boost morale and help to insure victory. A test vote, held at such a meeting, not only gives the workers practice in casting their ballots but will indicate the union "trend."

AIMING FOR ELECTION DAY

In other campaigns, the organizer may find that--like it or not--he has reached his peak membership well before the election. If his personal vote count shows a union

victory--regardless of how narrow--he will concentrate all his efforts on maintaining his support, even to the point of ignoring the non-union and on-the-fence employees. Such action may force the union to take a defensive position in the last days of the campaign, but if the votes can be held, the representative may be successful.

Usually, in such a situation, the organizer finds that he is in a losing battle. The company is left free to concentrate on the hard-core union supporters and will, almost always, be able to switch a few key votes.

In some campaigns, the organizer may find that as the union reaches its peak strength, the company reacts by taking clearly illegal action. Members of the leadership committee may be discharged, supervisors may make open threats, and working conditions -- and even wages -- may be drastically changed.

While the representative may recognize that he has solid unfair labor practice charges, he should carefully consider whether the filing of such charges -- and the delay of the election -- is in the union's best interest. The organizer may decide, if the union's strength is sufficient, to push hard for an election or strike the company for immediate recognition and the correction of injustices. The decision to strike, of course, must be carefully considered in the light of specific circumstances.

ELECTION DAY PLANNING

Election Day marks the conclusion of every campaign. The importance of the union showing its strength and thereby helping to develop a bandwagon psychology cannot be underestimated.

Unfortunately, many representatives work hard up to Election Day and then, assuming that everything possible has been done, sit back and await the vote count. These representatives follow the theory that "if the workers don't know about the union, they never will."

Politicians have long known that while this theory may make sense, it does not take into account the sometimes strange behavior of human beings. For this reason, both major political parties work hard and long on Election Day -- and surveys show the work produces extra votes.

Most organizers will have selected their observers well before Election Day. The observers--chosen for their leadership and respect in the plant--have been told about their job and will receive additional instruction from the Board agent.

Although the NLRB has rules governing activities at the polling place, the representatives can still build a bandwagon atmosphere by getting pro-union supporters to wear buttons, to voice their voting intentions, and to "talk up" the election away from the polls.

The representative should also follow the political precinct practice of turning out the vote. A committee of union supporters can be used to check off those workers who have voted and to contact those employees who have indicated union sentiment, but have not cast their ballots. Vacations, time off, and shift schedules should be analyzed by departments to make sure that transportation can

be provided when necessary. In addition, workers not reporting to the plant on Election Day should be contacted during the voting hours to be sure they plan to cast their ballots.

Generally, the union representative uses his organizing headquarters as an Election Day center. Employees working on late shifts can be utilized to make phone calls while other workers can provide cars. If any workers are sick or hospitalized, every effort should be made to transport them to the polls.

While the representative should not waste his time turning out the non-union vote, he should consider the possibility of having the friends of on-the-fence voters drive the undecided employees to the voting place. It is up to the friends to determine, ahead of time, whether these workers are potential union votes.

Assuming that the representative, or his leadership committee, have a listing of all eligible pro-union voters, ever effort should be made to make sure that each of these voters goes to the polling place. All too often, union supporters have failed to vote because they were convinced that the election was "in the bag," only to find out that the results of the count postpone union representation for at least a year.

If the representative and his committees work hard to obtain the maximum union vote, they will know that they have done everything possible to win a victory. The vote count will determine whether their efforts have succeeded.

CONCLUSION

There are no "absolute" formulas for success in organizing. Each campaign must be planned and carried out according to the circumstances that present themselves.

Tactics will vary and those proved successful in one campaign may fail in another. The experienced organizer recognizes the need for planning, but he also knows that plans must be flexible and tactics can be shifted or changed as need dictates.

There is no substitute for the in-plant leadership organizing committee. Generally, the more successfully these committees are built and spread through the plants, the more probable will be the chances of success.

There's nothing like face-to-face contact with the workers. This means going where workers go, especially to their homes. In large plants, house calls may have to be selective but they can be ignored only by inviting failure. In smaller plants and communities, there is much to be gained by visiting every worker at least once.

Commonsense and experience are probably the best guides for the union organizer. But it is possible to learn from the experiences of others and this guide has sought only to draw from such experiences. The use of these suggestions does not guarantee victory. They are intended only to help in planning and in the work that must follow.

These suggestions have been tested -- and are now being tested -- in action by industrial union organizers. It is hoped that they will help to inspire thoroughly planned campaigns in which problems are anticipated in advance. Planning and hard leg work are the not so secret ingredients of good organizing.

The material in this section

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GUIDEBOOK FOR UNION ORGANIZERS

deals with

ORGANIZING AND THE FEDERAL LAW

and was

originally prepared

as

course material for staff training

Important Note: The following guide is presented as background for an understanding of the law and its interpretations, as they relate to organizing. It is not intended as a substitute for legal advice in specific situations. Organizers should seek advice and direction through normal union channels, as to both the application of the law and union policy.

BARGAINING RIGHTS AND ORGANIZING

This section deals with getting bargaining rights, through voluntary recognition or Labor Board certification. It treats the federal labor law on organizing, employer and union unfair labor practices as they relate to organizing, and briefly the most important municipal and state laws that touch organizing.

GETTING BARGAINING RIGHTS. Bargaining rights may be obtained by recognition or by NLRB certification. The simplest and quickest way to get bargaining rights is by voluntary recognition by the employer. He may recognize a union for one or more plants of his company, and he may even include in the bargaining unit employees (such as guards and supervisors) who could not be included in a Labor Board certification.

REQUIREMENTS FOR VALID RECOGNITION. In order for voluntary recognition by the employer to stand up, if attacked before the NLRB by a rival union, it must meet these requirements:

There must be a valid contract in existence. It must contain terms and conditions of employment and not merely "recognize" a union.

Such a contract must not be "premature." In an expanding unit (usually a new plant) the Board may hold that the contract does not bar an election if substantially less than a full complement of workers is currently employed. The Board used to require that a "representative" group of workers be currently employed before it would order an election or honor a voluntary recognition. In recent rules, it has stated that 30% of the anticipated number of workers must be employed in 50% of the job classifications before it will order an election. Presumably, it would not regard voluntary recognition of a union as a bar to an election if it took place before this volume of employment had been reached in an expanding unit.

The employer must have "convincing evidence" of a majority. Such evidence could be provided in several ways -- such as by a card-check or an independently-conducted election -- but the evidence must be clear-cut that the employer actually thought the union represented a majority of his employees.

It is not enough for a rival union merely to be on the scene in order to forestall a valid recognition, unless it has made a claim for recognition on the employer. The Board has held a contract following voluntary recognition to be a bar to an election, even when a rival union was around, under these circumstances:

- no claim had been made on the employer by the rival union;
- the employer had good evidence that the union he recognized actually represented a majority of his employees.

Obviously, however, the Board will look closely at these situations, in order to prevent "back-door" agreements which might effectively deny workers a free choice of bargaining representative.

Effect on AFL-CIO No-Raiding Pact. When a union gets bargaining rights by voluntary recognition instead of by Board certification, the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Pact does not apply for a period of one year. After the first year, the no-raid pact applies equally to voluntary recognition and Board certifications.

However, the normal Labor Board rules on contract bar and on unit questions apply in the event another union seeks to represent all or a part of an established bargaining unit.

NLRB CERTIFICATION. The other method of getting bargaining rights is by Labor Board certification. This is by far the most common today. Though it takes longer to achieve, because of the election procedure, it has some advantages. The most important are these:

1. The Board will normally dismiss an election petition filed within a year of certification.

2. Where a contract is signed within a year of the issuance of certification, the Board will normally not hold an election until its expiration date (subject to contract bar rules discussed later).

3. A strike by another union against a certification is illegal.

4. A union can strike (and get other unions to strike in sympathy) against an employer refusal to honor a certification and bargain.

5. A certified bargaining agent for employees doing a certain type of work can strike if the employer assigns this work to employees belonging to another union. Without certification, such a strike might be illegal.

FEDERAL LAW ON ORGANIZING. This section sketches the basic federal law on organizing, giving its historical development and coming down through the changes in the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 and the amendments to Taft-Hartley that relate to organizing in the Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 (Landrum-Griffin).

HISTORY TO WAGNER ACT. The whole history of organizing in this country prior to 1932 (with minor and temporary exceptions) has been one of government intervention on the side of employers. For several decades in the 19th century, unions labored under the "criminal conspiracy" doctrine imported from English common law.

When this doctrine was no longer tenable, the courts produced others. One was the "illegal purposes" doctrine which held that although unions as such were not illegal, their purposes might be illegal. Under this doctrine, the purpose of setting wage rates was held to be illegal.

A companion was the "illegal means" doctrine, to the effect that although union purposes might be legal, the means for achieving them might be illegal. By this test, strikes, picketing, and boycotts were all held to be illegal.

The major employer weapon was the injunction which was used against labor organizations with devastating effect. It found its first statutory basis in the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890, under which employers sought injunctions against union organizations as "combinations in restraint of trade."

A second employer weapon was the "yellow-dog contract" which some employers forced their workers to sign as a condition of employment. Such a contract stipulated that the worker would not join a union as long as he worked for that employer. The first attempt to strike off this shackle was the Erdman Act, passed in 1898, applicable to the railroads only. This act made it illegal for employers to fire workers for union membership, which in effect made yellow-dog contracts unenforceable. The Supreme Court set aside the Erdman Act in 1908 on the grounds that it interfered with "freedom of contract" guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment.

A second statute which gave hope to unions -- a false hope, as it turned out -- was the Clayton Act of 1914 which stated that "the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce." It was mistakenly thought that this language would exempt unions from the Sherman Act, and it was widely hailed as "labor's magna charta." These hopes were dashed when the courts continued to issue injunctions against "restraint of trade" by unions.

Railway Labor Act (1926). The beginning of modern labor law was the Railway Labor Act of 1926. For the first time it was laid down as public policy that railroad workers had the right to organize and bargain through representatives of their own choosing, free from employer interference. This law was validated in 1930 by the Supreme Court in the Texas & New Orleans Railway case.

Norris-LaGuardia Act (1932). The principle of collective bargaining was first recognized for all workers in interstate commerce in the Norris-LaGuardia Act of 1932. This Act stated: "Whereas . . . the individual unorganized worker is commonly help-

less to exercise actual liberty of contract and to protect his freedom of labor . . . it is necessary that he have full freedom of association, self-organization, and designation of representatives of his own choosing, to negotiate the terms and conditions of his employment, and that he shall be free from the interference, restraint, or coercion of employers of labor, or their agents, in the designation of such representatives or in self-organization . . . ."

In addition to this first clear statement of public policy favoring the right to organize, the Norris-LaGuardia Act severely limited the use of federal injunctions to cases involving fraud or violence. (In fact, it is commonly known as the "Anti-Injunction Act.") It also rendered yellow-dog contracts unenforceable by labelling them as contrary to public policy.

This law erected barriers to legal action on behalf of employers that even the ingenuity of the courts could not evade. But it left out a vital protection for the right to organize. Unionists had always had the theoretical right to organize under the constitutional guarantees of free speech and assembly. But the employer also had the right to fire a worker for joining a union. As long as he held that right unchecked, labor organizations showed themselves unable to sustain organization on a large scale.

Section 7 (a), NRA. This famous section picked up much of the language of Section 2 of the Norris-LaGuardia Act on the right to organize and incorporated it into the "codes of fair competition." But it also contained the fatal flaw of providing no sanctions against employers who interfered with the rights enunciated for workers. The codes were declared unconstitutional in the Schechter Case in 1935.

THE NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS (WAGNER) ACT, 1935. The growth of the labor movement as it is known today dates from the Wagner Act passed in 1935 and declared constitutional by the Supreme Court in the Jones and Laughlin Case in 1937. For the first time in American history, the employer was prohibited in specific terms from interfering with the worker's right to organize.

Right to Organize. Section 7 of the Wagner Act stated: "Employees shall have the right to self-organization, to form, join, or assist labor organizations, to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and to engage in concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection." This much was about the same as the Norris-LaGuardia Act.

Employer Unfair Labor Practices. Section 7 was called the "heart" of the Wagner Act, but it was the "muscles" provided by Section 8 which kept employers off workers' backs when they formed unions. This section established categories of "employer unfair labor practices" in organizing and bargaining, and Section 10 provided sanctions against employer violations, initially through the NLRB but ultimately enforceable in the federal courts. For the first time, the right to organize was not only enunciated but was protected by some legal teeth.

In the late thirties these restraints on employers, combined with economic distress and a genuine desire on the part of workers to organize, were effective in launching wide-scale unionization. Today they mean much less, because of watering-down of the law and particularly because of weak-kneed and employer-oriented administration of the law by the NLRB.

Representation elections. The second great innovation of the Wagner Act was its provision for representation election procedures through the NLRB. This procedure is spelled out in Section 9 of the law, supplemented by the Board's own rules and regulations and statements of procedure. No longer was it necessary for a union to strike for recognition if the employer refused to deal with it. A union claiming a majority could petition the NLRB for an election; and if it won, the employer was required to recognize and bargain with the union.

LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS (TAFT-HARTLEY) ACT OF 1947. The philosophy of the Wagner Act was to ease the way to organization and collective bargaining and to restrict employer interference with that right. The Taft-Hartley Act specifically sought to throw roadblocks in the way of organizing and bargaining.

Its philosophy is made clear in the addition it made to Section 7, the heart of the Wagner Act. The underlined part of the following paragraph represents the Taft-Hartley addition to Wagner Act language:

> Sec. 7. Employees shall have the right to self-organization, to form, join, or assist labor organizations, to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and to engage in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection, and shall also have the right to refrain from any or all of such activities except to the extent that such right may be affected by an agreement requiring membership in a labor organization as a condition of employment as authorized in Section 8 (a) (3).

Its other sections then spelled out in detail various restrictions on organizing and bargaining. These restrictions will be taken up as they arise under subsequent subject headings. The most important of these was a whole new section of "union unfair labor practices."

LABOR-MANAGEMENT REPORTING AND DISCLOSURE ACT OF 1959. Though commonly known as the Landrum-Griffin Act, this law was changed slightly in House-Senate conference committee from the original Landrum-Griffin Act passed in the House. It directly affects organizing in five provisions:

1. "Hot-cargo" clauses are made illegal. Title VII makes illegal any agreement with an employer requiring that he refrain from handling unfair or struck work. An exception is made for the garment industry.
2. Picketing for both organizational and recognition purposes is sharply restricted.
3. Secondary boycotts are further restricted.
4. Economic strikers are given the right to vote for a period up to one year from the commencement of a strike, at the discretion of the NLRB, if a representation election is held.
5. Conduct of representation elections may be delegated by the NLRB to regional directors.

EMPLOYER VIOLATIONS. The Taft-Hartley Act took the old Section 8 of the Wagner Act covering employer unfair labor practices and made it into Section 8 (a). It added a new Section 8 (b) on union unfair labor practices.

CATEGORIES OF EMPLOYER VIOLATIONS. The following actions of the employer were unlawful under the Wagner Act, and the same language was carried over in the T-H Law:

1. "Restraining, interfering, or coercing" workers in their right to organize and bargain.
2. Forming company unions or dominating unions.
3. Discriminating against workers for union membership or activity.
4. Discriminating against workers for testifying under the law.
5. Refusing to bargain collectively with a majority union.

"FREE SPEECH" PROVISION. All of these were important in organizing in the late thirties. Their importance had been greatly reduced under Taft-Hartley, however, by the inclusion in that law of a new Section 8 (c) -- the so-called "employer free speech" section -- which states:

> "The expressing of any views, argument or opinion or the dissemination thereof, whether in written, printed, graphic, or visual form, shall not constitute or be evidence of an unfair labor practice under any provision of this act, if such expression contains no threat of reprisal or force or promise of benefit."

Even before the "free speech" section was written into the law in 1947, some courts were holding that employers could make statements bearing on union organizing campaigns.

Interrogation. The Labor Board is still in the process of refining its views on employer free speech, but it is clear that the Eisenhower Boards gave the employer great latitude in expressing himself during organizing campaigns. For example, individual interrogation of employees during a campaign -- regarded under the Wagner Act as coercive in itself -- is permitted under certain circumstances.

In one case (Blue Flash Express, 1954) the employer questioned all the employees in a unit, ostensibly to see if the union had a majority. The Board said this was all right. Its test would be whether, in view of all the circumstances, the interrogation reasonably tends to restrain or coerce employees in the exercise of rights guaranteed in the law. In a later case (Mall Tool, 1955) the Board said "an employer's technique of talking individually to his employees doesn't per se justify the voiding of an election." In this case the interviews took place at the work benches, not in the employer's office, and about half the employees were interviewed.

The old Wagner Act philosophy was that it was none of the employer's business how his employees felt about a union, and in any case that the NLRB election would tell him all he needed to know. Decisions since Taft-Hartley have drastically changed this view.

Polling of Employees. A recent case illustrates how silly the Board can get about employer polling. The Board held (Offner Electronics, 1960) that an employer cannot take a poll of the union sentiments of his employees after the Board directs an election or a consent agreement is signed. (Presumably, it would be all right beforehand!)

Employer favoritism. The free speech provision opened the door to the employer to express open preferences for one union as against another during an election campaign. He cannot extend special privileges to one union during an organizing campaign (Wagner Iron Works, 1955) but the incumbent union, by virtue of holding the contract, may enjoy certain privileges denied an outside union -- such as access to the plant.

The employer cannot recognize one union without proof of majority, but he can do several things short of recognition to express his preference. For example, he can "predict" that the benefits will be lower if the incumbent union is displaced, or on the other hand he can say that he cannot pay the higher wage rates that will be demanded by one of the unions. Though the "threat" of reprisal in the form of a plant closing seems clear in the latter statement, it has been held by the Board to be "protected free speech."

Expressions of Opinion. It has been held in a recent case that the employer can say that negotiations will "start from scratch" if a union gets in. The Board held this to be protected as a mere statement of fact and not a threat to withdraw benefits.

In balancing off the employer prohibitions in Sec. 8 (a) (1) against the "free speech" provision of Sec. 8 (c), the Labor Board has been giving the edge to employers.

Captive Audience. This is the practice by an employer of calling his employees together on company time (and usually, though not always, on company premises) and giving them an anti-union speech before an election. The Board's rulings on this have been shifting in favor of the employer. They have gone through the following cycle:

1. At one time any anti-union speech by an employer to a captive audience before an election was an unfair labor practice. This was the doctrine under the Wagner Act but was changed immediately after the "free speech" provision of Taft-Hartley was enacted in 1947.

2. The next stage was the Board's view that the employer could make a captive audience speech, but the union must be given "equal time" if it did not have other opportunities to make its case "under circumstances which reasonably approach equality." This was laid down in the Bonwit Teller case in 1951 for department stores only and later extended to other industries.

3. The Board's position now is that the employer may make a captive audience speech without giving the union such an opportunity. (Livingston Shirt, 1953) This is true as long as the union can solicit employees during non-working time. The Board said: "An employer's premises are the natural forum for him just as the union hall is . . . for the union."

A further extension of the doctrine was made in a Board ruling on an employer speech after working hours, for which attendance was "voluntary." This was held to be non-coercive, even though the pressure on union supporters not to expose themselves before an election is obvious to any organizer.

24-hour Rule. All captive audience speeches are banned during the 24-hour period before an election, regardless of whether or not they are coercive. The Board feels that they have "an unwholesome and unsettling effect and tend to interfere with that sober and thoughtful choice which a free election is designed to reflect."

Other electioneering is permissible during the 24-hour period, but it must not take place within sight or hearing of Board agents conducting the election. Many unions voluntarily suspend organizing activities of an overt sort during this period to take no chances of upsetting the election, but this choice is not dictated by Board decisions.

SOLICITATION. Board rules under this heading relate to Sec. 7 guaranteeing the right to organize and Section 8 (a) prohibiting the employer from interfering with that right. For the union, a fundamental necessity in organizing is to get access to workers to get the union's message across. When the employer arbitrarily and unreasonably restricts the rights of employees to self-organization, or the right of a union to organize employees, the Board has held that Sec. 8 (a) has been violated.

Although the Board makes a point of deciding each case on the basis of its own particular circumstances, it has spun out certain guidelines which can be used in assessing the new situation. It makes distinctions between the rights of employees and the rights of non-employees (usually union organizers), and between working and non-working time.

Employees and non-employees. Employees have greater latitude than non-employees. They can solicit and distribute literature on company property, subject to certain rules described below. ("Employee" has been interpreted to mean an employee on leave and an employee of the company though from another plant or shop.) Non-employees may be denied access to parking lots and other company property when the rule is generally applied and where there is reasonable opportunity to reach employees by other means (such as house calls).

Working and non-working time. The employer may prohibit union solicitation of all kinds during working hours, on the theory that "working time is for work." However, he may not prohibit union discussion during non-working time and in non-public areas. This is so even though the non-working time is paid time, such as a rest period. The test seems to be whether or not the discussion or solicitation interferes in any way with production.

NO-DISTRIBUTION RULE. The Board has moved clear over to the employer's side on this matter. At one time, the employer could enforce a no-distribution rule, provided

that it applied to all comers and provided the union has other "reasonable means" for reaching employees. Later the Board upheld an employer who violated his own rule but enforced it against the union. The Supreme Court upheld the Board on the grounds that the union had not asked the employer to waive the rule for it, too.

Now the Board has upheld an employer who adopted a no-distribution rule during a union organizing campaign. (Star-Brite Industries, 1960) The Board says this is OK if it does not have a "discriminatory purpose" or "unfair application" and it finds neither in this case!

DISCHARGES AND DISCRIMINATION. Employers still ignore the law and discharge or otherwide discriminate (by transfers, rate-cutting and other means) against union supporters during organizing campaigns. It has become increasingly difficult to prove to the NLRB that such discharges and discrimination have been motivated by anti-unionism.

As is necessary in all cases involving charges of employer unfair labor practices, the union seeking to substantiate the charge must accumulate and present evidence of the charge to the NLRB. Affidavits concerning the charge must be gathered immediately, for some people get cold feet when weeks and sometimes months pass after a man has been discharged. The affidavit should be a brief but accurate statement of what the person knows about the company action.

SANCTIONS AGAINST EMPLOYERS. Section 10 of the law provides for the procedures to be followed if the employer (or the union) engages in unfair labor practices. Charges are filed with the NLRB and if upheld result in a cease-and-desist order ultimately enforceable in the federal courts.

OBJECTIONS TO ELECTIONS. Much more useful from the organizing standpoint is an objection to an election because of employer interference, provided the employer's conduct took place after the election was ordered. Objections to elections are processed much more quickly by the Board and, if sustained, result in a new election.

Technically, the Board rules for setting aside elections are not as stringent as those for finding an employer guilty of an 8 (a) charge. Even though an employer's conduct might not be unlawful under section 8 (a), the Board may find that the same conduct interfered with the free choice of a bargaining representative and order a new election.

In the General Shoe case of 1948 the Board said: "Conduct that creates an atmosphere which renders improbable a free choice will sometimes warrant invalidating an election, even though the conduct may not constitute an unfair labor practice." In the same case, the Board pointed out that the "free speech" provision, 8 (c), only applied to unfair labor practices.

Actually, this theoretical difference in the Board's mind has not meant much in practice. Its chief manifestation has been the "24-hour rule" under which captive audience speeches in the 24 hours just prior to an election constitute grounds for setting aside an election, though not unfair labor practices.

UNION UNFAIR LABOR PRACTICES. The restrictive philosophy of the Taft-Hartley Act is well illustrated in the Section 8 (b) which it added on union unfair labor practices. (Other union conduct may result in the Board's setting aside an election, though the action itself does not constitute an unfair labor practice.)

CATEGORIES OF UNION UNFAIR LABOR PRACTICES. Briefly, this section provides that it shall be an unfair labor practice for a union or its agents (a steward has been held to be an agent) to do any of the following things:

1. To restrain or coerce --

   A. Employees in the exercise of rights guaranteed in Sec. 7 (in this case, the right not to organize or engage in collective bargaining)
   B. Employers in the selection of bargaining representatives.

2. To cause or attempt to cause an employer to discriminate against an employee or to have him discharged for anything other than a "failure to tender the periodic dues and the initiation fees uniformly required as a condition of acquiring or retaining membership."

3. To refuse to bargain collectively.

4. To engage in or encourage employees to engage in a strike or boycott under certain circumstances and for certain purposes.

5. To charge excessive initiation fees.

6. To exact pay for work not performed or not to be performed (so-called "featherbedding" prohibition aimed at Petrillo and the Musicians' Union).

7. To picket under certain circumstances.

The practices most commonly involved in organizing are those relating to "restraint and coercion" and to secondary boycotts and picketing.

UNION RESTRAINT OR COERCION. Section 8 (b)(1) makes it an unfair labor practice for a union to restrain or coerce employees in their right to join or not to join a union and engage in concerted activities.

This has been held by the NLRB to prohibit:

1. Preventing persons from entering or leaving struck premises.

2. Mass picketing where it has a "coercive" effect (mass picketing as such is not mentioned in the T-H Law).

3. Extreme threats off the picket line.

4. Threatening workers with loss of job if they do not join the union. (Seamprufe, 1949)

The NLRB has not been squeamish about name-calling on the picket line in most cases. But in one case persistent use of profanity and insults resulted in pickets being denied reinstatement. The furthest the Board has yet gone in this regard was in the BVD case in 1954 when it denied reinstatement to employees on the picket line who did not engage in violence but merely failed to restrain other pickets from violence. The effect of an unfair labor practice, then, can be a denial of the protection of the law for reinstatement.

LIMITS ON UNION PROPAGANDA. For a long time, even after Taft-Hartley, the Labor Board made no effort to police or censor union propaganda in organizing campaigns. In 1953, however, in the RCA and United Aircraft cases, the Board indicated when it would step in.

". . . as a general rule, and in the absence of coercion, it (the Board) will not under-

take to censor or police union campaigns or to consider the truth or falsity of electioneering propaganda, unless the ability of the employees to evaluate such material has been so impaired by the campaign material or by campaign trickery that the uncoerced desires of the employees cannot be determined." (RCA)

The statutory basis for the Board's intervention was the provision of 8 (b)(1) prohibiting unions from "coercing or restraining" employees in their rights guaranteed in Section 7. However, the Board has generally used its power to set aside elections.

In the United Aircraft case, Union A put out a fake telegram allegedly signed by the international president of Union B, making certain statements favorable to Union A. The Board set aside the election, stating:

> "Exaggerations, inaccuracies, partial truths, name-calling, and falsehoods, while not condoned, may be excused as legitimate propaganda, providing they are not so misleading as to prevent the exercise of a free choice by employees." The Board thought the free choice was impaired in this instance.

In another case, Gummed Paper Products, the Board set aside an election when a union published false wage comparisons and then, in the face of a company denial and on the eve of the election, repeated the wage comparisons and said they were based on a non-existent new contract.

The way the statute is written, unions appear to be under the same limitations as employers in the "free speech" Section 9 (c), not to "threaten" employees or promise benefits. The Board has so far applied this mainly to employers, however.

The lesson from this is that union organizers must be extremely careful about statements made so close to the election that the employer has no chance to reply. If he does have a chance to reply and does not take it, the Board is unlikely to intercede even in the case of enthusiastic claims.

Sample ballots. It used to be a common practice for organizers to distribute sample ballots marked with an "X" by the name of their union. Such a practice might make it appear that the Labor Board itself wanted employees to vote as indicated.

It is permissible, however, to distribute a completely blank facsimile ballot, provided it is marked "sample" and contains no other marks.

Penalties. If union propaganda went further than the Board thinks permissible, or if a marked sample ballot is put out, the Board might set aside the election and order another.

SECONDARY BOYCOTTS. Sec. 8 (b)(4) of T-H prohibited unions or their agents from A) striking or refusing to use or transport goods, or B) "inducing or encouraging" employees to strike or concertedly refuse to use or transport goods, when the purpose of such action was to require an employer to do any of the following:

1. Join a union
2. Cease using or handling any goods
3. Recognize an uncertified union
4. Recognize a union if another had been certified
5. Assign work to certain employees or union members where another union has been certified for such work.

These were sweeping restrictions designed to curtail union activity aimed at employees of a secondary employer. There were still certain areas of activity, however, which the union could pursue. It could:

1. Tell employers not to handle struck goods (since they were not "employees")
2. Get individuals to refuse to handle goods, if this was not concerted action.
3. Get employers to sign hot-cargo clauses to the effect that they would not deal

with "unfair" or struck employers.

4. Tell customers at a secondary employer's place of business by means of picket signs that certain items sold or used there were non-union. (As long as the union did not picket employee or delivery entrances and the wording of the sign was clearly aimed at customers or consumers.)

1959 Amendments. The restrictions in the new law make the T-H provisions seem pale. Under the new law --

Unions cannot "threaten, coerce, or restrain any person engaged in commerce," if the object is to get him to cease using a product. Even such mild boycott activity as O'Sullivan's and Kohler, aimed at employers who use these products, might run afoul of this provision.

Unions cannot appeal even to an individual employee not to work on a product.

Unions cannot have a legal hot-cargo clause with an employer, to the effect that he will not handle struck or "unfair" work. Section 8 is amended by adding the following new subsection:

> "(e) It shall be an unfair labor practice for any labor organization and any employer to enter into any contract or agreement, express or implied, whereby such employer ceases or refrains or agrees to cease or refrain from handling, using, selling, transporting or otherwise dealing in the products of any other employer, or to cease doing business with any other person, and any contract or agreement entered into heretofore or hereafter containing such an agreement shall be to such extent unenforceable and void. . . ."

An exception is made for the garment industry which has many such clauses in its agreements for major garment centers, to protect itself against runaway shops and non-union competition.

Apparently no picketing at all can take place at a secondary employer's place of business, not even informational picketing whose sole purpose is to inform customers that non-union goods are being handled inside. This prohibition seems to be contained in an addition to section 8 (b)(4) which states:

> ". . . for the purpose of this paragraph (4) only, nothing contained in such paragraph shall be construed to prohibit publicity, other than picketing, (underscoring added) for the purpose of truthfully advising the public, including consumers and members of a labor organization, that a product or products are produced by an employer with whom the labor organization has a primary dispute and are distributed by another employer, as long as such publicity does not have an effect of inducing any individual employed by any person other than the primary employer in the course of his employment to refuse to pick up, deliver, or transport any goods or not to perform any services, at the establishment of the employer engaged in such distribution . . . ."

It would seem obvious from the above that informational picketing of a secondary employer where no primary dispute is involved might be prohibited. This could include picket-sign advertising that certain products were non-union. It remains to be seen if it is constitutional to restrict peaceful, truthful picketing, as the above-quoted section tries to do.

Penalties, Injunctions and unfair labor practice charges. Union representatives are familiar with "the law's delay" in dealing with employer unfair labor practices. Violations of the secondary boycott provisions, however, are handled with the greatest of dispatch. The General Counsel of the NLRB must give such cases top priority, and if he has "reasonable cause" to believe that a complaint should issue, he must apply for an injunction against the alleged violation. The union is then restrained while the charge is heard and an award made. There is no counterpart to these injunction pro-

visions for any employer unfair labor practices.

Damage Suits. Concurrently with these injunction proceedings, the employer may sue the union for damages, under Sec. 303 of the law. Such action is independent of an unfair labor practice charge.

PICKETING FOR RECOGNITION OR ORGANIZATIONAL PURPOSES. The 1959 amendments to the National Labor Relations Act add a new section which for practical purposes makes it an unfair labor practice to picket for organizational purposes or for recognition. Such picketing is an unfair labor practice (1) where another union is recognized and a question concerning representation cannot appropriately be raised at the time of the picketing; (2) where an election has been held within the preceding 12 months even though no union may have been certified; and (3) where the picketing is conducted without a petition having been filed within a reasonable period of time following the commencement of the picketing, not to exceed 30 days.

Even though it is not an unfair labor practice to engage in such picketing where such a petition has been filed, the effect of such picketing is to cause the Board to proceed to an election forthwith without regard to the usual requirements of the Act relating to the investigation of representation petitions, hearings, and the requirement that a showing of interest be provided by the petitioning union. An exception to this part of the Act permits informational picketing aimed solely at the public so long as employees of other persons do not refuse, in the course of their employment, to perform services for their employer.

While this portion of the Act does not specifically exempt unfair labor practice picketing or strikes in protest of unfair labor practices committed by an employer during an organizational campaign, it is unlikely that the Act would be held to prohibit such picketing. In the event that such unfair labor practices occur and an unfair labor practice strike is otherwise deemed advisable, advice should be obtained from the union's legal department as to the legality of such proposed action before it is commenced.

STATE AND MUNICIPAL LAWS. Interference with organizing on the part of state government takes the form of right-to-work laws and other state laws regulating organizing. In addition, there are municipal anti-leaflet ordinances and requirements for the registration of organizers.

STATE RIGHT-TO-WORK LAWS. The role of the states in labor relations took on importance with section 14 (b) of Taft-Hartley which gives the states the right to pass union security restrictions more stringent than the federal law. Eighteen states have these so-called right-to-work laws, some of them also prohibiting or circumscribing the use of the checkoff.

One effect on organizing has been to bring injunctions against strikes and picketing, on the alleged grounds that such actions have had the effect of coercing employees to join a union.

STATE JURISDICTION - 1959 AMENDMENTS. The 1959 amendments to Taft-Hartley contained a section (Title VII, Sec. 701) giving jurisdiction over labor disputes to states where the National board declines to assert jurisdiction. Although it was not specified, it is generally agreed that the state will apply its own laws and public policy.

Since only 12 states have anything like comprehensive administrative machinery for conducting union elections, it is obvious that this provision can lead to chaotic and widely-varying practices from state to state. Most "public policy" of the states lies in the direction of restraining unions and not in protecting the rights of workers to organize, strike, and picket. The prospect is not a happy one.

Effect of Norris-LaGuardia. It remains to be seen what latitude the states will have in issuing injunctions in labor disputes "affecting interstate commerce" when the NLRB declines to act. The Norris-LaGuardia prohibits injunctions in disputes involving interstate commerce, except in cases of fraud and violence.

MUNICIPAL ORDINANCES. Even municipalities have tried to regulate union organizing. The chief forms of attempted regulation have been invoking anti-leaflet ordinances and requiring registration of union organizers.

Anti-leaflet ordinances. These are occasionally invoked to try to stop distribution of union literature. Such ordinances are almost certain to be held unconstitutional in view of several Supreme Court decisions, the oldest in 1929. Such ordinances in Milwaukee, Los Angeles, Worcester (Mass.) and Irvington (N.J.) have been held to violate free speech and freedom of the press in the First Amendment. While a case is being litigated, however, they can be effective in blocking or harassing a union organizing campaign.

Registration of union organizers. These laws are cropping up principally in Southern states as harassment against organizing. Two of these have been held to be unconstitutional (Steelworkers V. Fuqua, Kentucky, 1957; and a case involving the Ladies Garment Workers in Baxley, Ga.). Though unlikely to stand up in court, they have helped to slow up organizing and take time and money to litigate.

Labor organizing — South

Labor outlook

BW

June 22, 1968

Labor's IUD seeks ways to move ahead

AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Dept. is going to be a more conservative, less centrally directed, and, perhaps, a considerably less effective agency now that Walter Reuther and the United Auto Workers are gone.

Many unions are concerned about this. Even major ones seriously at odds with Reuther generally concede that IUD, as a personal project of the former CIO president, was for a dozen years a dynamic force in a federation that badly needed such a prod.

Because they felt that way, the alliance of 59 industrial unions last weekend drafted United Steelworkers President I. W. Abel as a successor to Reuther; they thus picked the head of AFL-CIO's biggest union and the union originally most closely associated to CIO.

But it may take more than Abel's interest to get IUD rolling again.

Cutting back on generosity

Abel accepted the IUD presidency with a warning that it might be necessary "to restrain some of our past generosity" for a time. He said a "reappraisal of priorities" must be undertaken, and that for the present IUD must follow a new, much more narrowly limited course.

The department's treasury is down from $3.5-million to $600,000. Loss of UAW, through suspension from AFL-CIO, has cut IUD revenue by 20%, to $100,000 a month.

Staff people have been laid off. Research programs—including a computer operation—have been cut back.

But, at least for now, 70 organizers are being kept in the field and coalition bargaining staffs are being retained.

Old wounds need healing

UAW money and manpower went a long way toward making IUD a strong and viable arm of AFL-CIO. Almost every international union that mounted a Southern organizing campaign in the years since 1955 counted on IUD help—and got it. Coalition bargaining received its strong impetus in labor from IUD.

But many unions objected to highly personalized control by Reuther and his UAW-oriented aides in IUD, notably Jack Conway, who just resigned as executive director. Their wariness kept them from putting all the money and effort they could into IUD.

IUD also alienated AFL-CIO—and particularly George Meany—by undertaking conflicting organizing, bargaining, and legislative programs.

Abel's first big problem is to win enough confidence among IUD's stand-offish affiliates to get them to raise contributions voluntarily. If they don't, IUD is in trouble.

Battling to stay strong

Nevertheless, Abel is pledged to keep IUD as a strong force in AFL-CIO.

Almost certainly, IUD will be more closely tied to AFL-CIO. Organizing may be taken over by AFL-CIO and coalition bargaining entirely by IUD.

Meanwhile, industrial unions that counted on IUD help in the past may turn to Reuther and his independent UAW for continuing aid—and the result could be a reshuffling of alliances.

In bowing to pressures to take on the IUD job, Abel became even more than before the man at the top of most lists of AFL-CIO presidential potentials when a successor to George Meany, 73, must be chosen.

Labor's new breed of middle managers

Next generation of union leaders will spring from today's middle-level officials—who show a different style

While labor itself has slowed its pace, many of the younger men bring enthusiasm and professional polish to their jobs

The new approach is typified by three examples: a Southern organizer, a political activist, and a labor educator

Most businessmen think of the labor movement as a top and a bottom, with nothing in between. On top, union leaders call or settle national strikes, support or balk presidents. Below, union members ratify or overturn settlements, follow their leaders' advice—or sometimes don't. In between, a blank.

In reality, this blank is peopled by middle-level leaders who mean more to labor's future than either George Meany or Walter Reuther—not just for the obvious reason that some of them will become tomorrow's top leaders, but because the best of them possess a verve and intensity missing from most of the labor movement. They are the yeast in the dough, the spark in the tinder. And labor badly needs this quality if it is to continue to be an important force in U.S. life.

Changing role. Union membership as a percentage of work force appears to have stopped growing. About 22% in 1945 and 25% in 1953, it is only 23% today. At the same time, labor's role has changed in great part from militant movement to conservative institution. Few look to it for anything more than the routine stewardship of its members' wages and working conditions, with peripheral sallies into politics.

Some of this change is inevitable and probably a mark of success; the aim of most movements is to produce institutions that will serve their ends.

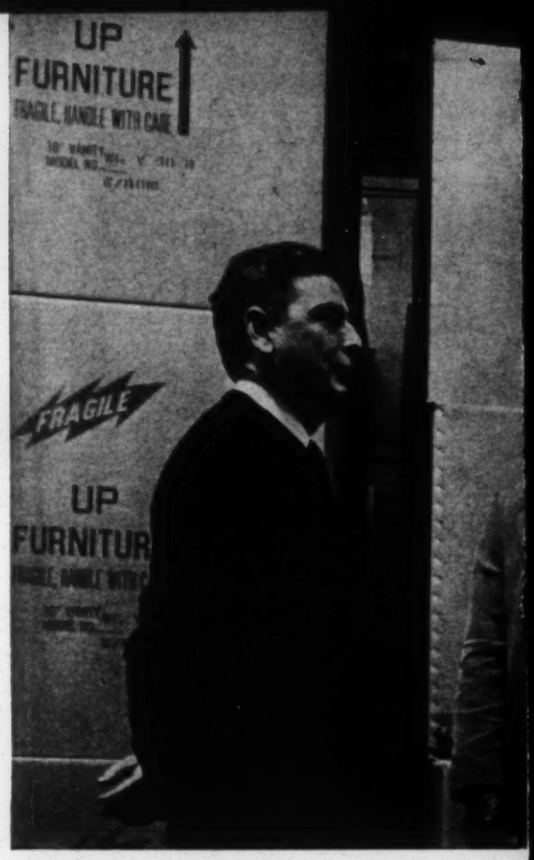
But in becoming an institution, labor appears to have become elderly in more than the average age of AFL-CIO executive council members—which is 64. Reuther's attacks on AFL-CIO "apathy" seem scarcely less ritualized than Meany's defense, and most union members care little about either.

Counter trends. Two factors run counter to this trend. One is the upsurge in public employee unionism, which recreates in an important segment of labor the buoyant spirit, willingness to take risks, and social involvement of the 1930s and 1940s.

The other is the existence of a pool of outstanding middle-level leaders typified by the three men profiled here: a white Alabaman who successfully organizes Negro and white workers; a lobbyist who gives unions a political voice in the labor no-man's-land of Texas; and a veteran of the brawling 1940s who now builds bridges between labor and the university and who theorizes about the need to serve the union member as a whole man.

Younger and perhaps more flexible than the present top leadership, men like these view labor as both movement and institution and function effectively on both levels. Employers tend to respect them (indeed, the union leader whom management loved to hate is almost as outdated as the industrial relations manager who antagonized the union). As a group, they do their jobs extremely well—and as if they were extremely well worth doing.

Men such as these generate much of the energy that moves labor today. In the process, they inevitably determine the direction in which it will move tomorrow. And perhaps whether it will move at all.



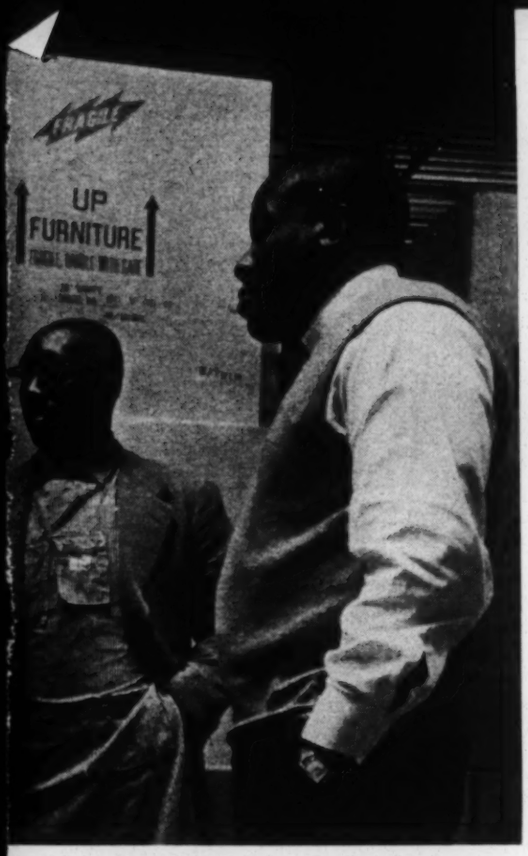
Organizer in the South

Frank Parker of the Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Union is a Southern white man with a knack for organizing Southern Negroes—something that few unions attempt and fewer achieve. More than 6,000 of Parker's 15,000 members are Negroes. All but 1,000 of them, white and black, have joined since Parker took over RWDSU's Southern operations in 1942.

Parker's success among Negroes didn't just happen. It grew naturally from the solid reputation for nondiscriminatory behavior established by the old CIO, with which RWDSU was affiliated; from the 180,000-member international union, which participates militantly in civil rights activities; and—quite obviously—from Parker himself.

"We may not get all we want from an employer—who does?—but we treat all our members alike," Parker says firmly. "I believe we have a healthy number of Negro members because they recognize we are democratic. The Negroes know who will give them a fair shake and who won't."

Realistic approach. This doesn't mean that Parker expects cheers the first time he visits a predominantly Negro plant. He expects suspicion—and gets it, even when flanked by his



Frank Parker, 50, pulls together an interracial union in the tough but improving labor climate of the South.

top Negro assistant, Henry Jenkins.

But he talks to the workers, sometimes earnestly, sometimes jovially, and usually "after a while, you can feel the warmth . . . And I am extra, extra careful not to violate that confidence."

The fact seems to be that—in addition to his ideological assets—Parker is a born organizer. It's a quality as inexplicable and unmistakable as the one that distinguishes an actor or a painter.

In Parker's case, the quality showed itself early. As a 19-year-old shipping clerk in a Birmingham bakery, Parker reacted to his $10-a-week wage by gathering a shop committee, establishing contact with the local CIO office, and signing up 200 bakery workers. That was 31 years ago. He has been a union activist ever since: financial officer of his local union, business manager, international union representative (the union's only one in the South when he got the job in 1942), regional director, and assistant Southern director since 1954.

Tight schedule. A small, lean man, with the look of a retired middleweight contender, Parker habitually works a 15-hour day and sometimes a seven-day week. Despite his title of assistant, he is effectively in charge of all RWDSU operations south of Washington and east of Austin; the Southern director is a semiretired union veteran who takes little part in daily activities at regional headquarters in Birmingham.

Parker spends most of his time explaining—explaining the benefits of organization to prospective members, explaining union programs to current members, explaining to employers that they must raise wages, explaining to rival unions why they had better keep their distance.

The start of a typical day finds Parker conferring with an employer who is fighting RWDSU efforts to unionize his plant; Parker warns the man that he is watching like a hawk for possible violations of the Taft-Hartley Act. After breakfast, a session of the Alabama Unemployment Compensation Commission's appeals board, of which Parker is a member. After lunch, a quick talk with the president of a local union who wants Parker's advice on how to handle a grievance.

Then paperwork at the office, including some international union business; Parker is a vice-president. Instructions to his secretary about plane reservations for Florida, where he is expected the next day to help negotiate a contract. Then a trip to a nearby small town, together with the local union president, to chat with the new manager of a unionized plant; they want "to get the new man off on the right foot."

Back to Birmingham for a hasty dinner and a membership meeting dealing with pensions; Parker attends in his capacity as trustee of RWDSU's pension and welfare boards. And so to bed, after midnight.

"I don't think I could do it in a shop, on an assembly line," Parker says with a grin. "But in this work I can, because it's important and it's different every day."

Persuasion, not defiance. Despite his full-time devotion to the union, Parker is not at all what other unionists call a red hot—a man who leaps to the barricades at every opportunity. Parker prefers persuasion to defiance. He believes in discussing problems with management "because if they know as much as we do about the situation, we feel that 90% of the time they will make the same decision as we would."

At contract time, he remembers that "a union has many weapons, and the strike is just one of them. My attitude is, use the other weapons first.

"I don't like to set deadlines and say, 'If we don't get what we want by midnight, out we come.' Settlements are hardly ever black or white. They're usually in the gray area in between.

"Of course, if the employer is never going to do the right thing, you have to strike," he adds.

Among the results of this policy have been 20 years of strike-free relations with Moore-Handley, Inc., a large hardware wholesaler in Pelham, Ala. Parker says Moore-Handley wages and fringe benefits are good—and paid equally to white and Negro workers. Recently, when the company moved a warehouse out of downtown Birmingham, company and union renegotiated their contract eight months early so that the warehouse workers wouldn't lose the increased commutation cost.

Tactics. Mark Taliaferro, a management attorney who has often faced Parker across the bargaining table, says: "He's my favorite union man. He doesn't make any sweetheart deals, he stays with his members—but he's honest, he's fair, he's willing to bargain."

Another business leader says, "Parker is a community asset."

But these are Birmingham people. Out in the hinterlands, hostility toward union men—especially Negro or "nigger-loving" union men—hasn't changed much since the 1930s. And this is where the unorganized plants are.

Parker's organizers work under the constant threat of violence or arrest. One popular anti-union tactic, for instance, involves planting moonshine or other contraband in an organizer's car, to be "discovered" by cooperating law officers.

Organizer Henry Jenkins realized he was in for this treatment recently when he emerged from a house call in the boondocks to glimpse strangers tinkering with his car trunk. Slipping into a nearby church, Jenkins phoned Parker in Birmingham, who phoned the AFL-CIO civil rights office in Washington, which phoned the Justice Dept., which phoned one of its Alabama representatives. The Alabama man sped to the scene to get the moonshine out of the car and Jenkins out of the church.

Jenkins' behavior in the incident faithfully carried out Parker's instructions to organizers: Outflank trouble, don't meet it head on. "If it comes to the fighting stage, remember, it takes two to make a fight, and we try not to be the second half," Parker says.

NLRB attitude. How the National Labor Relations Board responds to such employer or community tactics can determine the union's success or failure, Parker says. He is matter-of-fact about the political factors affecting the board's response.

"Under Eisenhower, an employer could beat your brains out, and the

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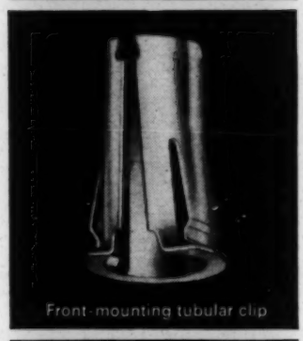
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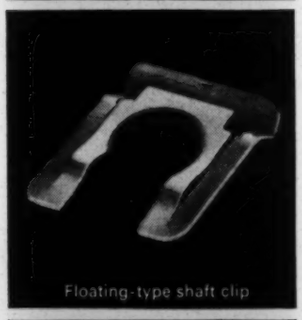
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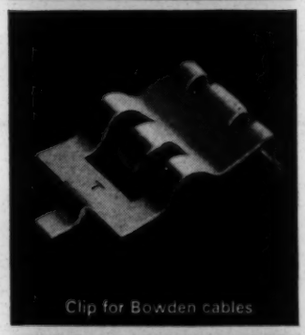
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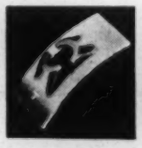

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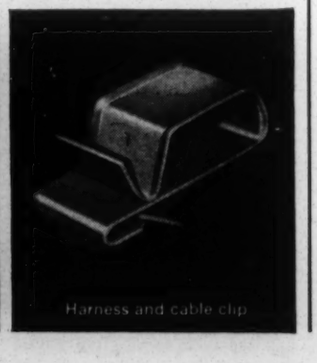

Harness and cable clip

Most Southern workers would join a union if they weren't afraid of reprisals . . .

Story on page 74

board said, 'Case dismissed.' Oh, me! It was murder," Parker says.

NLRB attitudes shifted toward a more pro-labor position under Kennedy and Johnson, Parker says. Now he expects another, milder shift toward employer viewpoints as a result of labor's recent electoral setbacks. He has changed his organizing plans to match.

"We'll have to take a more cautious tack and get strong organizational support before we come out in the open in plants where management is strongly anti-union," he says. "We cannot risk the jobs of a few without the support of many now. We cannot do what we might have done two years ago."

Parker believes that most Southern workers would join a union if they weren't afraid of the consequences to themselves if the union failed to win a majority, or, more important, failed to win bargaining rights and a contract.

"Our biggest problem is overcoming those fears," Parker says. "That applies to both whites and Negroes."

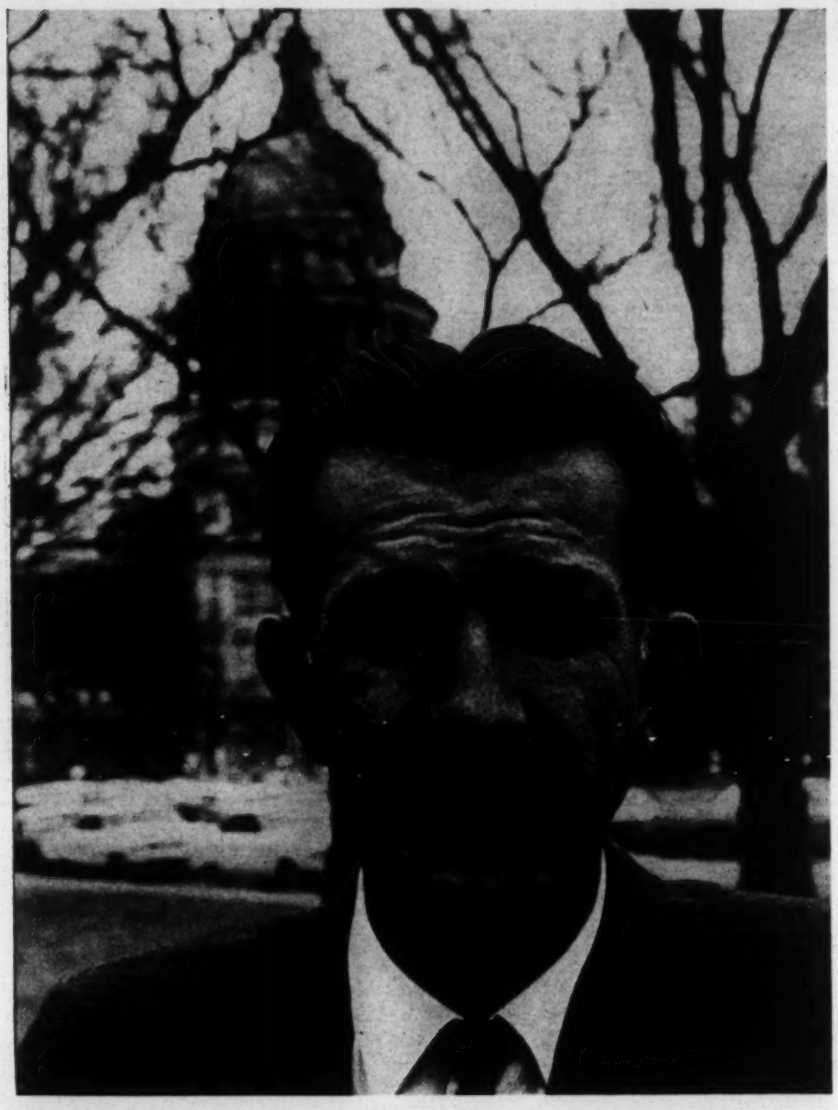
Future prospects. As a union official who has succeeded where many others fail—in organizing Negroes, in increasing membership, in building a strong union while gaining community respect in the South—Parker seems to be a natural prospect for higher office. It is conceivable that he may head RWDSU some day.

Predictably (since professions of personal ambitions are no more acceptable in labor circles than in political ones), Parker talks about the future in terms of his present post. He's "ambitious to build the union," he says; he would like to double the Southern membership.

"I am not an eager beaver in the sense that I'm looking for any more of a national position with the union than I have, and that's an honest statement," he says. "We in the South now have a great deal to do with the shaping of the policies of the international union. As a v-p on the board, I give voice to the feelings of the RWDSU's Southern membership.

"If it came to pass that I could better serve the union in the future in a different capacity, I would evaluate the situation then."

Winning labor a bigger voice in Texas



Hank Brown, 47, president of Texas State AFL-CIO Council, swings weight around the Capitol in Austin; helps push the labor effort to better conditions for the state's low-paid Mexican-American farm workers.

Texas labor unions resemble Texas cactus; they survive by learning to grow in arid soil. Texas labor leaders survive by imitating another feature of the landscape; they develop into classic Texas politicians, tough yet wily.

One of the best examples of this breed is Henry S. (Hank) Brown, 47-year-old president of the Texas State AFL-CIO Council. Brown heads a federation whose affiliates count some 200,000 industrial, craft, and white-collar workers as members. Informally, he also speaks for—and to—some 150,000 Texas unionists whose organizations are not affiliated with the state group.

Brown regards his constituents realistically. He says that Texas unions have improved in their treatment of minorities; the Negro and Mexican memberships of affiliated unions (10% and 15% of the total respectively) have increased a third in the seven years since he took office. But he adds that some unions continue to bar Negroes by indirect methods.

"When we find out about it, we ask them to leave," he says, ". . . if they don't get mad and quit first."

At present, the council is providing moral and financial support to striking Mexican-American farm workers, whose average hourly wage —when they're working—is 85¢. It has contributed $100,000 in direct aid to strikers' families; it supports the Mexican-American Affairs Committee (formed "to educate the Mexican-American in his basic rights"); and it lobbies in Washington for legislation to put farm workers under the Wagner Act. Wagner Act coverage would compel farm employers to bargain with a union if a majority of employees voted for it.

On the jump. Advancing labor aims through political means is Brown's basic function, both as state AFL-CIO head and in his second capacity as chairman of the council's Committee on Political Education (COPE).

During a typical week shortly before the May 4 primary, Brown met with his staff to map a get-out-the-vote campaign for Democratic gubernatorial candidate Don Yarborough (who topped the May 4 primary but lost in the runoff); delivered get-out-the-vote speeches in Beaumont, Houston, and Orange; and gave advice on their get-out-the-vote drives to union leaders in Beaumont, Orange, and Port Arthur.

On the nonpolitical side, Brown

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met with lawyers to consider purchase of land adjacent to the council's Austin headquarters; attended a business meeting of the council's trustees in Houston; and—by phone—advised a Dallas union official how to set up a pension fund, suggested the name of a labor representative for the board of a new center for economic education at Texas Christian University in Fort Worth, and assured Houston school officials that he would be happy to speak to high school students on careers in the building trades.

If the state legislature had been in session, the week's schedule also would have included some purposeful hobnobbing with state legislators and perhaps testimony before a legislative committee.

Political support. COPE spends only $200,000 in a hot political year—peanuts compared to some other Texas groups—but it works hard on door-to-door canvassing and it blankets the state with some 2-million leaflets, research bulletins, and other pieces of printed matter annually.

Texas COPE normally supports whatever liberal Democrats the state produces, and it backs Senator Ralph W. Yarborough in his quarrels with conservative Governor John B. Connally, Jr. It helped elect Texas' first Negro state senator since Reconstruction, Barbara Jordan of Houston.

But where the liberal-conservative division is less clear-cut, Brown tries to wean his members from automatic allegiance to the Democratic ticket. In 1966, the Texas AFL-CIO refused to support Democrat Waggoner Carr against Republican Senator John G. Tower on the ground that both were equally conservative. It also looked with benevolent neutrality on the successful candidacy of liberal Republican Representative George Bush.

Brown himself regards a few Republicans as good guys—Nelson Rockefeller, for one. But he doesn't expect to have to face the problem of whether to vote for him.

"The Republicans don't have enough sense to nominate Rockefeller, who could make some inroads into the labor vote," he says. "Most of the delegates to the Republican convention will be country club people who will nominate somebody like Nixon or Reagan."

Campaign technique. As the representative of a labor, liberal group in a predominantly agricultural, conservative state, Brown knows he can't expect 100% support even from relatively friendly legislators.

"We take into account what kind of a district a man represents," he says. "If it's rockbound conservative, we know we can't always win him over. But we try. We show him just how a bill will help his district."

Brown employs a three-stage technique on legislators who consistently fight labor-backed bills.

"First, you appeal for the legislator's vote every way you can," he says. "If that doesn't work, the next election you rough him up a little with a strong opposing candidate. As a last recourse, you go for broke and try to retire him."

In practice, few politicians get the drastic treatment—just as, in practice, Brown tempers his opposition to some bills that offend labor sensibilities if they appear to be necessary, or at least sure to pass. A case in point was the recent measure authorizing municipal sales taxes, traditionally anathema to labor as "taxes on the poor."

"I've seen him put up harder fights," says Stephen J. Matthews, executive director of the Texas Municipal League and a long-time fellow lobbyist. "Maybe Hank realized that cities have to collect more money to pay their employees more, and this was the only way they were going to get to do it."

Another appraisal of Brown's performance comes from State Senator Chet Brooks, who rates him "very effective" although "he may be a little blunt at times."

Much of Brown's lobbying involves issues that don't affect unions directly—for instance, his current attempt to roll back a 16% increase in state auto insurance rates.

Brown lost a round in this fight last year when a judge declined to cancel the increase on the ground that the matter was legislative, not judicial. But Brown recalls with pride the judge's additional comment: "Isn't it strange that the AFL-CIO rather than the attorney-general of Texas is defending the people's interests?"

"We are going to the legislature to get the law changed and the rates reduced even if it takes us 10 years," Brown says.

Winning his spurs. Brown wasn't always such a hard-driving type. The son of a Pennsylvania coal miner, he dropped out of high school to drift around the country in freight cars during the Depression. Eventually he lighted in San Antonio, signed up as a plumber's apprentice, and apparently developed the characteristics he displays today. Three years after he became a plumber, he was manager of the local plumbers' union.

Brown moved up to become research and education director of the

Texas AFL in 1953, held the job after merger with the CIO in 1955, quit in a policy disagreement in 1957, and—after a stint back with the San Antonio plumbers' local—returned to Austin as secretary of the Texas Building & Construction Trades Council in 1960.

The next year, Texas State AFL-CIO Council President Jerry Holleman resigned to become Assistant Secretary of Labor, and Brown won the post in a bloody election campaign whose scars still throb.

Gains. Since then, Brown has struck scarcely less painful blows by pushing through six dues increases, raising the monthly per capita tax on each member from 8¢ to 25¢. The council lost its auto workers, its steelworkers, and most of its carpenters partly as a result of the 1966 increase.

"Labor leaders are like politicians—we hate to raise taxes," Brown says. "But we have to build the programs we need."

Of the present budget of $500,000, perhaps a third goes to equal opportunity activities—mainly educational projects such as a recent meeting in San Marcos, Tex., where Brown and others sought to open lines of communication with 200 Negro leaders.

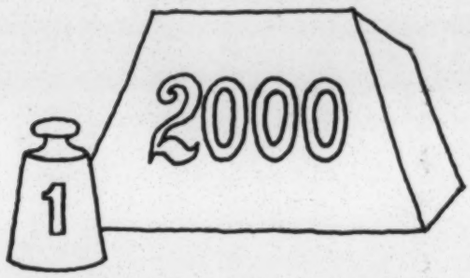
A growing share of the budget goes to community service—for instance, mobilizing union members to pitch in after floods and other natural disasters. And the council backs up its affiliates' organizing efforts with legal advice, economic research, and union literature.

Only 12% of the state's 4-million workers are organized, and trying to increase the percentage is expensive. Brown calculates that it costs the council $125 to sign up a new member.

"But we're getting there," Brown says; Texas unions win a rising percentage of the collective bargaining elections they enter.

Aspirations. Brown commutes fairly regularly to Washington, on labor errands and as a member of such blue-ribbon groups as the President's Labor-Management Advisory Committee and the national labor-management panel of the Federal Mediation & Conciliation Service. He disclaims any desire to stay there permanently, either in an AFL-CIO or government job. He has turned down several offers, he says, because "there's too much to do here."

Many of his associates remain unconvinced. "He'll make it to Washington all right," says a colleague familiar with Brown's 60-hour week, "provided he doesn't kill himself first."



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Cass Alvin, 52, idea man for the Steelworkers' Western district, preaches labor aims on the campus at UCLA.

An evangelist for 'modern' unionism

The United Steelworkers lists Casimir (Cass) Alvin as education and publicity director of its Western district, with headquarters in Los Angeles. A more complete title might be teacher-preacher-at-large, bringer of the union message to the district's 72,000 members and to anyone else who will listen.

The message he delivers is different from the one he received back in Indiana in the 1930s, because the preacher knows that times are different.

The son of Polish immigrants, Alvin grew up among steelworkers who worked long hours at back-breaking tasks in unorganized mills. At 18, he quit a newspaper reporter's job to attend the University of California at Los Angeles and to work summers as an organizer in auto plants. He has been a USW staff man since 1946. Today's worker shares neither his kind of past nor its built-in motives for loyalty to the labor movement—and Alvin knows it.

"That's the new job of unions," he says. "To take this product, not of a family born in Europe, not of the Depression, but of the U. S. public school system and prosperity, and to make him feel that the union is the best way of life on the industrial scene: the best way to handle threats of automation, the best way to handle vocational training, the best approach to politics."

In the old days, workers thought that anything the union did was great because no one had ever done anything for them before, Alvin says.

Now workers' expectations are higher, they share in the general irreverence toward established institutions, and they have more outside interests, he says.

A broader union. "The union must broaden itself to concern for the total person. We must worry about the air he breathes, the recreation available, the wages being garnisheed because of too-easy credit . . . The union must be close to the men, it must help them satisfy personal needs outside the plant gates as well as inside," Alvin says.

Alvin will deliver the union message anywhere. He'll talk to grade school pupils, move on to lecture to college students, and round off his day by arguing with the students' professors.

His favorite audiences are UCLA extension classes—bright but unrealistic, he says.

"They don't understand labor-management relations in a free society," Alvin says. "They take the results for granted and think that collective bargaining is unnecessary, all that is needed is an enlightened, paternalistic management. They think they can survive on their own in this highly organized society. They feel that way not only about unions but about their own professors."

Spreading the Gospel. Alvin tells the students that society is a balance of many collectives—that "institutions like churches and unions survive because they really help people."

"And, of course, I remind them that an unorganized worker simply makes less money," Alvin says briskly.

Alvin doubts whether he has changed any basic attitudes despite the warmth of the students' response. But he thinks that talking to them is important just the same.

"It's another reference point as they make their decisions about life," he says. "It's important that their ideas on trade unions do not come only from the front page of newspapers."

If Alvin brings unionism to the campus, he also brings academia to the Steelworkers. His educational institutes—short training courses for local union leaders—feature sociologists and political figures rather than the drills in parliamentary procedure traditional to such union classes.

Stretching members' minds is the most crucial part of his job, he believes. "I think ignorance radiates problems. Labor must learn to make decisions based on reason. You can't

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'People want to join something so powerful it could shut down the steel industry...'

Story on page 74

do it on emotions alone anymore."

Communication is a problem much on his mind.

"Unfortunately, because of mass media, no one talks to anyone any more," he says. "They just assume everyone knows everything because it appears on Channel 4. The intimacy that characterized organized labor in the 1930s has to be revitalized.

"Some of the great labor leaders have the quality I'm talking about, and can project it. It's not emotionalism and it's not just something they do for the dues dollar. It's concern that they have for others and their problems for no other reason than that they are people, too."

In the past, Alvin has helped transmit this feeling in speeches prepared for the Steelworkers' founding father and first president, Philip Murray, and for former USW President David McDonald. He will probably do some speechwriting for the current president, I. W. Abel, too.

Action-backed talk. Alvin's accomplishments, however, include more than talk, his own or others'. Over the years, he has had a hand in framing the unique Kaiser Steel Corp.-USW long-range sharing plan and in working out jurisdictional agreements between USW and various craft unions.

At present, he maintains close contact with the Western wing of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters; he and IBT Vice-President Einar Mohn are among the moving spirits on the California Council for Health Plan Alternatives, a union-based group seeking radical reform of health plans. Alvin is also active in programs to aid the Watts area of Los Angeles, and he serves on the California State Hospital Advisory Board as an appointee of former Governor Pat E. Brown.

In his day-to-day work, Alvin has gained the reputation of a Jimmy Higgins—union slang for someone who's ready to do whatever needs to be done, whether it's licking stamps or manning a picketline.

Alvin doesn't just write organizing leaflets. If necessary, he helps the organizers hand them out at the plant gate, sweeps the hall for the meeting to follow, and photographs the meeting for Steel Labor, the USW publication.

Political handicap. Despite all this, Alvin is unlikely to rise any further in the union hierarchy. He has always been an appointed staff man, not an elected officer, and the gulf between the two is even deeper in labor than in politics. All top union jobs are elective, out of reach for a man who lacks a political base.

The handicap doesn't seem to bother Alvin. Of all union topics, he says, politics interests him the very least.

Perhaps unconsciously, his office walls emphasize the point: no pictures of union officers, no pictures of U. S. Presidents, just a watercolor of a steelworker firing a furnace—the gift of a member.

"I've worked in places where 17 offices in a row all have the same pictures," he says. "I don't think loyalty depends on pictures."

He emphasizes, however, that union politics serves a useful purpose. "You'd be surprised what it does to sharpen ideas and keep members on their toes," he says.

Off-beat theories. Ideas obviously rank high in Alvin's scale of values. He has found satisfaction in working for USW all these years because "a union is a good place to discover yourself and generate ideas. Unions are still a place where ideas are discussed."

And the 13-week sabbaticals provided by some USW contracts are "a wonderful thing" because they enable steelworkers to broaden their ideas.

"Look at Socrates. Suppose he had to sew his own toga. Once people are divorced from work, they can make great contributions."

Alvin's own ideas tend to skid neatly off the beaten track.

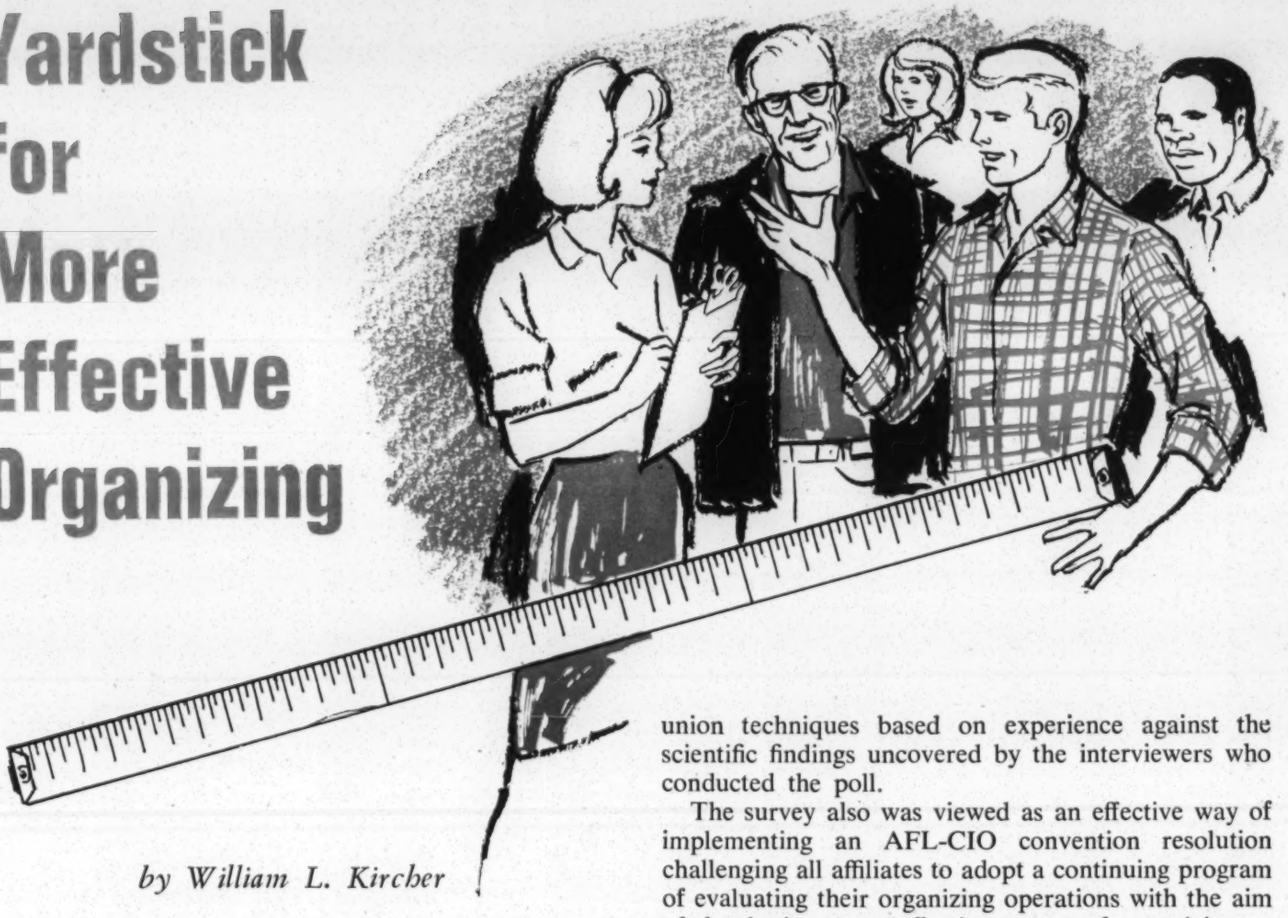
On why workers join unions: "In addition to the economic reasons, for power. People want to join something so powerful it could shut down the steel industry. If it weren't for that, the PTA would do."

On union democracy: "Unions are much more democratic than the church or a university."

On his three children (with a wave of the hand toward the photo on his desk): "My own long-range sharing plan." **End**

Unions — Organizing

Yardstick for More Effective Organizing



by William L. Kircher

The pro-union voter in a National Labor Relations Board election is most likely to be a stable, well-informed person who has invested several years on the job he holds when the election is held.

There is a better than average chance that the sympathetic voter is married and a woman, and a good chance this voter is under 25.

Conversely, the anti-union voter is indecisive, conservative and often motivated by confusion as to what union representation will do for him.

These characteristics of typical voters and their reactions to organizing campaigns emerged from an impartial, in-depth survey and evaluation of 500 workers who had participated in NLRB collective bargaining representation elections over a two-year period in Los Angeles and Orange Counties, Calif.

At the request of the AFL-CIO Department of Organization, the Los Angeles-Orange Counties AFL-CIO Organizing Committee asked the political science department of the San Fernando Valley State College to conduct the sampling as part of the committee's overall organizing activities.

One of its primary purposes was, of course, to discover which organizing tools are most effective. The survey was seen as an ideal method of measuring union techniques based on experience against the scientific findings uncovered by the interviewers who conducted the poll.

The survey also was viewed as an effective way of implementing an AFL-CIO convention resolution challenging all affiliates to adopt a continuing program of evaluating their organizing operations with the aim of developing more effective means of organizing.

Probably of greater interest to the academicians who participated was the opportunity to obtain fresh data on the much-heralded, but unsubstantiated, "generation gap" between young workers and the trade union movement. Other interesting facets of the survey included sections designed to measure the degree of attractiveness unionism held for workers of both sexes and of various ethnic, regional and political backgrounds.

Believed to be the first of its kind ever undertaken by a trade union organization, the survey's uniqueness prompted Mrs. Ellen Studhalter, instructor in the state college's political science department, to remark:

"The proposal by the Organizing Committee that an outside, unbiased agency should examine these aspects of their inner dynamics was significant in itself . . . Few organizations welcome such scrutiny and fewer still seek it. . ."

Survey interviewers were upper division and graduate students selected from the political science and government departments of San Fernando Valley State College and California State College at Los Angeles.

Those interviewed represented employes who had participated in NLRB elections over a two-year period in which the percentage of union victories and defeats corresponded with the actual results in some 1,100 NLRB elections conducted over a five-year period.

Further, because of California's high immigration

WILLIAM L. KIRCHER is Director of the AFL-CIO Department of Organization.

rate, the sampling provided an insight into the attitudes of workers from all sections of the nation.

William L. Gilbert, now AFL-CIO assistant regional director in California and director of the Los Angeles-Orange Counties AFL-CIO Organizing Committee when the poll was taken, described it as one representative enough to apply the findings to union organizing committees in all sections of the country.

Questions were designed to enable the Organizing Committee to get a composite picture of each interviewee by covering birthplace, age, sex, marital status, political attitudes and reasons for voting for or against the union. Those sampled also were asked to evaluate which union and which management techniques they believed were most effective.

While confirming what most seasoned organizers had learned by experience, the poll results destroyed some myths concocted by some social experts.

One such mythical balloon which the survey burst involves the current belief that young people are generally alienated from much of society, including the trade union movement. Young people voted for the union at a rate within four percent of the overall pro-union average. Another indication that young workers are receptive to trade unionism was the revelation that more of those working on a job less than one year reported voting for the union than against.

An old theory held that women were not interested in the long-range benefits of union membership and representation because they just weren't interested in long-term employment. The conclusions drawn from the California study should crumble that notion.

Sociologists offer many reasons for this new attitude, including medical advances and technological advances in the home. The point is that there is now little doubt women are extremely receptive to unionism and can be a vital part of most organizing drives.

The pro-union vote of women sampled, half of whom were married, was 14 percent higher than that of male pro-union voters.

These California findings augment the findings of an earlier Kraft Poll which noted that women members were the strongest supporters of all major issues on which the AFL-CIO took a stand.

That survey of union members by professional pollster John Kraft was commissioned by the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education and appeared in summary form in the August 1967 Federationist.

Organizers were not too surprised to learn that workers with conservative views are more inclined to vote with the company than those with progressive political ideas. The California survey revealed that nearly two-thirds of those who selected the union also voted against Governor Reagan in the 1966 California gubernatorial election.

Some of the questions dealing with personal characteristics helped complete the picture of the typical pro-union and anti-union voter.

Those who said they voted against the union often showed themselves to be "waverers" who changed their minds one or more times before the election.

Cross-analysis of answers to these questions also showed that pro-union voters were less apt to succumb to fear or other pressures in making their decision.

Interviewers found that persons who voted for the union were significantly more influenced by knowing their legal rights in an organizing drive than those who voted against it.

The strength of character of the pro-union voter was brought out in several questions dealing with political attitudes.

For instance, those who said they voted for the union were much more likely to describe themselves in positive terms as "strong" Democrats rather than as "usually" Democrats. The experts who prepared the report of findings after the survey was completed concluded that pro-union voters were more decisive because they were less likely to classify themselves as Independent. The experts concluded that the Independent voter falls in a category that voting studies indicate contains cross-pressured voters. Such voters, according to the political scientists, are unable to make up their minds until late in any campaign and at times never make them up.

Interviewers also found that married workers are slightly more pro-union than single workers. Those employed more than 10 years are more inclined to vote for the union than against, as are those with less than one year on the job. Those with more than one year of service and less than five are more inclined to be anti-union than those in any other category.

Previous union membership was also a factor in the decision of many voters. One-third of those who said they voted for the union also said they had benefited from union membership previously.

From the standpoint of organizing, two sections of the survey are most valuable.

The first dealt with the respondents' ratings of the respective techniques used by union and management in influencing decisions. The second covered projected reasons for voting for or against the union.

These questions were asked of all 500 persons.

The key question on the effectiveness of union efforts was: "What do you think influenced you or your co-workers most in the union campaign?"

All groups agreed that face-to-face contact was the most important and effective element in the campaign. Similarly, all groups rated management's face-to-face contact techniques as most effective.

The highest union ratings were given to union meetings and talks with fellow employes on the union committee. Since attendance at union meetings is not always practical during organizing drives, the most effective tool which emerges from the survey is a strong nucleus of pro-union workers equipped to talk with their co-workers.

Both pro-union and anti-union voters rated union leaflets as the third most effective technique and home discussions with organizers fourth, or the least effective of union techniques.

All groups sampled said they rated "captive audi-

EVALUATION OF UNION CAMPAIGN TECHNIQUES

UNION TECHNIQUES	TOTAL SAMPLE (491)				
	CHOICE			TOTAL RESPONSE	RANK
	1ST	2ND	3RD		
Union Meetings	161	38	1	203	1st
Talks with Fellow Employes Who Were on Union Committee	115	53	16	186	2nd
Union Leaflets	47	49	19	117	3rd
Discussions with Union Organizers in Your Home	37	25	19	82	4th
Other	49	47	11	148	

Source: Responses on effectiveness of union and management techniques, from "A Survey of Voters in National Labor Relations Board Elections" prepared by San Fernando Valley State College Political Science Department Research Analysts, Spring 1968.

ence" speeches at meetings by top company executives as the most influential technique. Second rating was given to talks by supervisors or foremen with small groups of employes. Rated third were management letters to employes' homes, which some respondents reported contained "threats."

Anti-union voters, however, ranked fear of management as one of the least important reasons for voting against.

Interviewers then asked each participant to rate in order of importance five reasons for voting for a union. The total selection was ranked by both pro-union and anti-union voters in the following order:

1. Union representation and collective bargaining ensure better pay and job security.
2. Improved fringe benefits such as pensions, holidays and sick leave.
3. Fair pay, fairness in promotions, seniority rights.
4. Grievance procedure. (Older workers tended to rank this higher.)
5. Better control over speedup, production standards and quotas.

In offering projected reasons why people might vote against unions, both pro-union and anti-union voters chose the "idea of having to join and paying dues" as the most important.

Anti-union voters chose as their second most influential reason the objection that "the union was not needed."

By and large, those voting for the union ranked fear of reprisal by management much higher than did "no" voters, who attached more significance to the belief that unions were unnecessary.

The findings of this survey can be of great value to the 14 million members of AFL-CIO affiliates who are all potential organizers. Its value lies not only in what it tells about the pro-union voter, but what it reveals about many of those who in past elections rejected the trade union movement.

The man or woman who votes against a union may not necessarily be anti-union. He may be confused, unclear about the need for unions and what representation may mean. He may, as the survey indicates, be a "swinger."

He may be one of the 25 percent of the anti-union voters who said they made up their minds to vote "no" late in the campaign or part of the 22 percent who decided on a "no" vote "right before the election."

Obviously, many of these basically neutral and indecisive voters might be motivated to vote union in campaigns geared to "last-minute" organizing activity.

Some negative voters (certainly the 27.5 percent who said they decided against the union "as soon as it came around") are intensely anti-union and likely cannot be motivated.

The survey seems to indicate that unions can enjoy more success by motivating the strongly pro-union employe (the 36 percent who were for the union "when it came around") to motivate the undecided co-worker.

By ignoring the obviously pro-union worker, an organizer may be giving management by default the waverer who could be greatly influenced by his pro-union fellow worker.

The survey certainly points up the great importance of women workers in organizing drives. If, as the survey demonstrates, women today are becoming more inclined to trade unionism, they should become actively enlisted in the campaign.

Young workers who participated in the poll appear to have hurled a challenge at organizers. Their pro-union vote was only 4 percent below the total sample. Four percent may sound familiar to many seasoned organizers because many campaigns have been won—and lost—by that amount or less.

In fact, experience has demonstrated that as the size of the bargaining unit increases, the winning percentage decreases. Put another way, the more ground an organizer has to cover in making face-to-face contact with potential members, the less successful he is—unless he has the help of an active employes' committee.

Recent figures indicate that in one year a 7 percent switch in votes in 18 percent of elections lost would have brought union benefits to 15,000 additional workers.

Against that background, we can say that perhaps the survey's greatest value lies in its reaffirmation of the simple success formula for organizing.

The ingredients for this formula are a seasoned organizer, a group of strong leaders to form the nucleus of the workers' committee and plenty of hard work from both.

The organizer's job is to coordinate the campaign with the technical experts in all AFL-CIO departments and to guide his committee over the pitfalls and through the maze of legal encumbrances. The committee's job is to motivate their fellow employes and the bigger the unit, the bigger this job becomes.

Both jobs are tough—but rewarding—work.

Unions — Organizing

How to keep the unions out of the plant

The labor relations field has produced its own underground hit, a film that has been shown privately by more than 350 companies—though none of them will admit it publicly. Unfortunately for connoisseurs of blue movies, the show is as clean as a whistle.

Labor Unions in America is not even sensational in its own genre, the fight-the-union category. Such films—or newspapers or pamphlets—traditionally paint the union organizer as a gorilla and unionization as forced labor or (south of Maryland) mongrelization of the races. But this show, a series of still photos and cartoons with voice commentary and musical accompaniment, is a reasonably well-balanced, technically expert presentation of a nonunion company's viewpoint, with nothing to make the flesh creep.

The film is aimed at first-line supervisors as the company's key contact with its employees, and its understanding of their crucial role in protecting a company against being unionized is probably a measure of its sophistication.

The bulk of the film's users are companies worried about potential inroads among white-collar workers—logically, labor's next big target as the percentage of blue-collar workers in the work force shrinks. Most major units of blue-collar workers are already organized; most clerical service, and technical workers are not. The employers who have made *Labor Unions in America* a hit want to keep things that way. Financial institutions and insurance companies are among its most enthusiastic fans.

The message. The film consists of three 20-minute segments: a management's eye view of U. S. labor history, a description of life in a unionized plant that stresses the loss of supervisory power and prestige that comes with unionism, and a series of suggestions on how supervisors can help prevent unions from coming in.

The supervisor's loss of status is illustrated by such examples as the transformation of a nonunion "complaint" into a union "grievance." The supervisor handles the complaint as he sees fit in a nonunion shop. Under a union contract, the grievance is a topic of discussion between ascending tiers of company and union representatives, with an outside arbitrator probably handing down the decision if they fail to agree.

The suggestions on how to discourage unionism may be summarized as:

- Don't create situations that will make workers want a union (for example, listen patiently to employees' complaints, however trivial they may seem to you).
- Keep your cool if an organizer does show up, (for example, don't discriminate against pro-union employees or the company may face unfair labor practice charges under the Taft-Hartley Act).

The series was prepared by Porter Henry & Co., a New York sales management training company, for the American Assn. of Industrial Management. It went on the road with Carl A. Becker, a labor relations consultant for management, who showed it to top executives at local association meetings in every section of the country. More than 350 companies bought the film as part of a $300 package that includes copies of the script, a meeting leader's guide, and a program of management preparation. The film is designed to be used as the focus of group discussion, with further supervisory training recommended.

Concern. The buyers' desire for anonymity stems from a number of reasons, some more logical than others. The least reasonable appears to be fear of past National Labor Relations Board decisions barring use of anti-union material. These cases, however, dealt with blatantly dishonest or "loaded" material circulated to workers during organizing drives.

Labor Unions in America not only relies on interpretation rather than falsifying fact; it also aims at supervisors, not workers, and—ideally—should be shown before a union enters the scene. So it would seem to be out of the NLRB's ballpark.

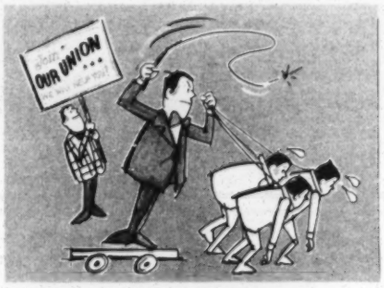
A more valid concern appears to be anxiety about the company image. It is undeniably poor market strategy to publicize an anti-union position if potential customers include union members.

But one of the most compelling reasons for the hush-hush atmosphere is also the most surprising: Many of the companies that have shown the film are highly unionized—in their blue-collar ranks.

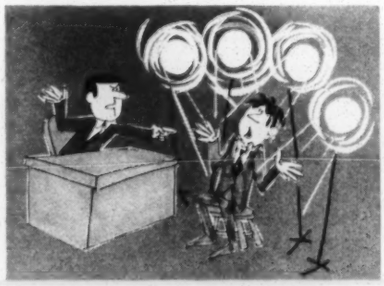
This group includes companies that negotiate with that militant giant among unions, the United Auto Workers, and others in long-unionized areas such as metal manufacturing, utilities, and even construction. These companies want to arm themselves against possible organizing drives among their white-collar workers, but they would just as soon not stir up the resident union. ■

Management film advises supervisors

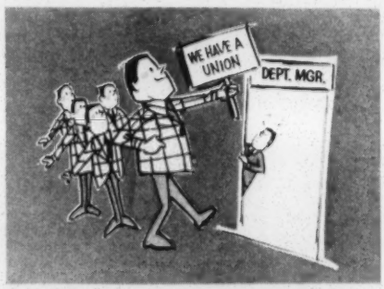
Assume an organizer is eying your company because he probably is . .



. . . So don't slavedrive employees into yearning for a union.



If you suspect union activity, don't grill workers: it is illegal . . .



. . . and may boomerang by creating the conditions for a union victory.

RWDSU Record 5-11-69

SOUTH

ON ALABAMA LINE: Newly-organized workers, on strike for union recognition since mid-February, man their picketline at the Whitney Nursing Home in Ashville, Alabama. Among the pickets are two members of the strike committee, Robert Thomas and chairman Elizabeth Eggers (second from right). Council Org. J. H. (Chuck) Foster is heading the walk-out.

Union Organizing – South

Labor Board Ruling Spurs Drive at Georgia Cannery

Copy into "Coalition"

ZEBULON, Ga.—The NLRB in Washington has upheld Local 315's charges that the Besco Products Co., canners of fruits and vegetables here, engaged in unfair labor practices and refused to bargain in good faith with the union.

Int'l Rep. Guy Dickinson, who filed the charges in February, said he was highly gratified at the NLRB ruling and hoped it would pave the way for the resumption of negotiations for a first contract with Besco.

The Besco Products case, which dates back to last September, presented a number of aspects not usually found in labor disputes nowadays.

On one side was William Edwards, the town's most prominent citizen, who not only owns Besco but also controls a second-hand car lot and a bank. Opposed to him were Negro workers who are employed nine months a year at most, at rates that barely reach the Federal minimum.

On Sept. 5 the workers walked off their jobs in support of a boycott of the town's school system resulting from the hiring of a white principal to replace a Negro who had resigned. Under the direction of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, almost the entire Negro community of Zebulon joined the boycott.

One of the boycott leaders was Robert Curtis, shop chairman at Pomona Products plant in Griffin, 15 miles away, who lives here.

In support of the school boycott, the Besco workers walked out of the plant; soon afterward they got in touch with Curtis and said they wanted to join the RWDSU.

Org. Hershel Holmes, AFL-CIO staffer Jim Freeman, Dickinson and Curtis proceeded to sign up some 200 employees, a large majority of those working at the plant.

After a number of attempts to arrange a meeting with the company failed to get any response, the workers set up picketlines Sept. 9. The company retaliated by releasing its pimento growers from their contracts and later closed down the plant.

Union Responds

The union responded by petitioning the NLRB for a bargaining election.

At a board hearing Sept. 30, the company contended the employees had quit when they struck.

About 25 employees, mostly white, work the entire year, but when the canning season is at its peak, from June to November, the force is expanded to 300 workers, nearly all Negro.

Conditions and wages in the plant are very poor.

Some employees have worked at Besco for 30 years and earn only $1.60 an hour. They don't punch time cards; the supervisor simply jots down what he thinks the worker should be paid. None of them has ever had a paid holiday, a vacation or almost any other benefit.

Some years ago the company was found to have violated the Wage and Hour Law, and the U. S. Dept. of Labor ordered Besco to reimburse the workers for the differences that were uncovered. The company sent out checks, but later coerced the employees into returning them.

'441' To Open Talks

p3, 5

ACTION

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE ALLIANCE FOR LABOR ACTION

VOLUME 1 OCTOBER 1970 NO. 2

Fitzsimmons: "You have our full support"

ALA enlists students to back UAW strike

The Alliance for Labor Action is sponsoring a nationwide drive to enlist student support for the strike by 350,000 UAW members against General Motors, it was announced jointly this month by ALA Co-Chairmen Leonard Woodcock and Frank E. Fitzsimmons.

The innovative project is expected to provide some material aid to the strikers and to demonstrate that students and workers can find a basis for working together on issues, the two men said.

UAW ON THE MARCH for economic justice is symbolized by Leonard Woodcock, the union's president who takes a turn on the picket line. Some 350,000 members are in the second month of their strike against General Motors.

In other news, Fitzsimmons pledged "full support" for the UAW by "more than 2,000,000 Teamster members, many of who were recently involved in a great struggle for economic justice and personal dignity."

The Teamster leader told Woodcock, "Teamsters know the value of true union solidarity. We value our alliance with you and you can be assured of our full and active support."

ALA's student strike support project is being coordinated by 25-year-old Carl Wagner of the Washington staff and is currently operating in areas where there is the greatest concentration of strikers, Michigan, Los Angeles, Chicago, and New Jersey. As the strike moves into its second month, Wagner says that other areas are under consideration.

Regional student support committees are guided by an ALA student coordinator who works closely with UAW regional directors and representatives. Wagner says the students understand the need to accept union discipline to make certain the students don't go off "half cocked" and that their energies and good-will are effectively utilized "on behalf of the strikers."

Wagner emphasizes the students will not walk UAW picket lines but will perform a variety of tasks including raising food and funds for needy strikers and their families, manning day care centers for strikers wives who work while their husbands picket, and arranging for free medical and dental care for the strikers.

Law students will be available to advise strikers on their rights to welfare assistance, said Wagner who feels the students will play an important role in convincing their elders, especially parents, of the justice in the strikers' cause.

ALA leaders caution that the students are not expected to be decisive in the strike but that their sincere concern for a worker's issue is a hopeful sign for fulfilling one of the objects of the ALA as adopted by the founding conference: "To develop policies and carry out programs that will enable the American labor movement to repair the alienation of the liberal, intellectual and academic community and the youth of our nation in order to build and strengthen a new alliance of progressive forces in the broad effort to advance the common good."

So I can have access to [copy] Unions — Organizing - South

Atlanta Organizing Project Enters Second Year

• Win 52 of 78 elections

The Alliance for Labor Action's program to upgrade the wages and working conditions for unorganized workers in the Atlanta area moved smoothly into its second year this month with a reported success ratio of 66 percent.

Since the drive began on Labor day, 1969, ALA organizers, comprised of UAW, Teamster, Chemical and Distributive Workers representatives, have provided strong proof that the South can be organized. The ALA record works out to 52 wins in 78 elections and covers a total of 5,039 workers as of October 1.

According to William Genoese, ALA organizing director, the elections include plant sites in Metropolitan Atlanta and some surrounding Georgia cities.

ALA Co-Chairman Frank E. Fitzsimmons said that "despite the fact we have been in Atlanta only a matter of months and in the face of all kinds of opposition, ALA is keeping its commitments to upgrade working and living conditions for Atlanta workers." The Teamster leader, who chairs ALA's organizing committee, went on to say, "The pilot program is solidly off the ground and we are currently surveying other cities for additional organizing possibilities."

Fitzsimmons also pointed out that ALA has eight elections scheduled for October, and that those campaigns affect 611 workers. It was reported also that there are more than 100 additional drives being conducted from the Atlanta headquarters.

The Atlanta pilot project was initiated as a laboratory to prove the capabilities of intense organizing efforts in the largely unorganized South.

• Woodcock active in Atlanta

ALA co-chairman Leonard Woodcock made public appearances in Atlanta—southern center of ALA operations — three times in the first three months after his election to the presidency of the UAW.

Twenty-four hours after his election in Detroit, Woodcock was in Atlanta for the "March Against Repression," marching with Ralph Abernathy and Coretta King. Then he spoke at the rally climaxing the march that protested campus and street shootings in three U.S. cities.

Several weeks later he returned as guest speaker at the 13th annual convention of The Southern Christian Leadership Conference. He told a standing-room audience "one of the chief purposes of the Alliance for Labor Action is to help the working poor help themselves by organizing themselves and by fighting for freedom and dignity."

After visiting 19 union leadership meetings between his first two Atlanta visits, the ALA Co-Chairman said the Alliance message is "that we stand with Black America in their fight for freedom because if Black America is NOT free we can not be free."

He continued, "we stand too with Brown America and their fight for freedom."

SCLC's convention was keyed to the need for labor organizing. A night workshop panel was all-ALA. Speakers were UAW Vice President Pat Greathouse, Vice President Leslie Roberts of the National Council of Distributive Workers of America, and ALA Organizing Director Bill Genoese.

Woodcock's third visit to Atlanta was to visit workers on the assembly lines of the big General Motors and Ford plants and to appear at a press conference. This was just 10 days before the UAW struck General Motors on Sept. 15.

MAN'S ENVIRONMENT was the subject of a two day conference in July at the Walter and May Reuther Family Education Center sponsored by the Alliance for Labor Action. The meeting, run by environmental and earth day teach-in activists from campuses and communities across the U.S. and Canada, drew 240 delegates including several trade unionists, who helped develop a variety of meaningful anti-pollution community programs as a follow-up to the highly successful teach-ins held on most campuses last spring. Recommendations to establish effective worker-student coalitions to implement anti-pollution programs and a commitment to work toward the end of in-plant pollution (safety on the job) were major pledges made by conferees. Dennis Hayes, head of Environmental Action, Inc., addresses the conference. Hayes' organization was instrumental in planning Earth Day held April 22 to focus nationwide attention on the pollution of the environment.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

ALA Interns Dedicated to Service

BARBOURVILLE, Ky. — Poor whites in this tiny rural Appalachian community no longer consider college campuses the exclusive breeding ground of a vast array of hippie students as the result of an ALA-sponsored youth intern project that local leaders say has helped improve attitudes both toward the labor movement and the college set.

For three months this summer 14 students at Union College here, aided by small weekly stipends from the Alliance for Labor Action, have demonstrated deep practical concern for the urgent problems of the poor of Barbourville and the surrounding areas.

Under the day-to-day direction of Professor John Myers the young people have in a small way instilled a measure of hope to the people of this poverty-stricken community, hope that one long-time resident of the area says was virtually non-existent before.

The students, operating as members of Students for Appalachia (SFA), were involved in diverse activities ranging from teaching swimming to the children of the poor to acquainting people with local and federal aid programs which many of them did not know were available.

Alliance leaders Leonard Woodcock and Frank E. Fitzsimmons say they "are encouraged" by the evident improvement in feeling toward the trade union movement as a result of this program. "We recognize the need to educate people to the sincere concern of the labor movement for the problems of the poor," said the two men. ALA's support for the Appalachian program, they continued, is also important because it demonstrates ALA's understanding that poverty in America is not restricted to black people, that in fact seven of every 10 poor people in America are white and that their needs must be answered. "If you don't read past the headlines," said the two leaders, "you might be left with the impression that all of the poor in this nation are members of minority groups. That's simply not true and ALA's programs are and will be aimed at solving broad problems of poverty experienced by all kinds of people," they concluded.

Students for Appalachia was initiated by Professor Myers in the summer of 1969. Myers, working with other colleges and their students, wanted to establish an "outreach" program that would serve to involve Union College students in the problems of the poor of the community. Myers says that the majority of Union students are not from the immediate area and that in recent years resentment by the townspeople to the students had escalated. The program, he felt, was a practical way to show local residents of the college's interest in the community.

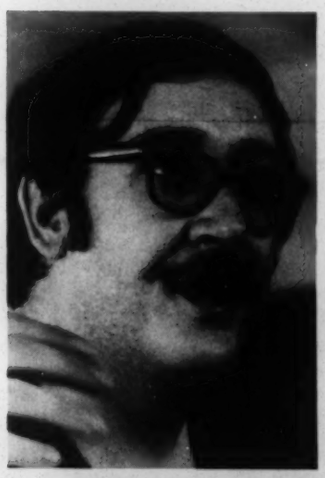
"The SFA program functioned for the summer of '69 and into the school year," said Myers, who explained that the original funding came from the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). A cutback in OEO funds at the national level forced the SFA to consider liquidation, but Myers was able to obtain a commitment from the ALA last spring.

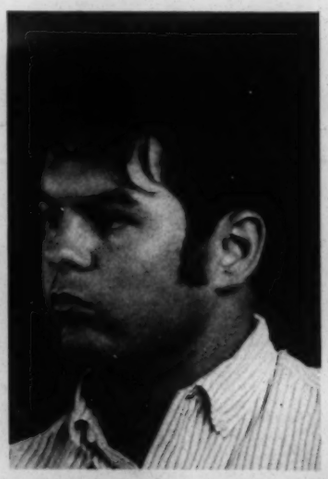
Student Concern

Mark Goodhart is a 22-year-old Union College student from Lansdale, Pa. He and another intern, Pam Foley, have spent considerable time driving people to the University Hospital and Medical Arts Center in Lexington, Ky., some 90 miles away. They consider their time well spent.

Goodhart told **Action** recently: "We had one small girl, 7, she comes from a family of 13 who live over in the hollow. She received a third degree burn so we took her over to the hospital in Lexington and because of the treatment she received she's able to walk now. No treatment was immediately available in the Barbourville area and the little girl would be in serious trouble if she hadn't received treatment," explained the young student.

Pam Foley told of another little girl who needs surgery. Miss Foley is trying to arrange for an operation. "I talked to a social worker and we're arranging to have someone stay with the other small children in the family while the father goes with his daughter to the hospital."





ALA students help poor whites in Appalachia

"We've learned that poor people are human just like us. They don't want welfare, they'd rather earn a living. But, they ask us, what else can we do when there are no jobs? Our children are growing up and need to be fed."

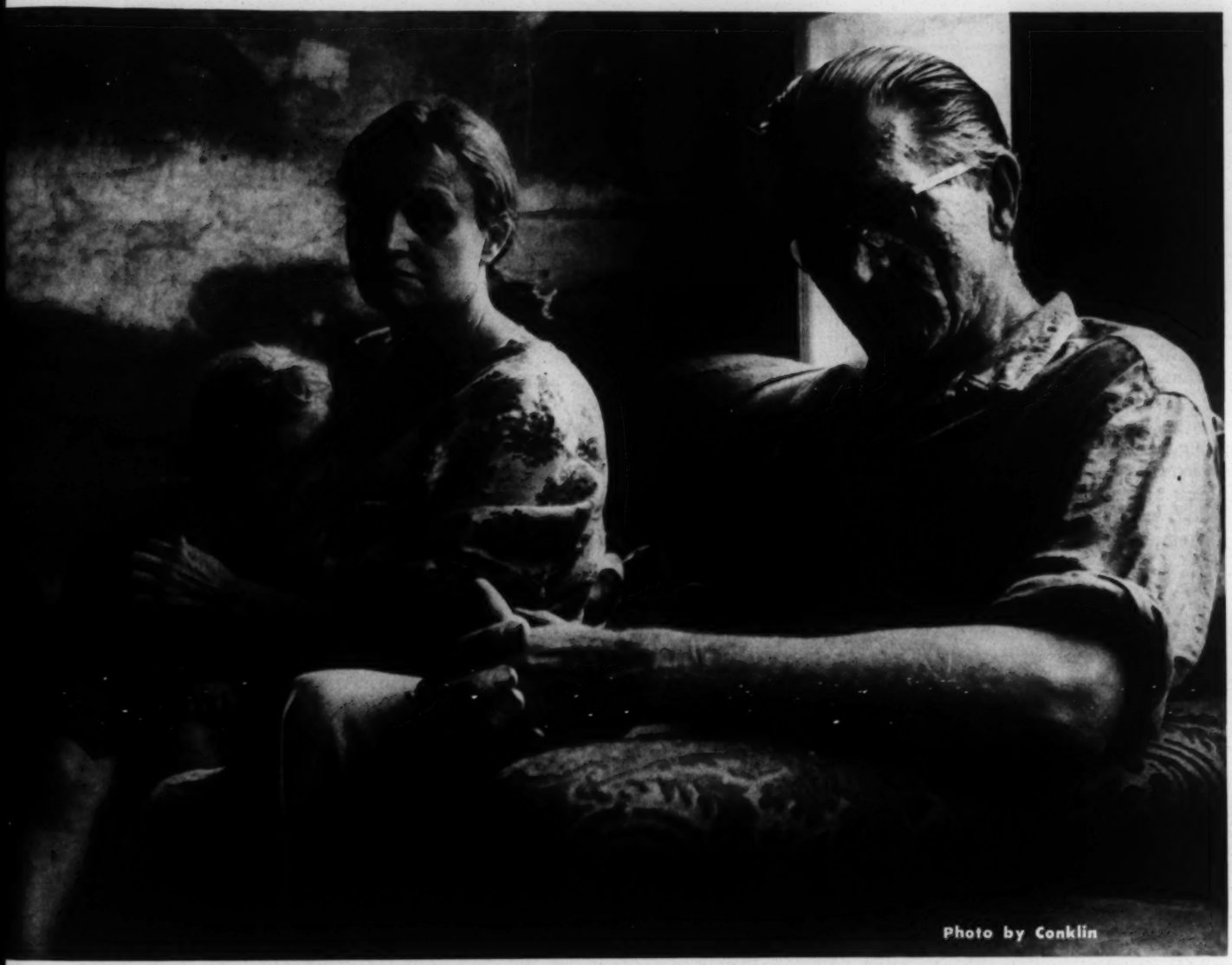


Photo by Conklin

Meredith Knapp, 19, is from New Haven, Conn. She's been teaching adults to sew and young children to swim. Like many of the students in SFA she's experienced some problems explaining to her widowed mother why she's spending her spare time helping poor people.

"Slowly, my mother is learning to understand my values," Miss Knapp noted. But still the pretty junior has a hard time adjusting to her life in New Haven when she returns to visit.

"I went home last summer and sat on the beach with a bunch of people that had to outdo themselves in bathing suits and where they live and how many babysitters they had. All that seemed so unimportant when measured against the problems I had recently confronted," Miss Knapp sighed wearily.

Asked what more society could do to help the poverty-ridden area, Miss Knapp replied, "They need work here and someplace where they can earn necessary income. They don't want to collect money and most of them we've come across don't want welfare money. They'd rather earn their living . . ."

Another student says that many of the people who are on welfare are sick and others are still starving. "All of them ask ashamedly, I think, when trying to explain their need to take money, what else can we do? Our children are growing up and need to be fed."

Steve Fowler, 19, of Reading, Pa., thinks that SFA has helped poor people in the community to become more aware of what help is actually available. "We've been able to point people to adult education and to a variety of different programs like Head Start and the Neighborhood Youth Corps," he says.

Most of the students **Action** talked to agreed that their program has helped develop a feeling of trust of the students by the community. "They learned we make mistakes, are human like they are and that we can be friends, someone to tell their problems to," said one student.

Another student emphasized, "We ask them and do not always tell them things." He explained he had learned a great deal from the people he was helping.

All of the students think programs like SFA are a proper concern of the labor movement. Several students indicated they were kind of "lukewarm" to unions before but that the sincere interest in SFA by the Alliance had "gone a long way" toward improving their understanding of the labor movement as being concerned with much more than wages, hours and working conditions.

ALA leaders very concerned

Elections pose great threat to all trade unionists

Perhaps the most serious threat to the labor movement since the thirties is the way Alliance for Labor Action leaders characterize the November federal and state elections.

Frank E. Fitzsimmons and Leonard Woodcock, ALA co-chairmen and leaders of the nation's two biggest unions, the Teamsters and the UAW, say the record will support an argument that the Nixon Administration is in the midst of a calculated drive to blunt the effectiveness of the labor movement at the bargaining table and in the courts. "They appear to have been working toward that goal since Mr. Nixon was inaugurated Jan. 20, 1969," said the two men.

"Some trade unionists seem to accept surface explanations of serious social issues presented by Administration spokesmen" (Vice President Agnew is the prime example), and "too often fail to reflect on the Administration's seemingly deliberate drive to hurt labor behind the cover of emotionally heated issues," they declared.

But the evidence is too strong that Mr. Nixon and his people are working against the best interests of working people. The increase in unemployment by some 2,000,000 since early '69 is only the most obvious example, they emphasized.

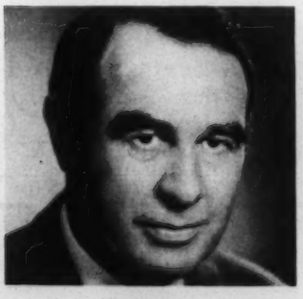
Fitzsimmons and Woodcock said they were "deeply concerned" by the change in the National Labor Relations Board which, in effect, gives the conservative viewpoint at least a 3 to 2 and soon to be 4 to 1 majority. The retirement of Earl Warren and the ascendancy of Warren Burger to the Chief Justice's post on the U.S. Supreme Court has obviously altered the philosophical viewpoint of that body. Advanced ages of three longtime liberals generally favorable to labor's cause, William Douglas, Hugo Black and John Harlan indicate Mr. Nixon will soon be able to build deeper his conservative viewpoint into the highest court in the land. "Our proof is his attempt to appoint Haynsworth and Carswell, two arch-conservatives to the court." Only the dominance of favorable Democrats and a few farsighted Republicans in the U.S. Senate prevented Nixon's appointment of Haynsworth and Carswell.

"And that's the point," said ALA's leaders. "Nixon recognizes he needs the Senate to change the direction of this country and to alter drastically the labor-management relationships in this nation," they said. "That's why he's worked so hard to defeat men like Albert Gore in Tennessee, Harrison Williams in New Jersey, Charles Goodell or Richard Ottinger in New York, Adlai Stevenson, III in Illinois, John Tunney in California, Quentin Burdick in North Dakota, Vance Hartke in Indiana, Frank Moss in Utah, William Proxmire in Wisconsin and Stuart Symington in Missouri.

"The President needs the Senate to erode the hard won gains the labor movement has made over the past 35 years," said Fitzsimmons and Woodcock.

Both men pointed to a current proposal by Senator Robert Griffin (R-Mich.) that would be willing to trade a traditional labor issue, 14(b), for Labor's agreement to get out of politics entirely.

"Griffin hasn't got the votes now, but that could change Nov. 3 if unionists refuse to believe they are facing the most serious challenges facing us in the past three decades," Fitzsimmons and Woodcock concluded.


Williams

Gore

Tunney

Burdick

Symington

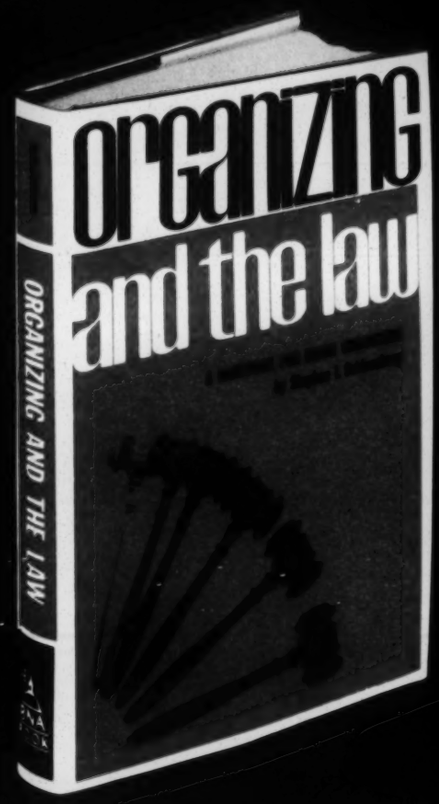
Hartke

Moss

Proxmire

Nixon Targets

"This book is based on the simple premise that the unionization of workers is a social and economic necessity."



BNA BOOKS

THE BUREAU OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS, INC.
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Union - Organizing

A Report to Management from

THE DARTNELL CORPORATION
4660 Ravenswood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60640

Joseph W. Lawson

Ralph N. Texter

J. W. Lawson, II

David V. Tudor

John R. Justice

These five men have built an impressive record of success in meeting the challenge of union organizing drives in close to a hundred key companies.

Now, in a new action manual for management, they reveal the methods they have developed and proved effective . . . ideas you can use immediately.

May we send it to you for free examination?

Dear Sir:

Public statements by national union officials leave little doubt that unions are accelerating their organizing activities for 1969. And, take note, prime targets will be white-collar employees, salesmen, technical and professional personnel, as well as those companies still non-union in the blue-collar field.

Will you be ready when the union organizer calls?

Can you afford not to be? For future profits of your company will depend to a large extent on how well you prepare. Keep in mind, a successful NLRB election can let loose a round of cost hikes, production set-backs, and a flock of other headaches you just wouldn't believe could happen.

What's needed is an action program for management that will discourage and defeat union drives wherever they hit.

To provide you with just such a working tool, Dartnell is proud to announce the publication of this brand new action guide for management--

HOW TO MEET THE CHALLENGE OF THE UNION ORGANIZER

We believe this 172-page manual is one of the most important guides to preventive action on labor relations ever prepared. It tells you how to deal with union organizers on every level of employment, from unskilled workers to engineers, salesmen,

(cont'd....)

Labor — Organizing

THE BUREAU OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS, INC., 1231 25th Street, Northwest, Washington, D.C. 20037 • Telephone 202-223-3500

Dear Sir:

Organizing and the Law, by Stephen I. Schlossberg, general counsel of the United Automobile Workers, has been revised with the assistance of Professor Fredrick E. Sherman, of the University of Wisconsin, to take account of the many changes in federal labor law since the book was first published in 1967. The new edition is now available from BNA Books.

Written for the avowed purpose of facilitating the unionization of workers, Organizing and the Law addresses itself squarely to the problems of the union organizer and shares with him the first-hand knowledge, experience, and legal expertise at the disposal of one of the most powerful and militant labor unions in the country.

It provides a clear and concise summary of the requirements of federal labor law and a step-by-step guide through the complex provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act that affect organizing. It tells how the law can be used to advantage, and what pitfalls must be avoided. It explains the rules of the National Labor Relations Board on the distribution of literature and the solicitation of workers, pinpoints employer and union conduct that may violate the law, outlines the rules on bargaining units, and tells what a union must do to qualify for an NLRB election.

Here are some of the things reviewers said about the first edition:

> "Writing about law for the layman is a special art, and Organizing and the Law is a model of its kind."--Theodore J. St. Antoine, University of Michigan.
>
> ". . . a complete and compact job in a highly complicated field."--Charles O. Gregory, University of Virginia.
>
> ". . . a superb presentation of the law as it affects union organization. I predict that it will become the indispensable companion of all union organizers."--Harold A. Katz, Member, Illinois State Legislature.
>
> ". . . a book that ought to be--and probably will be--carried in the briefcase of every labor organizer in the United States."--Agenda.

(Over, please)

GUIDE TO GOOD STEWARDSHIP • INFORMATION ON

ORGANIZING

TRAINING

CWA EDUCATION DEPT.

WORKBOOK № 3

Course Outline on Organizing

CWA Education Department
Jules Pagano, Director

HANDOUTS: Organizing Training #3
Miscellaneous Organizing Pamphlets

INTRODUCTION

Instructor The objective of this discussion will be to acquaint ourselves with one of the key problems that face our locals, namely:

ORGANIZING (Signing the nonmember)

Sometimes called internal organizing.

1. The purpose of this discussion is to help us develop a continuous organizing program and organizing techniques.

2. It is a proven fact that one of the serious problems in our Union is organizing the nonmember.

3. There are approximately 100,000 nonmembers now being represented by CWA.

There are _____ in _____Company of approximately _____eligible employees in our bargaining unit.

There are _____nonmembers in Local_____ of approximately _____eligible employees in this Local.

These figures indicate there is a tremendous job to be done in organizing.

We will discuss the structure, as established to meet this problem and our role as stewards and members in fulfilling our responsibility and helping to solve this problem. And from this see if we cannot only be better informed about organizing but also acquire some skill in training ourselves to be more effective organizing stewards.

Let us begin by asking ourselves why organizing is so important and why it is a major problem that faces each Local.

Instructor Place on the blackboard -

"Why is this organizing so important?"

Extract from the group, or offer one or two points yourself to stimulate discussion and then discuss fully all the following points, utilizing the blackboard for key phrases:

1. That the only way to build any Union is to get everyone who is eligible to be a member, because:

A. The bargaining strength of our locals, and thereby our International Union, depends on the membership percentage, which is, in effect our strength.

The greater the proportion of members in our industry the more effective our bargaining program will be. The greater proportion of members the greater the benefits and services our Union will be able to provide.

B. Management gauges the determination and strength of the Union to achieve its objectives by its percentage of membership.

C. The financial burden of the Union can be better met by more members, thereby making possible a larger treasury, larger Defense Fund, and more Union services and Union personnel to serve the membership.

D. The strength of our locals to police the contract, once it is bargained, and to effectively win all grievances, to a larger degree depends on the membership development.

Our real power to do the Union job rests in the numbers we have organized.

E. All employees in the communications industry, who are eligible, should be members of the Union, because:

1) The benefits won by our Union, CWA, in bargaining and by political action, go to all telephone workers - members and nonmembers.

2) Those who are nonmembers should be helping to share the load and do their part to make greater achievements possible.

Instructor Now that we have seen why it is so important for us to do this job of signing up the nonmembers, let us see what other methods can be used within our locals to achieve this.

We all know that the only way we can get anyone to join a Union is to contact them. We must approach the person who is not a member and solicit his membership. This takes understanding and hard work. In this session we are going to try to examine some techniques of contacting and persuading the workers in the communications industry to become members of CWA.

Instructor

Make the following point as effective as possible: This job of organizing within each local is the key responsibility of our locals: it is the one area in which each local has the complete authority and machinery to meet this problem of the nonmember; because internal organizing, in the final analysis, must be carried on by the locals. Our locals alone have or can build the machinery to do the job; they alone can reach the nonmembers; they alone can carry on this work day by day. No Union staff, no matter how large or competent, can be a substitute for the local's responsibility and effectiveness in meeting this problem.

Instructor
HANDOUT

Let us begin by asking the following question:
Organizing Workbook No. 3, Page 2.
"What machinery within our locals is especially designed to meet the everyday problem of organizing the nonmembers?"

Instructor

Place on the blackboard the answers which should be received:

1. Your Local Organizing Committee.

Discuss its function and responsibility to:

A. Analyze the local membership development problem

1) Who are the nonmembers.
2) Where are they.
3) How many are there.
4) Why, etc.

B. Developing an overall organizing program

1) Utilize the stewards.
2) Brief stewards.
3) Plan additional organizing work outside of the steward system.

C. Review and analyze organizing program from time to time.

1) Report to Executive Board.

2) Report to steward system
3) Report to membership

Instructor — Continue with - (Have group fill in pertinent blanks on Page 2 of workbook)
"What other machinery in our local logically fits in to help us answer this problem of organizing?"

Continue with placing the answer on the blackboard:
(Review top of Page 3. If they desire to take further notes on your comments, there is space at top of Page 7)

The steward system

Discuss briefly how they are especially designed to meet the problem of the nonmember.

1. The steward is the first Union spokesman that a new employee comes in contact with. To all intents and purposes, the steward is the Union to the new worker.

2. The "Steward System" is built on a basis that enables him to contact each and every worker under his jurisdiction.

3. He can personally contact all workers in his unit, since he works with them day in and day out, as their co-worker.

Instructor — Raise the following question with the group at this point:

Ascertain whether they have a functioning Organizing Committee or not. If they do not, impress the stewards with the importance of seeing to it that their local establishes an Organizing Committee, etc. If they do, follow through with the question, "Does anyone know the Chairman of the Organizing Committee?" "Have you been briefed on the organizing or nonmember problem within your local?"

If not, again make the point of the necessity of these and suggest strongly that they as stewards take it upon themselves to solve this bottleneck within their local, pointing out that every CWA Local has at its disposal a detailed internal organizing guide with overall programs and techniques outlined for thier utilization that was supplied to every local by the Organizing Department of the Union.

Instructor — Continue with -

Now let us assume for the sake of our discussion, that we will do the following things - (Use blackboard for key phrases.)

1. Get a complete list of all employees who are nonmembers and have a blank application and dues deduction card filled in with the name of each prospective member so that all the nonmembers will have to do is sign the card.

2. Have another blank nonmember card with merely the name and address of the nonmember on it on which the job steward will, after contacting the nonmember, record his reaction for future contacts, if he doesn't join. (Sample card, Page 2, workbook)

Instructor — Let us assume we have contacted a nonmember and we have found from our contact that the member does not desire to join the Union, but gives us a number of so-called reasons, and we have put the information on our contact card. At this point let us discuss what some of the reasons are that are given to us by potential members when we contact them requesting that they join the Union.

Instructor — Place on the blackboard -

Reasons given for not joining CWA

Continue with -

After we have done this, we will attempt to develop for ourselves a technique for approaching nonmembers the second time, based on reasons they have advanced.

Instructor — Extract from the group reasons for nonmembership.

Place key reasons on the blackboard.

Discuss each one FULLY, explaining that most of these reasons given will fall under a basic fundamental reason that they do not understand CWA's aims - or its methods - or the importance of CWA to them; that only a few people are indifferent; that most people who are nonmembers just appear anti-union.

Some of the reasons that will be offered will be the following:

If they are not - supply them:

Place on blackboard -

1. Fear and Suspicion.

People who do not understand the Union - or its real objectives -

fear it may harm them. They are suspicious of Union Leadership.

Add to blackboard -

2. Confused Individuals.

These people feel they can advance faster alone and that CWA membership may limit their chances of advancement.

Add to blackboard -

3. Legitimate and Imaginary Complaints Against the Union.

These are people who have real and imaginary grudges against the Union representative, etc., or against some action the Union has taken in the past.

Add to the blackboard -

4. Outside Influence

These are people who have been influenced by their friends and family and other organizations, including the newspapers, that have convinced them that all Unions are a bad thing.

Instructor — You will receive many others.

List them all and analyze them thoroughly - explaining, in detail, that the only way we can satisfy these types of excuses for nonmembership is to analyze each person's attitude as an individual and from that develop an individual approach that will bring about a favorable attitude toward CWA.

Ask the question:

"How can this be done?"

Instructor — Psychologists tell us people's attitudes come from their experiences; they tell us that our Union attitudes come from our experiences and associations with the Company and with the Unions they have known,and the only thing we can do is to analyze these attitudes and then attempt to approach them, based on our analysis.

Instructor (Explain and make introductory remarks distinguishing between the signing of a member and selling a product. Every steward is a salesman to some extent and his duties as a steward are not merely to sign a new member but to sell a product and that product is unionism with emphasis on CWA.)

"How are organizing and selling a product similar?"

A. What's needed to sell a product?

1. Know your product.
2. Believe in your product.
3. Get to know the buyer.

   a. Analyze the buyer.

4. Advantage of your product.
5. Approach.

   a. Be courteous.
   b. Get customer at ease.

6. Avoid defending your product.
7. Follow-up (analyze original contract)

   a. Research on customer.
   b. Seller will come back with new ideas, etc.

Allow time to copy - erase blackboard

Instructor These are the things we need to do to sell a product.

"What is needed to organize?" (Get from group and list on board. Discuss in detail:)

1. Knowledge of CWA
2. Advantages of belonging to a Union.
   a. Knowledge of gains CWA has made.
   b. What CWA's objectives are.
3. Believe in the Union.
4. Approach
   a. Courteous
   b. Be fair
   c. Put person at ease
   d. Let them talk
   e. Answer all questions honestly. If unable to answer question, get answer.
   f. Offer assistance on job
   g. Introduce to other members of work group

5. Analyze the non-member.
6. Avoid taking defensive stand.
7. Why member needs CWA.
   a. Grievances (Discuss briefly)
   b. Belong to the group
   c. Job protection
   d. Fellowship of other members, etc.
   e. Increased wages
   f. Better working conditions
   g. Seniority for hours, vacations, promotions, etc.
8. Follow-up

Allow time to copy - erase blackboard

Instructor Refer back to "How Are Organizing and Selling Similar?"

Now in discussing the methods of organizing we arrive at two basic methods; one being, a Union Security Clause in our contract, i.e., a Union Shop. Union Shop is one of our bargaining objectives. So far, we haven't been strong enough to win this kind of security from the Bell System. The other method of organizing and the most logical at this time is by personal contact. We will have to use this method until we become strong enough to secure Union Shop.

Every organizer in their personal contacts will need to understand individuals, size up situations, work with people, cope with different attitudes, etc.

Instructor Continue with -

We will now attempt to develop a technique that will help us to analyze a nonmember's attitude and, based on this technique, we will develop an approach to the nonmember.

Instructor Place on the blackboard - (Have group follow you on bottom half of page 3 of the workbook)

How to analyze the nonmember's attitude:

1. His background.

2. His relationship with the Union

3. His relationship with the Company.

Instructor Continue with -

Based on this analysis, we can then devise a proper approach for

each individual and attempt to change his attitude.

Instructor Place on the blackboard -

Approach

Instructor Let us take a simple case, one that would be typical of the non-member who had been approached once and had given us these alibis. We are assuming now that she has been contacted and we have taken all of this information down on the back of our 3 x 5 card, and we will now attempt to analyze the case. I will distribute to the group a copy of the case, which is the case of Betty Jones.

Instructor Refer the group to Page 4 of the workbook, "Sample Case" of Betty Jones and have a member of the group read it. Then - have the group fill in the "Sample Case" sheet, as you develop on the blackboard the analysis of the case.

Example: Betty Jones is an Operator. She has been with the Company for one year. She worked for the Company five years ago for a short period. When asked to join the Union by a union steward, she said, "I didn't belong to the Union five years ago, why should I belong now?" She goes on to say that she doesn't see any point in paying dues, that you don't get anything for your money and besides she came to work to make money to help support her family and she would rather spend the money for something for her family than on Union dues. She says, "I don't have anything against the Union because my husband is a member of another Union and I have friends working for the Company who are Union members, but I don't see any reason why I should join, the Company has always been nice to me. Also, all of the girls seem to like me."

Instructor Let's examine this case and begin by looking at Betty's background.

"What is her background?"

1. Husband is a union member.
2. Does not have anything against union.
3. One year's service with Company.
4. Company has been nice to her.
5. Worked for Company before for a short period of time.
6. Did not belong to the Union then.
7. Does not think she should pay dues when she gets same benefits.
8. Would rather spend money on family.
9. Working to help support family.

Instructor — By looking at Betty's background, we now have a better understanding of the individual and are better equipped to make our personal contacts. Who will be contacted?

Erase board

Write across top of board:

CONTACTS: BETTY ✓ HUSBAND ✓ FRIENDS ✓

Instructor — Who will be contacted first?

(Get group to say "Betty" and add "Betty" to board.

Instructor — What approach and techniques are we going to use when we contact Betty?

Write on board -

Approach & Techniques:

Get from group and add to board under "Approach and Techniques".

1. Tell her what union has done and can do for her.
2. Be helpful on the job.
3. Find out her difficulties on job.
4. Be patient when talking to her.
5. Be honest - get answers for questions you don't know.
6. Tell her what benefits you get as a member.
7. Ask if she has contract, if not, give her one.

Instructor — Now that we have talked about how we're going to contact Betty - Where are we going to contact her?
Get from group and add to board:

WHERE: JOB, CAFETERIA, LOUNGE, HOME.

# # # #

Instructor Our next contact will be Betty's husband.

What approach and techniques are we going to use when we contact Betty's husband and where will we contact him?

(Erase all but top line from board and build approach and techniques for "HUSBAND" using same questions used for developing approach for Betty. Completed chart will look like this) Get from group and list on board.

# # # #

Instructor — In our approach to Betty, her husband and friends in trying to get her to become a good active CWA member, what are we trying to sell her?

Answer: The Union - CWA

Instructor — We have just reviewed a technique and should be able to utilize this technique in analyzing our nonmembers so that we can develop a proper approach in soliciting their membership. This technique should enable us to do a more effective job in approaching the nonmembers and convince them they belong in CWA.

Instructor — Now that we have completed the example, I would like the group to reflect for a minute or two and pick two nonmembers that you know, ones that you have contacted. Write the facts on pages 5 & 6 of your workbook. Let me recommend that you pick two different types, a new employee and an old-timer; for example, an operator or a clerk, you get the general idea. Follow this through by filling in the three categories -

1. "background"
2. Relationship with the Union
3. Relationship with the Company.

Then fit in facts together and, recalling our sample case, write up your approach in detail.

Instructor — Advise the class, based on your time schedule, how long they will have to complete this assignment. Ten minutes are recommended as a minimum. After the class has completed their assignment, again keeping in mind your own time schedule, pick as many as you can to be read, analyzed and discuss fully the approach developed by the participant. Try to pick different examples so that the full gamut of nonmember types is covered. Allow comments to be made after each one so that other suggestions and ideas on possible approachs can be brought to light.

Instructor — Let us spend a little time now reviewing some of the things every organizing steward should know. We have reviewed our rights. They are spelled out on Page 3 of our workbook. Now let's move to Page 7 and discuss some of the things we must do as stewards who have been given the assignment of contacting nonmembers.

Instructor Place on blackboard -

"What are some of the things we must know to be effective in selling CWA?"

1. Review and discuss the following methods of organizing:

   A. Sign-Up Days
   B. House Calls
   C. Social Contacts

2. We must be informed about our Union - its goals - and how it operates.

   Then we will be able to give all the information and answers when the time comes.

   The best way to prepare to do this is to attend meetings, local and steward educational conferences, such as this, and to read our Union literature, especially our CWA News and the pamphlet, "34 Questions About Your Union".

Instructor At this time, distribute to the group the pamphlet entitled -

HANDOUT "34 Questions About Your Union," explaining, in detail, how this can be utilized and that it has the answers to most of the questions that will be posed by a potential member, and should be studied by every steward.

Instructor Summarize this session by making the following points:

The best way to keep a local in the high percentage mark is:

1. To constantly talk the Union up, on the job and wherever possible, that a Union-minded group will always be a highly organized group.

   Keep the Union before the membership so the nonmember will want to be a part of it.

2. Examine anti-Union attitudes.

   Try to figure out the best approach on an individual basis, as demonstrated in this conference.

3. Know the answers to the questions about the Union. If a person asks a question you cannot answer, do not try to bluff. Be honest and say you don't know but then make it your business to get the answer and report back to the worker.

4. Follow up your contacts. If a person wants to think it over, go back for his or her decision.

5. Develop the idea that there is something wrong with people who do not belong to the Union. Get your fellow Union workers to speak up for the Union. Get nonmembers to want to join.

Instructor At this point distribute the following pieces of literature that have been utilized in organizing and explain their proper use.

HANDOUT 1. Meet Your Union

Instructor This piece of literature was meant as an introduction of the steward to the new employee as he comes to work in the communications industry.

It has a place on the last page for the name, address and telephone number of the steward, so that the new employee has a real contact with the Union.

Instructor Ask: "How have you used this in your local?"

and develop discussion to assure proper utilization of these leaflets in the future.

Such as -

1. An Invitation to Join CWA.
2. About Ourselves.
3. All other Organizing Pamphlets now in use.

Fully discuss their use in organizing.

Then -

Instructor Ask: "How have you used this in your local?" and develop discussion to assure proper utilization of these leaflets in the future.

Instructor Inform the group that all of these pamphlets are available at low cost prices at the Education Department of the Union and, if their local does not have an adequate supply for their use, they should impress their officers with the importance of obtaining same.

Instructor Summarize this section by stating that all this literature is helpful and has answers to a great number of questions nonmembers may have. However, it is important to remember that literature is only a supplement and not the answer to organizing, i.e., getting the nonmember to join.

The most effective thing we know in persuading people to become members of CWA is the personal expression of the steward or other members.

Instructor Place on blackboard -

The Word-of-Mouth Method.

is the best selling technique or persuader yet devised by man. We must talk UNION to the nonmembers.

Instructor We are now going to discuss some of the answers to two of the most fundamental questions that nonmembers ask concerning joining the Union. I will place the questions on the blackboard and then we will attempt together to list all of the possible answers to these questions.

Instructor Place on the blackboard the following:

What has the Union done for me?

Get the group to give us answers, making sure they cover the following points, with you adding the necessary explanation for effectiveness:

1. WAGES

Impress the group with the importance of gearing your answer on wages to the actual history of bargaining in that given area, plus future bargaining.

2. WORKING CONDITIONS

Impress the group with the importance of gearing your answers on working conditions as outlined in the contract - with examples.

3. SECURITY

Impress the group with the importance of gearing your answers on security as outlined in the contract - with examples.

4. THE EFFECT OF CWA ON THE NATION

CWA is the voice of communication workers in all things. It fights for better legislation and represents communication workers in all matters that will make possible a better way of life for communication workers.

5. OTHERS THE GROUP MAY OFFER

Instructor Erase blackboard.

Place the following question on the blackboard.

"Why should I join? I get the benefits anyhow."

Get the group to give answers, making sure they cover the following points, with you adding the necessary explanation for effectiveness:

By staying out of the Union you are hurting yourself.

With 100 percent Union membership, we could have the strength and solidarity we need to secure the benefits we still deserve, better pensions, elimination of town reclassification, improved seniority and general increases. Only with the help of full membership support can our bargaining committee win these conditions, for the company uses the nonmembers as an argument against the union demands. Yes, it is true you do get the benefits anyhow, but is it fair? You would not think of receiving the benefits of your lodge without paying dues. We all support our government with taxes and share in its services. The same with our church. Is it fair to benefit from the Union and not pay your share?

Instructor Summarize this session by making the following points:

The best way to keep a local in the high percentage mark is:

1. To constantly talk the Union up, on the job and wherever possible, that a Union-minded group will always be a highly organized group.

   Keep the Union before the membership so that the nonmember will want to be a part of it.

2. Examine anti-union attitudes.

Instructor Now we have discussed organizing and some of the methods and techniques that will answer that key problem that faces our locals. You can accomplish this task of organizing the nonmembers. Hard work is required, but we know that the vast majority of stewards in CWA have accepted their position with the understanding that it will call for a sense of responsibility and hard work. We have just completed a thorough session in training ourselves to become more effective organizers. If we utilize this training and repeat personal contacts with the nonmembers and do everything that we have discussed in approaching them properly, plus create the best possible Union atmosphere on the job, we have the machinery to solve this problem. The important thing is to get this program into operation and to keep it going in high gear.

You, the stewards, and active members alone can solve our organizing problem. If we tackle this job now and work at it ceaselessly it will solve the problem and add inumerable benefits to ourselves and the members we represent.

REPORT ON EXPERIENCE WITH TWO MOLDERS' ORGANIZERS, DECEMBER, 1963

Cedar Falls, Iowa

1. The organizer

Robert Murray, in his early 30's, married, wife works, one eight year old son. Owns house in Cedar Falls. Waterloo-Cedar Falls area is his home town. Completed highschool. Father was molder and an active union man. Used to have discussions of union matters around dinner table.

Worked in Hawkeye Steel, Cedar Rapids, for nine years. Was local secretary (three years) and vice president (two years) before going on staff as local organizer (past 1½ years).

Has developed good relations with other union staff and local leaders in Central Iowa area. Knew many of them before he went on staff. Blackhawk Labor Council, Cedar Rapids, represents about 15,000 workers. Paul Larsen (Plumbers and Steamfitters) was president of council 1961-62 (and perhaps before); in 1962 Larsen went on AFL-CIO staff, Chicago Region, as organizer but stayed in Cedar Rapids. Under Larsen, Council sponsored two weekend organizing institutes, 1962 and 1963, with about 70 people present at each. Used some School for Workers materials at second institute, courtesy of Murray. Council has "contact forms" available for organizing purposes, runs Government bond contest for who turns in most potential contacts.

Larson and Murray have worked together in several situations. Talk things over. Larson has helped compose organizing letters, has talked at organizing meetings.

Murray talks with anyone and everyone in other unions who have had any experience with organizing.

2. Elections over two-year period (all he has been in)

Types of industry:

Box factory, shoe factory, stamping plant, knife works, warehouse, novelty shop, jacket factory, sheet metal, dime store, plastic factory, foundry

Won (size of unit):

12	- while local union officer	115
6	ditto	20
45	ditto	9
70		45
130		130
60		

Pending - 240

Lost (size of unit):

22 (but won on second effort)
130 (but won on second effort)
52
28
40
52
60
63

3. People visited with Murray

Paul Larson, AFL-CIO organizer
Don Lowe, Hotel and Restaurant
Don Harris, UAW International Rep.
Carl Dahl, UAW Sub-regional Director
Gene Condon, Sec. of Labor Council, Ed. of Paper, former UAW staff

Melvin Gauley, President, Midwest Local, Kellogg
Lee Pickens, member, Midwest Local, Grinnell
Peewee Hotchkiss, fin. sec., barg. com., Midwest local, Kellogg
Mrs. Hotchkiss, member, Midwest local, Kellogg
Naomi Fipps, secretary, Midwest local
Lois Niner, Sec., Ch. of Shop Committee, Grinnell Shoe, Grinnell
Mrs. Rutledge, Delong Jacket Factory, Grinnell
Gary Schuler, officer (?), Grey Iron, Marshalltown
Mrs. Schuler
Mr. Bear, Grey Iron, Marshalltown

4. Midwest Metal Stamping Company, Kellogg, Iowa; first campaign

127 in unit. UAW effort in past (UAW Maytag shop a few miles away). Plant has been in business 30 years.

Initial contact: gas station attendant in Grinnell. Said people were dissatisfied, had no paid holidays. Attendent had worked at Maytag, knew people at Midwest; had relative from Midwest come down to station that night, met with Murray in back of station. Murray visited six people that night. People were fearful. Murray showed them printed copy of Taft-Hartley to clarify workers' rights

Held general meeting next night in Grinnell, signed up 40 men and women, set up organizing committee.

Home visits by Murray and committee brought additional 28 cards by noon of next day. Filed petition forthwith with 68 cards. Six weeks between filing of petition and election

Company reaction: 1) Within four days of petition, held meeting in plant, no mention of union, general discussion of financial troubles including need to sell Canadian resort; speech reduced to letter and mailed to homes. 2) Sent letters once per week, discussing dues, initiation fee, the "Big, happy family", "someone coming between us."

3) During last six days, sent one letter per day; discussed dues, "right to refrain", the "family relationship," and the security of the Company. 4) Older women (60 to 70 years) went around saying that old people would lose jobs if company had to pay higher wages, that company would higher younger people. 5) Two hours before election company held meeting with foremen, sent them out to talk (mostly with women) saying that everyone would lose their "privileges" if the union came in.

Union campaign during six weeks: 1) Held general meetings every two weeks in Grinnell (7 miles from Kellogg) with 60 to 70 people in attendance; Murray talked, answered questions. 2) Home visits by Murray, with and without people from plant; saw just about everyone.

Union lost, 63 to 61.

Union protested election on basis of formen's activities, but was turned down because foremen did not act as group. Murray says protest had value in that it badly scared foremen and they were less active in the second campaign.

Company post-election activity: While protest was still in process, equalized rates (10¢ to 30¢ increases), gave 6 paid holidays, presented contract-like book spelling out "benefits".

Union post-election activity: Month and a half after defeat held general meeting of 30 to 40 people, explained turn-down by NLRB, said recent benefits had come because people had stood up for rights. Murray kept personal contact (once or twice per week) with about 8 people, always knew what was going on.

5. Midwest Metal Stamping Company, Second Campaign

Used "continuing committee" to plan election as soon as could file under 12 months rule. Started on August 26, 1963. Had area all mapped out, assignments made as to who would visit whom (with organizer taking the tough ones), visited 80% of people that night, signed them up and filed petition the next day.

On day of card-signing, company posted bulletin stating would consider wage increase as of Sept. 20, and followed this with letter saying that since petition was filed benefits could not be granted without danger of UFLP charge. Union has warned people to expect this.

Union sent letter, discussed company-granted wage and fringe benefits granted during post-election period, suggested it would be worth waiting for the recent company offer of added benefits, attached company contract-like book.

Union held periodic shift meetings (combined on Saturdays) right in Kellogg (formerly held in Grinnell), attendance not as good as in previous campaign especially from 2nd shift so organizer did much home visiting of second shift people. Had not been much turnover among workers. Organizing committee concentrated on new people, did not push very hard in plant.

Murray visited about 85% of the people, with and without accompaniment by local people. Concentrated on roggh ones like Naomi who had been radically against and was still against; company had been real good, was hurt (feelings) first campaign, loud-mouth worker with 6 months in plant claimed he would be officer and would not let her have her say at meeting she attended, no one ever asked her to sign card (had been out of town for funeral during card-signing period) - this time Murray signed her up, and she signed up her three sons.

Union held meeting in Grinnell two weeks before election, 49 present.

Company letters similar to previous campaign, with frequency working up to one per day five days before election.

Union sent letter two days before election; took issue with company statements, said wanted good relation with company after winning election (Employer later said he had appreciated this statement by union and that it had hurt the company in its attempt to beat the union).

Final union meeting in Grinnell with 46 present, Oct. 30, 1963. This was evening of same day that Murray lost election at Jacket Factory, 34 to 21, also in Grinnell. Explained at meeting why had lost a Jacket Factory (the "heart attack", visit to Jacket Factory by Midwest Management). Outside speakers included Paul Larson (AFL-CIO organizer), two UAW men from Waterloo from plant for which Midwest does work (talked on contract, how union was voted in, answered questions), woman from Grinnell Shoe Factory which Murray had won in February (she said: "we were slow to move around here, maybe it's too late to help ourselves much, but let's move now for the sake of our children.")

Murray met with committee after general meeting; decided on two or three challenges, keep eye on formmen's activities.

On election day, committee people did some talking during noon hour, on facts, comparing last year with this year.

Won, 72 to 48.

Right after certification (five days after election) and with the approval of local people, Murray and Larson persuaded company to take them on tour of plant. Company was initially tense, later relaxed. Murray thinks this helped ease things in negotiations. Also, since company passed word that union would tour shop, some of the 48 who voted against and had expected favorable treatment from union-hating management were somewhat deflated: hell, we might as well join.

Why did we win? - Organizer's estimate:

- the organizing committee
- the continued contact after the defeat
- the people knew you had not forgotten them
- no leaflets passed at gate (company watching, fear)
- kept notes through both campaigns, analyze if lose:
    - enough contacts?
    - right people on committee?
    - did I talk to those who were opposed?

6. Comments by the participants - Midwest

Melvin Gauley, members of organizing committee, president of local

After first campaign when raises came everyone figured it was the end of the union. However, little incidents kept coming up - an older man who had been against the union took a leave, when he returned the company tried to retire him, the guys got talking about it and the company brought him back.

On the second campaign we got pushing as soon as we could, signed the cards 59 days before the deadline, got necessary addresses and wrote letters to the people.

Change in attitude between first and second campaign came because people didn't get fair treatment; they worked harder in spite of the raise and the paid holidays.

The union's most effective technique was in personal visits and letters to the home.

The handbill which the union passed in the first campaign (and it passed only one) hurt the union - there was too much opportunity for observation by the company.

In its letters the company said there was no need for a union, there was a history of good relations, no one had been laid off, raises and holidays had been granted, more good things were coming, union dues and initiation fees, and why the MOLDERS union?

This business of which union had little effect; the people felt a union was a union.

The foremen were quiet in the second election - they had been scared by the Labor Board after the first election.

You win or lose at the tail end. The last meeting before the election was good, especially those who spoke who came from places where they have a union.

After the first election I saw Bob every two or three weeks and this contact with Bob was known about in the plant. Bob did right by coming around. If he had not been around people would have wondered "where is he at?" If he had waited ten months and then come back - well, it was better to come around.

Lee Pickens, member of organizing committee

The people worked in Kellogg and thought they had it made. Before the first campaign the company got dirty, would hire a man off the street and he'd get the overtime. Then a cut in hours reduced the weekly pay. The workers were scared, of discharge if active for the union, and of the company moving if the union came in. We had about 7 on the organizing committee. Held meetings in people's homes. We talked to other people in their homes. The organizer not leaving after the defeat was important.

The first campaign, it was hard to sign people up; easy the second time. There was not the fear. Younger people were more interested. We planned ahead and signed everyone up in one night.

Characteristics of a good organizer: a good mixer, a good talker. He pointed out some things. Everybody liked him.

(Pickens helped in the Shoe Factory campaign in Grinnell)

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Naomi Fipps, Peewee Hotchkiss, Mrs. Hotchkiss

(Naomi is recording secretary, Peewee is financial secretary, Mrs. Hotchkiss is a member)

Naomi: was against it the first time. Had gone away to funeral, came back, heard there was a union meeting, went and was criticized for going by one of those present. Wasn't against the union, just didn't think we needed one. Those at meeting assumed I was a spy. Four months after the defeat I knew I'd been wrong. Had argument with foreman about use of rest room. Said I'd vote union next time, generally popped off at him. Foreman complained about public nature of conversation. Thereafter, couldn't wait for campaign to begin.

Peewee: There was great fear in first campaign. Rumor was that if you talked union, out you'd go. People afraid boss would know how they voted. Murray informed people on the law - what they could and couldn't do. One "radical" guy turned some against the union, talked about what he'd do when he became an officer. People said: "If there's going to be a guy like that in there, we don't want nothing to do with it."

I was an observer both times. First election was held in the superintendent's office, and the foremen stood around and glared. The second time the union aksed for the election off company property but had to settle for the warehouse; the foremen were not around.

The union stressed job security (seniority, protection against discharge), and wages. Husband and wife both had to work to make a living. There was a rumor that the union would demand that the people would have to take a physical exam or be fired.

Speeches by Murray at meetings were real good - the way he said it; he told the truth. Larson was good. UAW men were excellent - were honest, impressive that they should take time to attend the meeting. Letters were effective, got to all the people (wife liked the home visiting). During the second campaign we concentrated on the anti's.

Mrs. Hotchkiss: Local school teacher took out antiunion feelings on our kids - teacher had an interest in the factory. Kid was kicked in face on playground, teacher unsympathetic. Gave kid "the old drumsticks." Wouldn't let kid tell story in "show and tell." Service station attendent at station near plant talked against union. Hardware store refused credit for pro-unionist re: TV purchase - had to check man's credit through company. Bought set elsewhere.

What would be your advice to a union organizer just moving into a campaign? (Asked of all of them)

Be sincere, Be sober. Bet out of a shop. Visit the people in their homes - if you want to win: the personal touch, it shows you care about them.

7. Grinnell Shoe Campaign

Period of Nov. 1962 to Feb. 1963, won: 75 to 33

Company has been in town for 35 years. Had been approached re: organization about 15 years ago.

Murray began campaign directly after #$%@# loss at Midwest. Got one name from member of Midwest committee. Woman was scared. Explained her rights. She gave seven more names. Saw 13 people in two days, twelve of them favorable. Gave out no cards, said would be back. Returned, signed up the twelve and gave 10 cards to each. Signed up 53 and filed petition.

Held general meeting of 68 people in Legion Hall right next to factory. Talked legal rights because people were scared; company can't close plant to get rid of the union.

Attorney Jones from Des Moines handled campaign for company. Checked him out through AFL-CIO in Des Moines so knew what was coming and could tell the people. At Board hearing, Jones challenges whether Molders is union under the Act, gets organizer on stand, asks about his pay, constitution, then uses this information (re: staff salaries, etc.,) in his letters to the people. Election directed in November.

Meetings of organizing committee every week; general meetings every other week. Continuous home visits.

Company sent 12 letters (would close plant, going bankrupt, union dues, strikes, photo copies of news stories from trade journals on plant closings where unions involved, especially shoes) - Murray had sent, and always sends with first letter in campaign, "Look Out Below", and stresses what company is likely to do at all meetings and in home visits.

Company sent out supervisors, including superintendent, to make house calls.

Murray called Carducci in St. Louis and got copies of shoe contracts; used these at meetings, in home visits and in letters.

Union had 60 present for meeting the night before the election. The employer at Midwest (7 miles away) gave his post-first-election wage increases and paid holidays the day before the Shoe election. Murray had Midwest people at this meeting to explain what happened.

8. Comments by participant - Grinnell Shoe

Lois Niner It was interesting all the way, to watch the personalities of different people. It was a change of pace - you get to know the people you work with. Husband was always union minded - a former UAW member and now a foreman.

The most important element in the victory was the personal association with the organizer. The letters were good but not as forceful as the personal contact. You can't ask questions of letters. Personal contact is more tangible.

Issues leading to union had been building up over the years. No contact with management. Foremen would make promises and do the opposite. Favoritism. Wages low, no fringes. Piece work prices (had personal problem re: machine breakdown, new superintendent promised average earnings, never got it, superintendent said it wasn't company's fault machine broke down).

Company sent letters but this not as effective as personal visits by plant officials. Would phone ahead for appointment. Would discuss how it would be with union, no need for union, no need for outsiders. Was visited by superintendent. Company sent copies of clippings from trade papers about plants closings, strikes.

Those against union said, don't tell us how to live; posted clippings in plant on strikes, racketeering.

There was no dicussion of union in plant, except in washrooms. People scared. You'd wait outside for friend after shift to talk.

Held meetings after work in Legion Hall right next to plant; people were counted by girl whose husband was in business next door to Hall.

People were just fed up with the company's tactics and ways. There was going to be a union, or bust.

We didn't just have to win the election in the plant; we had to win it in the whole town. The druggist turned on me like a tiger (afraid that plant would move). A doctor jumped another worker. Safeway manager, Ritter Hardware, United Grocery manager were all OK.

9. The Jacket Factory Campaign - Grinnell

Lost, 34 to 21. No previous effort to organize. Mostly women. Long delay produced by tactics of company attorney Jones hurt the union. Company sent no letters although organizer had prepared people for them. Held general meetings with about 30 people present.

Damage was done by 1) "fake" illness by one of two main bosses, rumored to be at death's door shortly before election. Company held meeting, made people feel sorry - if only this union business hadn't tired him out so. He was back at work the day after the election; 2) the nature of the Shoe Company contract; the company showed copies around the plant.

10. Comments by participant - Jacket Factory

Mrs. Rutledge: Husband a UAW member at Maytag. Initial interest in union due to piece work prices and favoritism. Seniority idea was used against the union - the younger girls were afraid the older women would get the work. Money was not much of an issue; it was partiality, who got the light work.

We had an informal committee that met in the homes of workers.

Company didn't say too much, gave some individual piece work raises. But there was lots of talking to individuals. Some girls talked about the strike problem and union dues. Company held three meetings: talked of tough business conditions, union dues, Shoe Company contract.

A couple fo out-of-town girls were never asked to attend the union meetings and they voted against.

Big company tactic was the sickness of one of the two main bosses two days before the election. The other boss made a speech about the sickness. There is a clique that thinks the boss is God himself.

People were interested in what Murray had to say and the way he said it.

Since the election, company says no Christmas party this year because beating the union cost too much money. Company blaims "blond haired woman and dark-skinned woman." Company said it would have gone for a garment union.

11. Grey Iron Campaigns, Marshalltown

Lost first time, 90 to 25; won second election, reversing figures

Gary Schuler: First time, district representative was too busy to give campaign enough personal attention. Man in plant signed people up. No meetings were held, no homes visited. The molders were opposed as a group. The company sent a letter saying the union would get people's money and then they'd never see a representative. Fisher (plant owner and owner of other big plant in town) held meeting and talked to men in shop. Opposed union in first election.

Issues in second campaign: had been change in management, molders' wages had been "cut" - base rate for holidays and vacations instead of average earnings. Someone called the district representative and six or eight buys went to secretary of the conference board.

Three general meetings were held, with 27 at first, more later, beer served at last meeting. Murray assigned in May of '62. People signed up at noon hour, went after remainder on "Saturday sign-up", petition filed within week, election on July 22.

Company manager talked in plant several times, speeches then printed and mailed to people. Fisher talked day before election - "I own this, I own that, if union comes in I'll sell out or rent out and still make

money." This arrogance helped union. Foremen were quiet, some came from union shop backgrounds.

The things that made the difference were the meetings and having an organizer full-time. People got personal invitations to meetings in the plant. Had chance to ask questions at meetings, "what we could and couldn't do." Home visits were a good idea. There was fear of discharges and strikes.

Advice to organizers:

> Try to get hold of the people, first with a home visit. Have three or four from committee help with visiting. It's up to committee to get the cards signed. Then hold meetings, tell people what they can and can't do, warn them about propaganda, give them run-down on law. Have the organizer there where he can be asked any questions. Have more organizers in Iowa.

Mrs. Schuler Does not work in plant. Was leery first time. Had heard some things. When Murray started visiting he answered questions. Another wife was concerned about strikes. We had to find out what we could and couldn't do.

Mr. Bears Was opposed to union in first election. No one to talk to, no one to tell us what we could and couldn't do. Had known of an independent union at a local plant and didn't like it.

In first campaign, company used letters, foremen. New manager had just come and asked for a chance.

After defeat, change came because superintendent made promises and didn't keep them. Straight time for vacation and holiday pay (base rate). Seniority. Just little things.

In second campaign had good organizer; good speaker, said what we could and couldn't do. Union sent no letters, had no committee meetings. Held three or four general meetings and did house calls. Baily and Fisher talked for the company and it didn't help a damn bit.

It was good to be visited. You learned things. Someone higher up was taking an interest in you.

Advice to organizers:

> Do like Murray did. Visit homes. Get as many as possible to meetings so can figu# out what can and can't do. No leaflets: we want to talk to organizer, figure if he won't come and see you he's not much interested. The UAW went after Fisher's (big plant in town): set up office, didn't go to the boys, expected the boys to come to them. Clobbered.

12. Meeting at Labor Temple

Paul Larson, AFL-CIO organizer

Re: motel and hotel organizing. A different type of organizing. Far more fear. Different questions from people - money and security, not grievance procedure or pensions. Hotel people have found it hard to find any employment at all: they HAVE to keep this job. Retail people are more intelligent.

Re: retail stores. Food people "only here for a little while." "Here til married", or "til through college." Wives who don't really need the money. In department stores, get the career type people. Everyone has a title - sweeper is "assistant manager of stockroom." People identify with the boss even though they may not like him. Boss's emphasis is on "the family."

It is good to identify any drive with AFL-CIO, the central labor body and the local labor movement and not with any particular international. People then feel that all unions are behind the push.

How does a guy get cooperation from local labor? The movement has gotten so diverse what with COPE, Community Services, etc. These drain off interest and leadership from the number one job which is still organizing the unorganized. In our council we formed committee of good people from different internationals, held two-day organizing conference two years ago, followed it up with similar conference last year. Developed a survey (contact) sheet. Ed Haines (assistant director, Region 14, AFL-CIO, Chicago) in for keynote. 70 people at each conference. We have 15,000 people in area, all of whom have contacts. Had survey (contact) form contest, with $50 bond for most names. We won two elections from contacts made through this form.

Have to watch for odd-ball newspapers, radio and religion. "Common Sense" edited by Sherman Patterson (of "Militant Truth"). Hunt's "Life Line", Armstrong's "The World Tomorrow" on local radio. Some ministers preach anti-unionism from pulpits.

On the "first defeat": Let the company make promises during the campaign, then go back after the defeat and compare the performance with the promises. You build, lose, go back and build from there.

In Winnebago Trailer election, Forest City. If union came in, doctors said there would be no credit on bills. UAW coloring book: for Reuther, "color me, not red, but pink"; for Mazey, "color me cheap." Was put out by Midwest Employers Association.

Don Harris, Carl Dahl, Gene Condon - UAW

Get in quick while the issues are hot, before they cool off. The servicing rep can't spend the necessary time to organize - people say: "where is he? we have questions." International pulls the man out for a month and the people wonder "is this the kind of service we'll get?"

Too many of our own people say that labor is too strong. Too many are ashamed to say that they are members of a union. Our best salesmen are the new people.

13. Comments from the organizer

Why you win Get the cards signed. Get the petition in. Beat the employer to the punch. Reduce the amount of time the employer has to act. The people want you to be aggressive and if you are, so will the committee be. Leave as much as possible of card signing to the committee; then they feel they have done something, feel they are part of the drive, will stay with you. Build the union as you organize; help people learn to be leaders during the campaign.

Selection and use of organizing committee Senior people. Aggressive people. Add some later who were opposed and have swung over. Don't put too much about committee in your letters to people: non-committee people may look upon committee members as the "chosen"; and the people know that the committee didn't write the letter. Women can be espacially jealous when it comes to selection of committee members. Meet at least once a week and invite everyone who is interested - no secret meetings.

Small towns The people are ready to go and no one comes to see them. "We never before had an organizer knock on our door." The UAW has 3000 members in Newton, 7 miles from Grinnell; the Midwest people asked for help and the UAW organizer gave them cards and told them to go sign the people up, but the people are scared.

People who were against you 10 years ago are for you now. There is no place for the young man on the farm so he comes to the rural town, gets job in small plant for low wages, poor conditions; gets married, has kids, and must act to improve wages and conditions.

General observations

"What do the Molders know of your problems?" - says the plastic factory owner. But people don't care about the name of the international: AFL-CIO is what counts.

Three days or so before the election, have special meeting of the organizing committee: where are we weak? where should the organizer go? The list comes from the committee.

Explain the election procedure with great care: people have a basic fear that the employer will find out how they vote.

The wife's fear of husband's job loss - "If your wife has a few minutes, have her come in."

If you make a few home visits, see them all.

Make no promises, but this is what the boss pounds at.

Our best salesman is the newly organized worker - if you have gotten them a good contract.

File when you have a minimum of cards to lessen time the employer has to work out on the people. The union has access to the people only a small percent of the time when compared to the company.

Carries copy of Taft Hartley. Has people read Sec. 7, 8a1-5. Explains 8a3. Shows what union UFLP are. Talks from law at organizing meetings. This has better effect that mimeographing parts of law and using in letter or leaflet. The printed law is the straight dope, it has authority.

Use appropriate clippings in personal visits and at meetings.

Carries around weekly NLRB report for use in home visits and at meetings.

Uses publication of Iowa Employment Security Commission (a monthly) but uses orlder issues to say "look what was paid in your trade even back then." Uses at meetings, home visits. It is NOT turned out by union, hard for the employer to argue with

Uses publication "Distribution of Manufacturing Industry in Iowa" put out by Iowa Development Commission. It tells where plants are located, what is made, how many employees. When he goes to a town, he knows something.

What about use of novelties (pens, matchbooks, etc.): No - because has no money for such things, and besides doesn't want people to think they are involved in presidential election.

Has professor friend at Grinnell, former Democratic State Senator; talks things over with him, invokes him at meetings: people know of him. An authority.

St. Louis

1. The organizer

Frank Carducci, late 40's. Married. Two children, married daughter, son a senior in highschool. Father was a coal miner. Frank a former foundry worker, local officer, began organizing part-time while local officer, on staff about two years.

2. The score board

Leather Tannery, won, 37 - 12
Liquor stores, 250 in unit, lost by 1 vote
Items, Inc., Dog Food, Won, 17 - 0
Metal Processing, 27 in unit, got 3 votes
Southwest Rebuilders, Jigs and Dies, 35 in unit, got 6 votes:
IAM had 17 card carriers in shop, took election
Gideon Foundry, never petitioned
Carondelet Foundry, Lost 111 - 22 (still working on it)
Leonard Products, Sheet Metal and Foundry: working on it; 80 in unit
Sepco Plastic, 90 in unit; working on it.
Locke Stove, 170 in unit; working on it.

3. People visited with organizer

Nate Williams, worker in Locke Stove
Cliff Brown, shop chairman, American Brake Shoe
Albert, worker, Carondelet
Don (Albert's son), former worker, Carondelet, now in Molders shop
Robert Dale, Tannery worker
Mike Dunn, organizer, Local 688, Teamsters
Cab Calloway, Central States Conference, Teamsters
Dave Salmon, Central States Conference, Teamsters
Tex Hargraves, organizer, ILA

4. Locke Stove

170 in unit, 70% white. Sheet metal. In operation since late '30s. Was once organized and probably decertified (Stove Mounters?). Has been working on plant for year, has not yet petitioned. Company says if union comes in people may lose jobs because of wages it would be forced to pay, uses seniority to worry old help that it will be bumped by youngsters. Company pays higher than negotiated rates, gives all fringers plus 6% Christmas bonus. Company campaign is by word of mouth and through stooges; foremen are fairly quiet.

About 40% of people are from small farm communities in 75 mile radius; have beautiful dairy farms, are working for beer money.

There is fear of plant closing. Some of ex-Molders members are talking of three-day week. Company has bought out Mt. Vernon (Illinois) Stove 80 miles away. 320 people. Organizer is working on this shop, has committee. Mt. Vernon management says it will be increasing its work force

by 100 people. Locke people afraid that enamel shop (at least) will be moved to Mt. Vernon (30 people). Rates are poor at Mt. Vernon; people there thought that Locke was union plant. 1600 jobs recently lost in Mt. Vernon due to plant closing; a union was involved. Pattern in Mt. Vernon is for company to hire foremen from small communities who bring their own people in as workers.

At Locke, all organizing work has been by personal contact. First contact came from member in established local. Names came slowly, people cautious. Organizer keeps "favorable" and "unfavorable" list. Has plant committee of four who help with home visits. Is trying to develop leadership in the small rural towns; committee member sits in car after fingering the house, organizer walks half block to house.

Issues at Locke are seniority, grievance procedure and job security. Shop is non-incentive and people increased production by 25% with no corresponding increase in pay. Layoffs are not by seniority and people are hired off street to fill vacancies wanted by older hands.

There is a problem of "Uncle Toms" among the older Negroes. This company is "the only company"; against outsiders. Some of the ##### younger Negroes are more militant.

Oil workers campaigned in shop about three years ago. Handbills. Good response. A few housecalls. No meetings. Company used letters. Many people knew nothing about the union, never met the leaders. Several workers were fired and nothing was done about it.

Right across the street from Locke's is a shop with a long-established Molders local union.

5. Comments by participant: Locke Stove

Nate Williams A Negro, about 30 years old, 13 years in shop. There was once a union here more than 13 years ago. I tried to organize once, with Ike; wanted security, more money. No organizer; Ike was the spokesman. People stuck pretty well. Boss didn't like tactics. Before year was out, Ike was gone, fired for bad work. This worried the guys.

Six or seven years ago, lots of union talk. Company sent letter, all it had done for the people. Had election, but it was run wrong - the office people and foremen voted.

Recently, five men were fired or laid off; were caught off job in violation of two-month old rule. Were active for the union.

The guys are afraid - that they will lose their jobs and not be able to get another one.

Two-thirds of the people are prosperous farmers.

People are saying (in December, '63), "don't have the election now, we might lose our Christmas bonus." People are worried about the Mt. Vernon plant: figure some will be laid off. "If you talk union now, company will move everything to Mt. Vernon.

Current issue - satisfied with own jobs but don't like the idea of going to help someone else when done with own job.

Advice:

> Do like Frank does. Individual contact. Be careful of meetings - if there are 30 or 40 present, there are bound to be 3 or 4 the boys don't trust and they won't speak up. People will ask questions when they are alone. As for handbills, some will want to take them but they are afraid the Man will see. Letters are good. Wives - know you want to do betrer, but don't get the Man mad at you.

Nate's father was an active unions member (OCAW).

Older guys are opposed. They fear layoff or discharge.

Guys don't believe they are or will be the union: you pay your money and Frank will do the work.

6. Comments by participant: Tannery

Robert Dale In his 40s, a Negro. Local officer. Union won 37 to 12. Plant has been in business 90 years. People always felt should have union. Novelty workers had bargaining rights but were dormant after strike. Plant had simply shut down in one previous strike, all gone to Florida for year. Plant all Negro.

Frank made contact. Fear from strike carried over. People just like babies. No leaflets. All done in secret. I am in middle of floor, easily reachable, can run around shop. We signed people in the plant. I made phone and bar contacts. Older guys were scared.

Frank visited about 30. Had one meeting which was the turning point. 45 were present. Speech and questions.

Company sent no letters (but had in previous campaigns). Guys told company they were going to stick with Frank and company was too cheap to try to buy them off.

Issues: people were being pushed around, put on other jobs. Wages, job security, paid holidays, piece work, hospitalization. (Company now explains piece rates in nice way and the boys produce)

Guys were scared. Southern types, felt obligated to boss, borrowed money from office, favoritism. "Aren'T I nice to your fellows." Making more than ever before - $50 cash in hand at end of week.

Name of union meant little. Organizer must know what he is doing.

Advice:

Home visits. Careful with leaflets, company get hold of it, uses it. Might start discharging because leaflet publicizes fact that union campaign is on. Organizer must know what he is doing.

7. Carondelet Foundry

135 people, 220 when busy. Lost, 111 - 22. People were looking for help. Issues: increase in workload, obnoxious foremen, new management (son of much respscted owner). During later stages of campaign, old man came back from vacation, walked through plant: "you have union wages and fringes, Christmas bonus, accumulating fund (some have $12,000 in it), some base rates higher than union scale." Company wrote letters, used area Molders rates, stressed dues. Showed around wage figures from other employers. Too many people were above union scale. Company automatically gives negotiated increases (but may play favorites). Company stressed steady nature of work even though some people had to drop down to get work and be paid as laborers.

The "accumulating fund": Company used to match, dollar for dollar. Voluntary. New workers pay all. Buys stocks. Can take it out. For full benefit, must participate "X" years, receive 10 - 12 percent on investment.

The old man was always fair. Son is apparently not going to follow this pattern.

It was a good campaign. 85 cards, some coming through the mail. Saw 70% of the people in their homes. Held meeting at restaurant garage of worker and two at the union hall. 40 people came. But at last meeting at hall, 5 days before election, only 6 came.

8. Comments of participants: Carondelet campaign

Albert (father) and Don (son) There never had been a union in the shop. Committee consisted of Albert and three others. Foremen kept saying: "you don't want a union, why pay dues, you get a Christmas bonus."

Men were sore at the way they were doing everybody. The old man had gone. Company put in piece work.

The old man came back from his California vacation three weeks before the election, talked to people in shop as individuals, wrote letters; left right after the election.

Don - The young guys were scared they would lose Christmas bonus and accumulating fund.

Union had three or four meetings at the union hall, and a special meeting for the colored group in a garage (40 present at meetings). ?

When we try it again: continue home visits because this helps get# closer to the men (says Don). Hold the election away from the plant: was held in the lab, with the old man and management watching and the stooges hanging up Vote No signs). Would like to see more meetings with some beer. Move fast.

(Don had been observer at election and was laid off or fired or quit after campaign. However, no grounds for any action. Frank got him fine job in union foundry with which Don is well-satisfied. His only problem was ineligibility for Christmas bonus in Carondelet.)

9. Observations by other organizers

Mike Dunn, Local 688, Teamsters — Believes in the value of leaflets. Key thing to success is the inside committee. Does no home visiting.

Calloway and Salmon, Central States Conference, Teamsters

C - Attitudes have changed. There is more resistence. A feeling the "I am going to get mine."

S - The bosses are smarter, giving more. Modern management (the professional managers as distinct from the owner#-manager) are promoting their own positions rather than trying to maximize profits. But the small boss-owners try to squeeze all they can get out of#people. Workers are more cynical.

C - In approaching a plant, there are many factors to consider. Its size. Whether other unions are or will be involved. The psychological make-up of the work force to be considered in relation to use of leaflets, problems of fear. Where fear is evident, concentrate on housecalls. I have lost a lot of confidence in leaflets.

S - There are too many "boiler plate" leaflets (stock leaflets). But leaflets are good for the "quick answer." Use them to try to destroy confidence in the company and build confidence in the committee.

C - There is a tremendous amount of control from the top of the union. The organizer is not given enough leeway, has to operate under the thumb of the administrator.

S - The presumption of the administration is that the organizer is goofing off.

C - Re: race. In an IAM strike, company brought in Negro strike-breakers. I went in and talked with them (was president of NAACP); worked out agreement with IAM that if strike was won some effort would be made to integrate. ~~Negroes~~

Negroes are sensitive these days, are fighting Birmingham and Little Rock in the shops. You have to understand this.

S - There is pressure from Negroes to win grievances regardless of the implications for other workers or for the union, this in relation to Cab's statement above.

C - In an IUE shop, the oldtime Negro leadership smothered the younger men and Local 688 got them all because of IUE standpatism.

$ S - Watch out for the personal griper on the organizing committee.

Tex Hargraves, ILA A Negro, has been organizing since forever, once swam Mississippi at Memphis in the '30s to avoid howling mob.

Meets 2 or 3 people from a shop, out in the street. If they are interested, makes a house visit. People are more at ease at home. Gets other names.

Fear of the boss is high. High unemployment is what holds people back. There is skepticism about the union, motives of organizer.

Never goes to plant. Sees boss first at NLRB hearing. Has secret committee. Does own visiting. Sends one letter after petition, announcing fact of petition and telling what the boss will do.

During past 15 years, has conducted 40 to 50 elections, lost six of them. Units from 2 to 60 people: egg candling, rag sorting, foam rubber, scrap iron, auto parts junk yards.

Change in attitude: people more skeptical. There is less work and more unemployment than in the '30s. Installment buying. Fear of strikes. Racketeering (answer: "boss uses this to keep you where you are"). But people still view the union as their salvation.

Where there are slave-driving foremen, the people will look you up.

I takes my time. Keep it secret. Talk to everyone, but don't tell anyone who you've talked to so as to protect everyone. Tell people you will write to them when you petition, telling them what the boss will do.

Advice: contact people away from the boss, go to their homes, have the wife there, give people instructions - what they can and can't do and what constitute grounds for an UFLP charge.

10. Observations by the organizer

Re: Metal Processing campaign - 27 people, 22 signed cards, got three votes. Company shook the people up. 90% of people part time, but spending full-time in union shops. People afraid plant would shut down. Eleven were laid off after the petition was filed.

#e#$%&#$#

Re: Southwest Rebuilders campaign - 35 people. IAM intervened, had 17 people in shop already carrying IAM cards. Stayed in campaign because of committments to people. IAM won.

Re: Gideon Foundry - 30 people. 19 signed cards. Company called meeting, gave big party before meeting. Made speech: had bought plant in Arkansas, was buying elsewhere, but hoped to stay; fine, loyal employees. Never petitioned.

Re: Leonard Products - Sheetmetal and small foundry. 80 people. Many ex-members of different unions, each with a gripe against his former union.

Sepco Plastic - 90 people on three shifts. People appear to want union representation, but can't get one card signed or one leader in the plant. People want the union around to keep the pressure on the boss.

Picking targets - Picks his own. Gets little help from own local union people. Uses mostly own judgment in selection of target. Picks a plant, watches it to see where people go, makes contacts. Other unions may jump in after he has ggtten ball rolling.

Working with Negroes - Be careful to pick the right person as leader, one who is approved by his own people. People may worry that your choice is the type who is trying to elevate himself.

Most plants are racially mixed. In some union shops, Negroes are getting into the apprenticeship programs. Some companies are hiring Negro coremakers and molders. Such men are useful as speakers at organizing meetings.

In established locals, there are Negro officers in mixed locals. There are no all-Negro locals but ther are two all-Negro shops.

Negotiating the first contract - Policy is for the organizer to take part along with the Rep. It is recognized that the organizer is close to the people he has just organized and that the people may be nervous if there is too quick a switch to the staff representative.

Handbills, Leaflets - If local leadership say people need stimulation, may reluctantly pass a leaflet. If used, should be in big-shop situation. Leaflets put the company on guard, scares the people. Better to work under the table.

Personal contact is better. Carry material along with you. Tell the people: follow the rules, have nothing to fear. Tries to get all names. Visits all if possible. Usually goes alone.

General

Fear: "if I sign a card, will the boss see it?"

Attitude of other unions in area: if people want to organize, let them come to our office.

General meetings are helpful in certain instances. Leaders in shop help make decision as to whether or not to hold meetings and if so, when. There is fear of (1) who will be there (stooges), and (2) if attendance is poor, it may break the spirit of the people.

Employers' tactics: use# stooges, hold meetings, send letters. Talk about dues, strikes, union can't do any more for you, we have been good Joes. Not too much reference to racketeering.

Whether or not to go for a quick election depends . . .

The man that's an employee, he's in the plant 8 to 10 hours per day. The employer is the guy who gave him his job. In the '30s a man was hungry, had been exploited. Now the man is complascent, satisfied. Has five days work, now and then gets paid holiday. Boss is a great guy and you don't have to pay dues for it.

what services can union offer & why does situation call for special handling

When a plant is all-Negro: the Company takes advantage of these people, does favors, loans money, helps with garnishments.

Twenty-two plants have moved to outlying areas, doing the communities a favor. People are indoctrinated when the apply for employment. Chamber of Commerce checks out application and if you have a relative in union labor, you get no job.

In a campaign, each man makes his own issue.

Re: selection of committee - try to get the leaders in each department, a congenial fellow.

At meetings, watch for guys with loaded questions - the stooges who are trying to get you to make promises. Resist promises - this is what the boss wants you to do.

People are scared to be witnesses before the NLRB, especially since it involves giving their names.

When a man is fired during a campaign, file charges. Give him his day in court. People will feel better about it. They wonder why, when a man is fired, even though he is a known goof-off. There is doubt. People know he was for the union.

When to file for election: a problem of timing. Do I have enough information. Is it accurate? Is there too much fear? Watch out for the eager beaver who may represent only one small group and who says: "I think so" in answer to question, are the people ready? "I think so" is not enough.

Christmas time is good opportunity for someone to obtain names and addresses of all in shop from list posted by some companies for Christmas card purposes. I won't say you have the list stolen, but . . .

During the campaign, the boss suddenly gets nice, greets people in the morning, can't do enough for them. People are gullible.

Boss encourages people to "use your rights." The right to refrain. The organizer won't know how you vote. Signing the card does not commit you to voting for the union.

Boss says: we are a family. Why involve a third party. We always thought you knew our door was open. One company raised hell with the foremen about their conduct, then gave everyone a big beer party.

There have been lots of long strikes in this area. Companies point this out. They use the law: law says we have to bargain but doesn't say we have to agree to anything, and if we don't agree, what's likely to happen? Some guys with no union experience think that when the union comes in, the company is forced to give certain benefits.

Unfortunately, the "Right to Work" issue can be used to organize - it removes the union-shop ~~[illegible]~~ compulsion issue form the campaign.

Re: Trades Council. There is no coordination in organizing. Problems of jurisdiction. City is dead in the field of organizing. Too many organizers from other jurisdictions meet our approach to a plant in their jurisdiction by writing letters to headquarters complaining; if they'd go after the plant, they could have it.

Uses outside speakers at general meetings - Molders staff people, Tex, Cab, own Negro members.

IR-93-63
Houston, Tex.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
BEFORE THE NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD
DIVISION OF TRIAL EXAMINERS
WASHINGTON, D. C.

INDEPENDENT METAL WORKERS UNION,
LOCAL NO. 1

and — Case No. 23-CB-429

INDEPENDENT METAL WORKERS UNION,
LOCAL NO. 2

and

HUGHES TOOL COMPANY

Party of Interest

HUGHES TOOL COMPANY

Employer

and — Case No. 23-RC-1758

UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA,
AFL-CIO

Petitioner

and

INDEPENDENT METAL WORKERS UNION,
LOCAL NOS. 1 and 2

Intervenors

Arthur Safos, Esq., for the General Counsel.
Tom M. Davis, Esq., and M. K. Crawford, Esq., (Baker, Botts, Shepherd & Coates), of Houston, Tex., for Respondent, Local No. 1.
Robert L. Carter, Esq., of New York, N. Y. (Maria L. Marcus with him on the brief), for Charging Party, Local No. 2.
James P. Wolf, Esq. (Dixie & Schulman), of Houston, Tex., for the Steelworkers.
W. M. Streetman, Esq., and Mr. James M. Delmar, both of Houston, Tex., for the Company in Case No. 23-RC-1758.

Before: Frederick U. Reel, Trial Examiner.

INTERMEDIATE REPORT, RECOMMENDED ORDER, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Statement of the Case

On October 18, 1961, the Board in Case No. 23-RC-1758 (herein called the representation case) certified Independent Metal Workers Union, Local No. 1, and Independent Metal Workers Union, Local No. 2 (herein called Local 1 and Local 2, respectively), to act jointly as the exclusive bargaining representative of the employees of Hughes Tool Company (herein called the Company) in an appropriate unit. Case No. 23-CB-429 (herein called the unfair labor practice case) originated on May 23, 1962, when Local 2 filed a charge against Local 1 alleging that the latter had violated Section 8(b)(1)(A) of the Act by refusing to process grievances on behalf of certain members of Local 2. The complaint in that proceeding, issued on August 31, 1962, alleges that Local 1 violated Section 8(b)(1)(A) of the Act by refusing to process a grievance filed by one Ivory Davis with respect to the Company's denial of his bid to participate in an apprenticeship program. Local 1 filed its answer on September 12, 1962, admitting the refusal to process Davis' grievance, but denying that such refusal violated the Act.

On October 25, 1962, after issue had thus been joined in the unfair labor practice case, but before the matter came on for hearing, Local 2 (and its president and treasurer, acting in their official capacities and as individuals) filed with the Board a motion to rescind the certification of October 18, 1961, on the ground that Local 1 had refused to represent fairly the Negro employees in the bargaining unit and had discriminated against those employees because of their race. By direction of the Board, this matter was consolidated with the unfair labor practice proceeding for purposes of hearing, and the Trial Examiner was directed to include in his report relevant findings, conclusions, and recommendations relating to both proceedings.

The matter, thus consolidated, was heard at Houston, Texas, on December 11-12, 1962. In the unfair labor practice proceeding, appearances were entered on behalf of the Charging Party, the Respondent, and the General Counsel. In the representation proceeding, appearances were entered by the original petitioner, United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO (herein called the Steelworkers), by the Company, and by Locals 1 and 2, who in the original representation proceeding had been joint intervenors but who now entered separate appearances as parties adverse to each other.

On December 17, 1962, Local 1 filed a motion with the Board (thereby superseding a motion to similar effect made orally at the close of the hearing) to amend the certification so that the name of the certified-bargaining agent would appear as "Independent Metal Workers Union, Local 1," urging that Locals 1 and 2 had merged. This motion was duly referred to the Trial Examiner and is disposed of below. 1/ On January 18, 1963, counsel for Local 1 filed a document in the name of Independent Metal Workers Union, asking that the record be reopened to adduce evidence. This matter is discussed further under "Post-hearing developments," infra. Thereafter briefs were received from General Counsel, Local 1, and Local 2, and have been fully considered.

Upon my observation of the witnesses and on the entire record, I make the following:

1/ On my own motion, I herewith admit the document into evidence as Trial Examiner's Exhibit 1.

Findings of Fact

I. The business of the Company, and the labor organizations involved

Hughes Tool Company is engaged at Houston, Texas, in the manufacture of oil drilling equipment, and annually ships over $500,000 worth of products to points outside the State of Texas. The Company is engaged in commerce within the meaning of the Act. Local 1, Local 2, and the Steelworkers are labor organizations within the meaning of the Act.

II. The alleged unfair labor practice, and the basis for the motion to rescind

A. Background

In the history of labor relations at the Company's plant--which history is touched on in the record before me, and is further detailed in various Board decisions concerning this Company--2/ one fact has remained constant from before the enactment of the Wagner Act to the hearing in this case: all jobs at the plant were either "white men's jobs" or "Negro jobs," and any job available to a member of one race was unavailable to a member of the other. While some jobs shifted during the years from one racial category into the other, at all times--at least since 1928--the jobs have been segregated," i.e., available to a particular employee or not available to him, depending upon his race. The record further establishes that Independent Metal Workers Union, Locals 1 and 2, came into existence in 1941 following the disestablishment, pursuant to Board Order, of two labor organizations, found to have been company-dominated (Employees Welfare Organization and Hughes Tool Colored Club), and that from their inception until after the issuance of the complaint in this case membership in Local 1 was available only to white employees of the Company while membership in Local 2 was confined exclusively to colored employees. Independent Metal Workers Union, Locals 1 and 2, competed in various Board-conducted elections during the two following decades with other labor organizations, and at one time were supplanted as the statutory-bargaining representative by the Steelworkers. During the period of the Steelworkers' incumbency, according to uncontradicted testimony in the record, it also maintained a white local and a colored local, and entered into contracts with the Company providing for exclusively white jobs and exclusively Negro jobs.

This pattern of racial segregation among the employees, both in their jobs and in their unions, was well known to the National Labor Relations Board. See Hughes Tool Co., 33 NLRB 1089, 1091, 1096-1099; 77 NLRB 1193, 1197, fn. 7; 104 NLRB 318, 319. With respect to segregated jobs and segregated locals, the record establishes that on occasion Negro employees have benefited from the segregation in jobs in the sense that white employees have been laid off notwithstanding their seniority over retained Negro employees, that the Negro employees constituted a minority (less than one-fourth) of the bargaining unit, and that the creation of two separate locals had been "at the suggestion and insistence of the colored men" who "wanted to be independent of /the white employees/ as far as certain functions were concerned" and "didn't want /the white employees/ to dominate their business." This attitude of 1941 appears to have changed during the intervening two decades and in its motion to rescind the

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2/ See 27 NLRB 836, 33 NLRB 1089, 36 NLRB 904, 45 NLRB 821, 53 NLRB 547, 56 NLRB 981 (modified 147 F. 2d 69 (C.A. 5)), 69 NLRB 294, 77 NLRB 1193, 85 NLRB 663, 88 NLRB 1039, 97 NLRB 1107, 100 NLRB 208, 104 NLRB 318, 119 NLRB 739.

certification, filed October 24, 1962, Local 2 urges that no union may be certified "if it is composed of separate locals based on race and color . . . ." Indeed, within 6 weeks after the 1961 certification, Local 2 made its initial overt efforts toward elimination of segregation in jobs. We turn, therefore, to a consideration of these steps and other events surrounding the negotiation of a contract in 1961.

B. The 1961 negotiations

At the time of the 1961 certification of Locals 1 and 2 as joint bargaining representatives, they and the Company were operating under an agreement effective September 15, 1959, which provided, inter alia, that the agreement would remain in effect for 2 years, that it would continue from year to year thereafter unless terminated as therein provided, that it would be open to amendment at stated intervals, and that in the event of notice to amend, its terms would continue in effect until accord had been reached on amendments or until it was terminated. This agreement covered two groups of jobs designated in the agreement by Roman numerals I and II. Group I jobs were open only to white employees; Group II jobs were open only to Negroes. The contract referred to "employees represented by Local No. 1," meaning white employees, and to employees "represented by Local No. 2," meaning Negro employees. Separate lines of progression and demotion were established in that employees could not be promoted or demoted from Group I to Group II jobs or vice versa. With respect to employees represented by Local 1, the contract provided that when a reduction in force resulted in layoff of more than 25 men in a calendar month, the Company would establish a "labor pool" in which men demoted out of their own department would be reassigned to jobs or laid off on a plant seniority basis. With respect to employees represented by Local 2, the contract provided that employees scheduled for layoff would be considered for employment, if their plant seniority warranted, at the lowest labor grade in the general machine shop or in the general maintenance unit.

The procedure of the two locals in negotiating their agreement with the Company was for each to prepare proposals and, before going into negotiations with management, to hold a joint meeting at which they examined each other's proposals and decided which ones to submit to management. This procedure was followed in negotiations late in 1961 looking to amendments of the 1959 contract. Although negotiations were somewhat delayed by the then pending representation case, after the issuance of the certification on October 18, 1961, Locals 1 and 2 met and agreed on most of the matters to be presented to management.

The sole area of disagreement, at least prior to the latter part of November, concerned the foundry. The foundry had been considered part of the unit in the 1959 contract, which made provision for both Group I and Group II (i.e., white and Negro) jobs there. Apparently, however, the foundry had been inoperative for some time, and in 1961 Local 2 urged that the Company be asked to reactivate it. At Local 1's suggestion, however, the foundry matter was passed over in the expectation (later realized) that the Company would take the initiative on that issue.

Late in November 1961, Local 2 raised with Local 1 a further issue--the elimination of racial discrimination in job opportunities in the unit. When L. A. Ashley, president of Local 2, raised the issue, representatives of Local 1 replied that they would like to see a written proposal on the subject. On December 14, 1961, Local 2 presented the following proposal to Local 1:

> The Parties, Locals 1 and 2, herein agree that part one and part two of the current contract has created in its interpretation a problem between the Locals as to advancement opportunities for all employees.
>
> Therefore the Parties agreed that they will within a period of two years or sooner correct the above matter, and provide a greater and more equitable opportunities for all employees.

Local 1 took the position that this proposal came too late in the bargaining to be presented to the Company, as the two locals had previously presented a package of 23 proposals on which negotiations were nearly completed. President Everitt of Local 1 offered to discuss with Local 2 at a later time proposals looking toward elimination of segregation in job opportunities, and, as developed below, such discussions eventually occurred. The proposal quoted above was, therefore, not formally presented to the Company, as the two locals had not come to agreement on it, although there is evidence that the Company's director of industrial relations had a copy and told the president of Local 2 that the dispute between the two locals was their "own business" to "clean up" among themselves.

On December 18, 1961, the Company and Local 1 executed a document "amending and extending" the 1959 contract. Among other changes, the new agreement eliminated the foundry from the "units" covered by the contract and provided that a separate contract would be executed to cover the foundry which would be "completely separate with no relation to the present production and maintenance unit." The new agreement provided also for certain changes in wage rates, in the seniority system, in holiday pay, and in certain other matters. Local 2 however, refused to join in executing this agreement because Local 2 was, as its president testified, "in negotiations with Local 1 to try to put some language in the contract that would abolish segregation and discrimination because of race, creed or color." Notwithstanding Local 2's failure to execute it, the Company put the December 18, 1961, agreement into effect, and Local 2 promptly protested the Company's action in so doing.

Also on December 18, 1961, the Company and Local 1 executed an agreement to enlarge the number of apprentices by adding three crafts to the apprenticeships in the plant, and setting forth the wage rates to be paid to, and the tasks to be performed by, the apprentices. Unlike the general amendment to the 1959 agreement, executed by the Company and Local 1 on the same date, this agreement for apprentices did not contain any space for signature by Local 2. The proposed apprenticeships had been discussed during the bargaining negotiations, and representatives of both Local 2 and Local 1 had been present. Those present were aware that the proposed apprenticeships would fall in Grade I, i.e., would be available to white but not to Negro employees.

C. The apprenticeships, Davis' unsuccessful bid, and his effort to press his grievance

In mid-February 1962 3/ the Company posted a notice inviting applications or "bids" for six apprenticeships "in the Tool and Die Unit I." Although the Roman numeral in the notice, as well as the previous discussions during the contract negotiations, signified that the apprenticeships were

3/ Unless otherwise noted, all events mentioned in this and the following subsection, "D," transpired in 1962.

not open to Negroes, Ivory Davis, a Negro who had been in the Company's employ since 1942, and who was treasurer of Local 2, bid for an apprenticeship. About 1 week later, L. A. Ashley, president of Local 2, saw a company-prepared list of employees who had bid for such apprenticeships, which list did not include Davis' name. The grievance committee of Local 2 thereupon discussed the matter with company officials, who advised the committee that the Company was following its contract with the Independent Metal Workers Union. In an ensuing exchange of correspondence, Local 2 asked the Company whether Davis' bid was being accepted or rejected, and, if the latter, whether the rejection was based on his race, his qualifications, or his union membership. The Company replied that it would follow the 1959 contract and its amendments, and would consider all "eligible" employees.

On April 17, Davis, having heard nothing further from the Company, wrote T. B. Everitt, president of Local 1, advising Everitt that Davis' bid for the apprenticeship had been denied, and requesting "that Local No. 1 intercede in representing /Davis/ in this matter." This letter was unanswered. One month later, the charge was filed in this proceeding alleging that Local 1's refusal to process grievances on behalf of Davis and Ashley violated Section 8(b)(1)(A) of the Act.

In addition to Davis, some 70 odd employees, all white men, submitted bids for the apprenticeships. Six were selected, each of whom at some previous time had been employed in the Tool and Die Unit and had return rights there under the 1959 contract and any amendments thereto.

D. Further relations between Locals 1 and 2 relevant to segregation in jobs and segregated unions, up to the time of the hearing

As noted above, Local 1 had suggested that Local 2's proposal for the elimination of job segregation, advanced during the negotiations late in 1961, be discussed at a later time. In the latter part of March, Local 1 proposed that the two locals submit to the Company a proposed amendment to the contract reciting that "The parties agree that they will, within a period of two (2) years or sooner, attempt to provide a greater and more equitable opportunity for all employees." Local 2 found the language objectionably weak in its use of the word "attempt," and the matter was dropped.

On October 9, the Company posted a notice that it had reached an agreement to work on contracts for the United States Government, and that a condition of such contracts was the posting and carrying out of a policy of nondiscrimination in employment practices, including, inter alia, training and apprenticeships. On October 18, Local 1 issued a bulletin to all employees reciting that it had received a number of inquiries concerning the Company's notice of October 9, that Local 1 would expect the Company to honor the existing agreement between them with respect to employment opportunities, and that Local 1 contemplated no changes in the contract in that respect. As indicated below, however, Local 1 reversed its position within the next 2 weeks.

On October 25, Local 2 and two of its officers (Ashley and Davis) filed the motion to rescind the certification, which ran jointly to Locals 1 and 2, alleging that the practices of Local 1 in discriminating against Negroes and the existence of segregated locals rendered the certification invalid. In an exchange of correspondence among the officers

and counsel of both locals dating from October 26 to November 27 (i.e., up to only 2 weeks before the hearing), Local 1 offered to merge with Local 2 and to ask the Company to negotiate amendments to the contract eliminating all provisions which required discrimination on the basis of race or color. Representatives of the two locals met and drafted a new constitution and bylaws for the proposed merged union.

The proposed new bylaws, in providing for various committees, specified that on certain committees a specific number of the members would be white and a specific number colored (e.g., three of each on the legislative and information committee; five white and three colored members on the grievance committee; etc.), but in no other respect did the proposed constitution and bylaws refer to, or make special provision for, any particular race or color. These proposals apparently were satisfactory to the members of Local 2, subject to the approval of their counsel, who has refused to give his approval until the issues in this case shall have been decided by the Board. 4/ Nevertheless, some of the provisions of the proposed new constitution and bylaws had been given effect because the record shows that a joint grievance committee, composed of both colored and white employees, met with the Company during the week preceding the hearing. Also, the president of Local 1 testified that Local 1 would now accept Negroes into membership upon their application. He further testified that even in the event that Local 2 should not merge with Local 1, Local 1 would ask the Company to remove from the contract the provisions which require racial discrimination.

E. Posthearing developments

As noted above, on January 18, 1963, counsel for Local 1 filed a motion to reopen the record together with a supporting affidavit, alleging in substance that on January 14, 1963, the "Independent Metal Workers Union" and the Company had signed an "amendment to contract of September 15, 1959, as amended and extended December 18, 1961, to eliminate discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin." The motion alleges that "all references to Locals No. 1 and No. 2 have been stricken from the amended contract, and all union committees negotiate and represent the bargaining unit under the title of the Independent Metal Workers Union. These union committees are composed of members previously represented by Locals No. 1 and No. 2" The motion further recites that the amended contract was ratified at a membership meeting of the Independent Metal Workers Union on January 12, 1963, that the meeting was attended by 168 members, of whom 65 were members previously represented by Local No. 2, including Ashley and Davis, and that those 65 members all voted for ratification of the contract. The total vote on ratification, according to the motion, was 102 for, 23 opposed, 43 not voting. On January 28, 1963, I issued an order directing the parties to file with me a "Statement of

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4/ The provisions guaranteeing a specified number of Negroes on certain committees were apparently inserted in response to the suggestion of counsel for Local 2, in his letter of November 9 to counsel for Local 1, that Negroes be assured of representation "at the policy making and administrative levels of the merged Union as well as on /certain/ committees." When the Trial Examiner suggested that provisions specifying the number of Negroes and whites on certain committees might be legally objectionable, counsel for Local 1 stated that, if so, Local 1 would be agreeable to rewriting those provisions "to eliminate any reference to white or colored" or to specify whatever jobs Local 2 might wish to designate as being represented on the committee "so long as it would not change the proportions now set forth." Later, counsel for Local 2 suggested in his brief that the question raised by the Trial Examiner is outside the area of the Board's responsibilities. Without necessarily agreeing with that observation, I conclude that I need not pass on the issue in this case.

Position" setting forth their respective views on the facts contained in the motion to reopen and on various issues posed thereby, and such statements were duly filed by General Counsel and by Local 2. 5/

The responses to the motion to reopen, read together with the briefs, substantially confirm the facts set forth in the motion with respect to the new contract. The response of Local 2 and the brief of Local 1 further establish that Columbus Henry has succeeded L. A. Ashley as president of Local 2, and that Henry signed the new agreement on January 23, 1962. According to Local 2, it has not merged with Local 1, it is still a separate entity, and Henry signed as its new president. According to Local 1, Henry signed "on behalf of the Negro employees."

The responses to my order of January 28 further confirm that on December 13, 1962, well before the negotiation and signing of the new "non-discriminatory" contract, the Steelworkers filed a new petition for certification, Case No. 23-RC-2011, covering the identical employee unit which is involved in the instant proceeding.

As no substantial dispute of fact exists with respect to these posthearing events, I see no reason to take additional testimony, and to that extent the motion to reopen the record is hereby denied. I regard the posthearing facts as relevant to the proceeding, and, as indicated above, I am admitting the pertinent papers into evidence. To that extent, the motion to reopen is hereby granted.

F. Concluding findings

As the foregoing discussion indicates, this case presents questions concerning the impact of the National Labor Relations Act on labor organizations which are themselves segregated on racial grounds or which execute collective-bargaining agreements which provide for racially segregated jobs and racially segregated lines of promotion and demotion. In my view, analysis of this problem can best begin with a consideration of the obligations imposed on a union by its assumption of the role of exclusive bargaining representative. For this reason we turn first to the issues raised by the motion to rescind the certification, and thereafter to those involved in the unfair labor practice case.

1. The certification

a. Unfair representation in bargaining

An exclusive bargaining representative, whether certified or not, is, of course, under a statutory duty to bargain on behalf of all the employees within the bargaining unit, and to represent them fairly and without discriminating among them because of their union membership or lack thereof. As I read the decisions in Steele v. Louisville & Nashville R. Co., 323 U.S. 192, and Syres v. Oil Workers, 350 U.S. 892, reversing 223 F. 2d 739 (C.A 5), the statute also requires that the bargaining representative not discriminate against employees within the unit because of their race or color. Putting aside the question whether other remedies may be invoked

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5/ To facilitate further reference thereto, the motion to reopen and attached materials are hereby incorporated into the record as Trial Examiner's Exhibit 2; my order of January 28 is similarly made part of the record as Trial Examiner's Exhibit 3; and General Counsel's and Local 2's responses thereto are made part of the record as Trial Examiner's Exhibits 4 and 5, respectively.

against an exclusive bargaining representative which violates these statutory duties (among other possibilities may be mentioned unfair labor practice proceedings, private suits to compel performance of statutory duties and to enjoin misperformance, and complete loss of status as bargaining representative so as to privilege what would otherwise be an employer's unlawful refusal to recognize), there can be no doubt that where such a defaulting exclusive representative enjoys the status of Board certification, the Board may, should, and will revoke the certification. See, e.g., Pioneer Bus Co., 140 NLRB No. 18; Carter Mfg. Co., 59 NLRB 804; A. O. Smith Corp., 119 NLRB 621.

In the instant case, as shown above, Local 1, purporting to act as a certified bargaining representative, entered into an agreement with the Company in December 1961 (and threatened as late as October 1962 to enforce it) under which certain jobs in the bargaining unit were open only to white employees and others were open only to Negroes. This action by Local 1 may be viewed as dividing the certified unit into two units, one for white and one for Negro employees, or it may be viewed as discrimination within a single unit based on race and color. In either view, the action violates the statutory duty of an exclusive representative and hence warrants rescission of the certification. It is, of course, immaterial that Local 2 on earlier occasions was equally guilty of conduct which rendered its certification subject to revocation, for--even apart from the fact that Local 2 refused in 1961 to join in perpetuating the illegality--the Board may act to police its own certifications. Nor is the illegality cured by the fact that separate locals administered the two units or two sections of the same unit, because whatever arrangements may be worked out between the recipients of a joint certification in jointly acting as statutory bargaining representative, they must observe the same legal duties imposed on a single representative with respect to full and fair representation of the unit. See Allied Chemical & Dye Corp., 120 NLRB 63, 69. Finally, whatever may be said or thought with respect to the Board's past acquiescence in the practices here discussed, 6/ it is clear that the Board is not estopped by its prior actions and is not required to tolerate illegal conduct in the future merely because it has not seen fit to act heretofore. Utah Power & Light Co. v. United States, 243 U.S. 389, 409; United States v. San Francisco, 310 U.S. 16, 31-32; N.L.R.B. v. Baltimore Transit Co., 140 F. 2d 51, 54-55 (C.A. 4), certiorari denied, 321 U.S. 795.

b. Unfair representation in membership policies

What has been said should suffice to establish that the certification of October 18, 1961, is vulnerable to the motion to rescind. That motion,

6/ See, e.g., the comment in Aaron and Komaroff, Statutory Regulation of Internal Union Affairs, I, 44 Ill. L. R. 425, 445, that with respect to racial discrimination on the part of unions, the Board has erected a "facade of lofty sentiments" but its record is one of "distinctly minor achievement, characterized by numerous temporizations with seemingly basic principles of democracy." See also Professor Wellington's observation that the Board "has sometimes paid lip service to the principles of Steele . . . . But it has done no more than this," Union Democracy and Fair Representation, 67 Yale L. J. 1327, 1338, fn. 63. Accord: Hewitt, The Right to Membership in a Labor Union, 99 U. Penna. L. R. 919, 944: ". . . by its failure to recognize the inherent dangers of segregation, the Board has chosen to adhere to verbal theory rather than realistic solutions."

however, urges as an additional ground for rescission the policy of Local 1 (at the time the motion was made) of refusing to admit Negroes to membership, and the movants urge that a union which so discriminates should not be permitted to obtain or retain a Board certification. Although the record show that Local 1 has since abandoned the practice of excluding Negroes from membership, the record is silent as to the present practices of the Steelworkers and contains uncontradicted evidence that when the Steelworkers was the bargaining representative it "had a white local and a colored local." As appears above, the Steelworkers recently filed a new petition and is currently competing for the employees' votes. Under these circumstances I believe it appropriate, in framing my recommendations with respect to the issues involved in the reopened representation proceeding, to address myself to the argument raised in the motion to rescind that no bargaining agent may be certified if it is composed of separate locals based on race or color, or if it refuses to admit Negroes to full membership.

Early authority on the question of a union's right to bar applicants from membership upheld such right on the theory that a union was a private association, like a social club, whose membership policies were its own affair. This rationale, and holdings based thereon, cannot be viewed as persuasive in the light of current realities. A social club exercises no direct authority over the working or living or social conditions of nonmembers beyond that which is inherent in the fact of nonmembership itself, but a labor organization upon achieving majority status in an appropriate unit becomes the bargaining representative of nonmembers in the unit and, by the contracts it executes and administers, has profound and far-reaching impact on their wages and other conditions of employment. To be sure, the bargaining representative is forbidden to negotiate contracts which are more favorable to members than nonmembers (in itself an indication that the analogy to private associations is faulty). But the interest of nonmembers is not limited to protection against such discrimination. The bargaining representative makes contracts, handles grievances, and calls strikes--all matters which profoundly affect the nonmember (who has no voice in the bargaining representative's decision or in the selection of those who make the decision) in ways far more direct than any that can be remotely envisaged by his exclusion from a private club.

Such considerations of a union's activities underlie the Supreme Court's observation in Steele, supra, 323 U.S. at 202, and A.C.A. v. Douds, 339 U.S. 382, 401-402 that statutory bargaining representatives enjoy powers in some respects comparable to those of legislative bodies. This is not to say that the constitutional restrictions on legislative bodies are necessarily applicable to bargaining representatives. But, because the bargaining representative is under a duty to accord fair representation to all members of the bargaining unit, it is appropriate to inquire (free from any illusion that we are dealing with a mere private club) whether such fair representation is accorded employees who are ineligible for, or segregated in, membership in the bargaining agent because of race or color.

As a theoretical matter, and also in the light of practical experience, it would appear that a union which excludes applicants from membership or segregates them because of race or color is not extending fair representation to the excluded class. A union's deliberate exclusion of a class from full membership itself suggests that discrimination against the members of the class is contemplated. Moreover, exclusion from full membership and hence from the right to participate fully in union affairs necessarily tends to result in lack of fair representation of the excluded class, whose members--denied a voice in the formulation of union policies and in the choice of union officers--are unable to place their wishes or views formally before their own representative. And authorties in the

field indicate that what is thus theoretically suggested, and is further attested by the record in this case showing discrimination against Negroes in eligibility for apprenticeships, is substantiated by a host of other cases reflecting discrimination in contracts on the part of unions which discriminate with respect to membership. See, e.g., the cases collected by Professor Wellington in "The Constitution, the Labor Union, and Governmental Action," 70 Yale L. J. 345, 373, fn. 119, 120; see also Sovern, "The National Labor Relations Act and Racial Discrimination," 62 Columbia L. R. 563, 583, 598-604; Blumrosen, "Legal Protection against Exclusion from Union Activities," 22 Ohio St. L. J. 21, 25; Rauh, "Civil Rights and Liberties and Labor Unions," 8 Lab. L. J. 874, 875; Hewitt, "The Right to Membership in a Labor Union," 99 Penna. L. R. 919, 943.

What has been said with respect to unions which exclude Negroes is equally applicable, as the record here attests, to unions which place Negroes and white employees in separate locals. Such "separate but equal" treatment resulted in this case in Negroes' being precluded from eligibility for the higher paid jobs and even training as apprentices. Similar results of "separate but equal" locals were condemned by the courts in Betts v. Easley, 161 Kan. 459, 169 P. 2d 831; James v. Marinship Corp., 25 Cal. 2d 731, 155 P. 2d 329. See also, Sovern, supra, 62 Columbia L. R. at 602 and fn. 148. Assuming arguendo that the doctrine of "separate but equal" retains any vitality in this area, the record here shows that the separateness was accompanied by inequality. In any event, the same logic which led to the overruling of Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537, in Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483--namely that "separate but equal" in the area of race relations is self-contradictory and that separateness of itself both connotes and creates inequality--leads here to the conclusion that racial discrimination in membership in itself creates an inequality inconsistent with the bargaining agent's duty of fair representation.

I am, of course, aware of the dictum in Steele that a bargaining representative has "the right to determine eligibility to its membership . . ." 323 U.S. at 204. One may well question whether this statement was intended to embrace the very racial discrimination which the Court itself termed "obviously irrelevant and invidious." 323 U.S. at 203. In any event, the dictum expressed in the Steele case on this issue should be considered in the light of the Court's more recent decisions in racial matters, including the overruling of Plessy. Indeed, if the Steele dictum had been controling, the Court would have had no occasion to take the unusual step of noting that it denied certiorari in Oliphant v. Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, 262 F. 2d 359 (C.A. 6), cert. den. 359 U.S. 935, "in view of the abstract context in which the questions sought to be raised are presented on this record." In Oliphant, the Sixth Circuit declined to compel a union to admit a Negro applicant, observing that the union was "a private association, whose membership policies are its own affair . . . " 262 F. 2d at 363. I find more persuasive reasoning in Betts v. Easley, 116 Kan. 459 P. 2d 831 (holding in effect that the bargaining representative should either admit Negroes or cease to be the bargaining representative); in James v. Marinship Corp., 25 Cal. 2d 721, 735, 155 P. 2d 329, 337, where the California Supreme Court observed, "It is difficult to see how a union can fairly represent all the employees of a bargaining unit unless it is willing to admit all to membership, giving them the opportunity to vote for union leaders and to participate in union policies"; in Judge Groner's concurrence in Brotherhood v. United Transport Service Employees, 137 F. 2d 817, 820 (C.A.D.C.), reversed on other grounds, 320 U.S. 715; and in the dissent of Justice Fairchild in Ross v. Ebert, 275 Wis. 532, 82 N.W. 2d 315, 320 (a case not involving a statutory bargaining representative).

Finally, I am, of course, aware of the proviso to Section 8(b)(1)(A) stating "That this paragraph shall not impair the right of a labor organization to prescribe its own rules with respect to the acquisition or retention of membership therein." But this proviso goes only to the Union's freedom from liability under Section 8(b)(1)(A), and sheds no light on its right to representative status or certified status under Section 9. 7/ In this connection it must be remembered that we are dealing at this point, not with unfair labor practices, nor even (as in Oliphant) with actions to compel admission to membership, but solely with the powers and policies of the Board with respect to certification of unions which practice discriminatory racial policies in determining eligibility for membership. Where a union segregates members or excludes or denies full-membership status to applicants, on racial grounds, it is violating its duty of fair representation to all members of the unit and should not be permitted to hold a certified status.

There is no need at this time to explore the outer limits of an exclusive representative's duty to admit applicants. Some unions restrict membership to the first-born legitimate sons of members. Others prescribe tests of proficiency or experience. Expulsion from a union may also result in a member of the bargaining unit's being ineligible for membership in his bargaining representative. Whatever may be the bases on which a statutory representative may properly exclude applicants, it seems clear to me that the bases must bear a reasonable relation to the union's role as bargaining representative or to its functioning as a labor organization; manifestly, racial discrimination bears no such relationship.

The argument is raised 8/ that the Board cannot constitutionally accord certified status to a union which discriminates on racial grounds. Certification, so the argument runs, is governmental action, and confers a preferred status on the union which receives it. It is argued that such governmental aid to an organization which uses its power in racially discriminatory ways (either by executing contracts which discriminate on racial grounds or by segregating or excluding applicants for membership on such grounds) violates the Federal Constitution as construed in recent Supreme Court decisions. Although I incline to the view that this argument has merit, I need not reach any constitutional issue in this case. My recommendations with respect to the certification are based, as noted above, on my construction of the statute and on the principle that an exclusive representative which, on racial grounds, segregates employees or excludes them from membership, or denies them full and complete membership equality with employees of the majority group, does not accord to them the fair representation which the status requires of a bargaining representative. See Wellington, "The Constitution, the Labor Union, and Governmental Action," 70 Yale L. J. 345, 374. 9/

7/ Whether the proviso was intended to exempt from the proscriptions of Section 8(b)(1)(A) a labor organization's racially discriminatory membership policies, and whether so construed the proviso would be unconstitutional, are matters outside the reach of this report.

8/ See Weiss, "Federal Remedies for Racial Discrimination by Labor Unions," 50 Georgetown L. J. 457.

9/ In earlier years the Board held that "Neither exclusion from membership nor segregated membership *per se* represents evasion on the part of a labor organization of its statutory duty to afford 'equal representation.'" Tenth Annual Report, p. 18. A Trial Examiner is bound by Board decisions and should not seek to anticipate authoritative reversal thereof merely because he disagrees with them or because a Court of Appeals has (Continued)

2. The unfair labor practices

The sole unfair labor practice alleged in the complaint is the refusal of Local 1 to process Davis' grievance, which refusal is alleged to constitute restraint and coercion of Davis in the exercise of his Section 7 rights, in violation of Section 8(b)(1)(A). Notwithstanding the existence of eminent authority which suggests that conduct like that of Local 1, with respect to Davis in particular and with respect to all the employees in the bargaining unit, violates Section 8(b)(3) and Section 8(b)(2) of the Act (see Cox, "The Duty of Fair Representation," 2 Villanova L. R. 151, 173; Sovern, "The National Labor Relations Act and Racial Discrimination," 62 Columbia L. R. 563, 569-571), General Counsel limited his complaint to the allegation that the refusal to process the grievance violated Section 8(b)(1)(A). Whatever may have been the General Counsel's reason for thus limiting the theory of his case, 10/ he has effectively precluded any consideration of the issues pressed by Charging Party other than those dealing with Davis' grievance. Even with respect to that grievance, General Counsel took the position that it was unnecessary to reach the question whether the conduct vis-a-vis Davis violated any section of the Act other than Section 8(b)(1)(A). As I read the applicable cases, however, I am not limited to the precise subsection of the Act named in the complaint, but may decide whether the conduct complained of violates other subsections. See Pecheur Lozenge, supra, 209 F. 2d at 402, quoting American Newspaper Publishers Assn. v. N.L.R.B, 193 F. 2d 782, 799-800 (C.A. 7), cert. den., 344 U.S. 16: "Where, as here, the complaint clearly describes an action which is alleged to constitute an unfair labor practice but fails to allege which subsection of the Act has been violated or alleges the wrong subsection, such failure or mistake does not prevent the Board from considering and deciding the charge as presented." Under those cases, I may pass upon whether the conduct alleged in the complaint violated any provision of the Act. (On the other hand, of course, other violations developed on the record such as the execution of an illegal contract, are not before me for decision because that conduct was not the subject of the complaint.)

That Local 1 ignored Davis' request to present his grievance is undenied. Local 1 argued before me that it properly declined to handle the grievance because (1) the grievance was totally lacking in merit as Davis was ineligible for the job which, by contract, was a Group I or "white" job; (2) the constitution of Independent Metal Workers Union then in effect provided that "Local No. 2 shall have complete, final, and exclusive authority to handle and negotiate with Hughes Tool Company all

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9/ (Continued) reversed them. See Insurance Agents International Union, 119 NLRB 768, reversed on other grounds, 260 F. 2d 736 and 361 U.S. 477. But the trend of Supreme Court decisions, even prior to the overruling of Plessy, was to recognize the inequality inherent in separateness, and a Trial Examiner may reasonably disregard Board pronouncements on this issue which date from an earlier era. In any event, insofar as the certification is concerned, my function is merely to make recommendations to the Board, and not to issue a proposed order. I have little hesitancy in recommending that the Board overrule the cases in which it "temporiz/ed/ with seemingly basic principles of democracy." Aaron and Komaroff, fn. 6, supra.

10/ The fact that the charge was thus limited did not preclude General Counsel from issuing a more comprehensive complaint. See, e.g. N.L.R.B. v. Pecheur Lozenge Co., 209 F. 2d 393, 401 (C.A. 2), cert. den. 347 U.S. 953.

matters of every kind or character pertaining to its members and all other colored employees . . ."; and (3) the apprenticeships were all filled by white persons having reemployment rights in the toolroom, so that Davis' grievance was foredoomed to failure.

Assuming, for the moment, that Local 1's failure to handle the grievance establishes a prima facie violation of the Act, none of the three defenses just summarized would overturn such a prima facie showing. As to the third ground, it is perhaps true that Davis, even had Local 1 pressed his grievance, would have failed in his bid for an apprenticeship, and that even if Davis had been a member of Local 1 perhaps his bid would have failed because other applicants may have been more qualified. But the complaint against Local 1 is not based on Davis' failure to get the job, but on Local 1's failure to act in his behalf. The president of Local 1 admitted that if Davis had been a member of Local 1 or eligible for such membership, Local 1 would have investigated his grievance to form an opinion as to its merits. To that extent, at least, Local 1 gave Davis' grievance different treatment from that which would have been given had he been a member of, or eligible for membership in, Local 1.

The first two defenses summarized above reflect both the inherently discriminatory contract and the discrimination as to membership eligibility. With respect to the argument based on the contract--i.e., the argument that Davis' grievance lacked merit because of the agreement between the Company and Local 1 that the apprenticeships were Group I jobs--the simple answer is that the agreement furnishes no defense because it excludes from its benefits members of the bargaining unit not eligible for membership in Local 1. Compare N.L.R.B. v. Gaynor News Co., 197 F. 2d 719, 722 (C.A. 2), affirmed, 347 U.S. 17, 47-48. As the Supreme Court there stated with respect to a contract which gave benefits to members of the bargaining representative and withheld them from nonmembers: "Such discriminatory contracts are illegal and provide no defense to an action under Section 8(a)(3)," citing Steele and other cases. In the instant case, General Counsel expressly disclaimed any allegation that Local 1 violated the Act by executing the contract which restricted the apprenticeships to white employees. In the light of that disclaimer, I make no finding in this section of this Report that the making of the contract violated the Act, although such a finding might well be made, given the necessary allegations. But since Local 1 has injected the contract into the case as a defense, I am compelled to treat of its validity in spite of the General Counsel's failure to urge that it violated the Act, and under Gaynor I think it is clear that the contract is illegal and furnishes no defense, regardless of whether or not its execution by Local 1 is alleged to have constituted a violation of the Act.

A closer question is presented by the defense that Local 1 relied on the union constitution which vested Local 2 with the exclusive handling of grievances concerning Negro employees. But, as described above in connection with the reopened representation case, it is my view that a labor organization cannot, when acting as exclusive bargaining representative, lawfully exclude, segregate, or otherwise discriminate among members of the bargaining unit on racial grounds. It may be that when two unions are jointly certified, they may validly agree, for example, that certain jobs or departments would be the primary concern of one, and other jobs or departments the concern of the other, but they may not validly divide the unit on racial lines. Consequently, just as Local 1 may not rely on its illegal contract to justify its failure to handle Davis' grievance, so it may not rely on its "constitutional" restriction against representing Negro employees. And, insofar as the two locals might properly have divided their responsibility over the jobs, it is clear that Local 1 was the union responsible for handling matters relating to apprentices.

To dispose of the three defenses just discussed is not, however, to dispose of the case. We must also inquire whether any defenses were necessary, or, in other words, whether Local 1's failure to process Davis' grievance violated any provision of the Act.

General Counsel's basic contention is that Local 1's failure to process Davis' grievance constituted restraint and coercion in the exercise of Section 7 rights. Reliance is placed on such cases as Peerless Tool and Engineering Co., 111 NLRB 853, 858, enforced, 231 F. 2d 298 (C.A. 7), cert. den. 352 U.S. 833, and M. Eskin & Son, 135 NLRB 666, enforced as to the union respondent, 52 LRRM 2163 (C.A. 2, January 7, 1963). In those cases the unions involved conditioned the processing of grievances on the employees' engaging in a certain activity which the unions demanded of them. Although the cases stand for the well-settled proposition that the bargaining representative has the duty of accepting and processing grievances on which its aid is requested by an employee it represents (see also Conley v. Gibson, 355 U.S. 41, 45-46), their applicability here is considerably diminished by the fact that in those cases the Section 7 right involved was the right to refrain from union activity. No such right is involved here. What is involved here, instead, is Davis' right under Section 7 to have the bargaining agent represent him. If a labor organization which is the exclusive bargaining representative declines to process the grievance of a member of the unit, it has to that extent refused to represent him, and hence it has restrained or coerced him in his exercise of his right to be represented. In essence this is the analysis of the Board majority in Miranda Fuel Company, 140 NLRB No. 7. 11/ Moreover, it should be observed that the dissenters in Miranda noted that "the reduction of Lopuch's seniority for his absence from work is a far cry from the arbitrary and invidious discrimination" in such cases as Steele or (presumably) the instant case.

In my opinion, Local 1's refusal to process Davis' grievance also violated Section 8(b)(3) of the Act. That section requires the statutory-bargaining representative to bargain collectively with an employer. The processing of grievances is, of course, a part of the bargaining function. Conley v. Gibson, supra. A refusal to process a grievance is, therefore, a refusal to bargain. This does not mean, of course, that the bargaining representative must fight every grievance to the bitter end. As noted above, Local 1 might reasonably have found, after brief investigation, that the grievance was unmeritorious because other applicants were better qualified. But the record is clear that Local 1 did not make even this much inquiry into the matter, and refused to handle Davis' grievance for reasons unrelated to his qualifications for the job. It may be argued that the duty to bargain prescribed by Section 8(b)(3) is a duty the union owes to employers, not to employees in the unit. But nothing in the statutory language requires such a limitation on the union's duty; certainly the employer's corresponding duty runs both to the union and to the employee in the unit. See Louisville Refining Co., 4 NLRB 844,860-1, enforced 102 F.2d 678 (C.A. 6). If, for example, a union which represents a majority should seek to make a "members only" contract, it would appear to be violating its duty to bargain on behalf of all. In that example, it would be dealing with an employer, and hence plainly violating Section 8(b)(3). In the instant case it is, in effect, acting on behalf of "members only" when it refuses to deal with the employer concerning Davis' grievance, and its inaction is as much, if not more, of a refusal to bargain than would be its action on behalf of a minority. Cf. Cox, "The Duty of Fair Representation," 2 Villanova L. Rev. 151, 172-174. Since, as is well settled, the majority union has a statutory obligation to represent all employees in the unit fairly in collective bargaining, I find that a breach of that duty is a breach of the duty to bargain.

11/ I am referring, of course, to that part of Miranda which deals with Section 8(b)(1)(A). That decision plainly supersedes the position taken in the amicus brief filed on behalf of the Board in Ford Motor Co. v. Huffman, 345 U.S. 330, on which brief Local 1 places great reliance.

Finally, with respect to Section 8(b)(2) of the Act, Local 2 urges me to find that Local 1 in bargaining for contracts which discriminated on racial lines caused or attempted to cause the Company to discriminate against members of Local 2 and in favor of members of Local 1. Although I believe that the implications of Gaynor News, supra, support this analysis, I am precluded by the narrowness of the complaint from passing on such larger allegations and must confine myself at this point to the question whether Local 1's failure to handle Davis' grievance violated Section 8(b)(2). As I read Gaynor, however, the withholding from Davis of treatment which would have been given to him had he been eligible for membership in Local 1 establishes a violation of Section 8(b)(2).

In Gaynor, members of the union received certain wage and vacation payments which were not given nonmembers. In defense of the allegation that this discrimination encouraged union membership, the employer urged that no such encouragement could have occurred because union membership was available only to sons of members, and the charging party had already tried without success to join the union. The defense was rejected by the Second Circuit, which pointed out that union admission policies were subject to change, and by the Supreme Court, which noted that by the time the case reached it, the union had broadened its admission policies, 347 U.S. at 51-52. The parallel to the instant case, including the subsequent broadening of admission policies is clear. The union in Gaynor was not a respondent, but as the employer there was held to have violated Section 8(a)(3), it is scarcely open to question that the union in that case violated Section 8(b)(2) in that it caused the employer to violate Section 8(a)(3).

The instant case differs from Gaynor in that here the beneficiaries of the discrimination included not only members of Local 1 but also all persons eligible for such membership, i.e., all white employees in the unit. If any such employee had filed a grievance like that of Davis, Local 1 would have investigated it. But this distinction is not controlling. I believe the result in Gaynor would have been the same if the criterion for receipt of the benefits in that case had been expressed in terms of those eligible for union membership. Local 1 also may urge, with respect to Section 8(b)(2), as it urges with respect to Sections 8(b)(1)(A) and 8(b)(3), that it has not violated the Act with respect to Davis because Local 2, and not Local 1, was Davis' representative, and Local 1 (so its argument runs) did not by discrimination encourage his membership in Local 1 any more than it refused to bargain for him or restrained or coerced him in the right to be represented by the union of his choice. But the answer with respect to all three subsections is the same: Local 1 misconceives its duty as a joint-bargaining representative, and it may not divest itself of its bargaining responsibility toward employees in the unit merely because they are members of the other jointly certified union. See Allied Chemical & Dye Corp., 120 NLRB 63, 69; Sears, Roebuck & Co., 120 NLRB 1395, 1396. Moreover, only Local 1 had an agreement with the Company covering apprenticeships, and assuming arguendo that such agreement with only one of the jointly certified unions could be valid, the duty to handle grievances relating to that matter necessarily devolved upon that union.

Finally, the majority of the Board held in Miranda Fuel Co., 140 NLRB No. 7, that a labor organization violates Section 8(b)(2) when "for arbitrary or irrelevant reasons or upon the basis of an unfair classification the union attempts to cause or does cause an employer to derogate the employment status of an employee," and that "union membership is encouraged or discouraged whenever a union causes an employer to affect an individual's employment status." What is said in Miranda with respect to union action would appear equally applicable to inaction which was founded upon "arbitrary or irrelevant reasons or upon the basis of an unfair classification."

I find, therefore, that Local 1's failure to process or investigate Davis' grievance violated Sections 8(b)(1)(A), 8(b)(2) and 8(b)(3) of the Act.

Conclusion of Law

Local 1, by failing and refusing to investigate or handle the request of Ivory Davis that it intercede for him with respect to his bid on the apprentice program, restrained and coerced Davis in the exercise of his Section 7 right to be represented by a representative of his own choosing, refused to bargain on his behalf, and caused or attempted to cause unlawful discrimination against him violative of Section 8(a)(3), thereby engaging in unfair labor practices affecting commerce within the meaning of Section 8(b)(1)(A), (2), and (3) and Section 2(6) and (7) of the Act.

The Remedy for the Unfair Labor Practices

The conventional remedy for unfair labor practices is the issuance of an order directing the violator to cease and desist from his unlawful conduct and to take affirmative action to remedy the violations, including, inter alia, the posting of an explanatory notice to employees. The unfair labor practices here are unique, however, and several considerations necessitate the conclusion that use of a conventional order and notice in this case would not fully effectuate the purposes of the Act.

The fact that Local 1 approved amendments to its constitution and bylaws so as to eliminate racial discrimination, and the added fact that the new contract does not provide for such discrimination, do not, of course, make the case moot. The law is well settled that voluntary discontinuance of illegal conduct after the commencement of litigation does not moot a case. Moreover, this is not a situation where a respondent has ceased its unlawful conduct and also has ceased to exist. Local 2 apparently continues to exist and indeed has a new president chosen after the hearing in this case. Too, T. B. Everitt, president of Local 1 at the time of the unfair labor practices, signed an affidavit on January 18, 1963 (see Trial Examiner's Exhibit 2, fn. 5, supra) in which he refers to himself as president of Local 1, and he also signed the new contract on January 14, 1963, although the record contains no suggestion that any new selection of officers (other than that of Columbus Henry) occurred after the hearing. Under these circumstances I cannot find that the respondent has ceased to exist in the sense that it would be unable to comply with an appropriate remedial order.

A further consideration arises out of my belief, more fully set forth in the next section of this Report, that the certification issued jointly to Local 1 and Local 2 should be revoked. Because the violations arose out of Local 1's failure to perform the duties imposed on it as a bargaining representative of the employees, the normal remedy would be to direct it to perform those duties. But in this case I am recommending that Local 1 be shorn of its certified status. Moreover, as the Steelworkers have a petition on file, I deem it inappropriate to issue an order which would bestow upon Local 1 status as sole bargaining representative. Finally, insofar as the unfair labor practice case is concerned, the basic violation lies in the general racial discrimination practiced by Local 1 in its contracts and in its membership policies, but General Counsel saw fit to limit the case to the particular discrimination against Davis. To the extent, however, that the treatment of Davis reflects Local 1's treatment of an entire class, the remedy properly may go to the entire pattern of discrimination and need not be confined to the individual manifestation alleged in the complaint. See N.L.R.B. v. Piqua Munising Wood Products Co., 109 F. 2d 552, 557 (C.A. 6); cf. Fay v. Douds, 172 F. 2d 720, 725 (C.A. 2).

I shall therefore recommend that, if Local 1 should become the bargaining representative of the employees in the appropriate unit, it shall cease and desist from making any contracts or agreements in which job opportunities are dependent upon race or color or membership in Local 1, and from refusing to represent any employee in the handling of any grievance because of race or color or nonmembership in Local 1. Affirmatively, I shall recommend that Local 1 post a notice at appropriate places reciting in essence that if it should become the bargaining representative it will perform its statutory obligations without discrimination based on race or color or nonmembership. The Recommended Order will not require Local 1 to take any present action with respect to the Davis grievance because such action would be inconsistent with the forfeiture of status, because the record indicates that Davis for nondiscriminatory reaons would not have qualified for the job on which he bid, and because in the event of a recurrence of the situation (i.e., Local 1's becoming the representative and Davis' again requesting that it represent him), the proposed order will encompass the situation.

Recommendations Respecting the Certification

In Pioneer Bus Co., 140 NLRB No. 18, where the bargaining representative executed contracts which discriminated on racial lines, the Board stated that such action warranted revocation of the certification. The Board did not revoke in Pioneer (where no motion for revocation had been filed) because it deemed revocation unnecessary "in view of the impending election which we here direct." I am not empowered to, and do not, direct an election, but I regard Pioneer as dispositive on the issue of revocation. My recommendation that the certification be revoked rests not only on Pioneer, but also on the showing that the certified unions here operated under a policy which separated the members into separate locals on racial lines, a practice which I regard as basically incompatible with a bargaining agent's duty of fair representation of all employees in the unit. My recommendation further rests on the finding that the bargaining agent engaged in unfair labor practices inconsistent with the discharge of its statutory duty to represent fairly all employees in the unit.

Local 1 has moved that the certification be amended, not rescinded, in the light of reforms effected after the filing of the motion to rescind, including the elimination of racial discrimination from the contract and from the membership policies of Local 1. Local 1's motion is that the certification be amended to bestow sole representative status upon it. It well may be, as Local 1 argues, quoting Whitfield v. United Steelworkers of America, 263 F. 2d 546, 551 (C.A. 5), cert. denied, 360 U.S. 902, that "Angels could do no more." It also may be that a labor organization which aspires to exclusive bargaining status could do no less and have its name on the ballot in a Board election. In any event, giving all credit to Local 1 for its reforms--the more noteworthy in view of its insistence on racial discrimination as recently as 2 months before the hearing--I believe that rescission of the certification is essential in the light of the record.

Among other reasons for rescinding the certification, rather than amending it so that it would run only to Local 1, is the fact that the certification ran jointly to Local 1 and Local 2, and both Locals are still in existence. They jointly achieved certified status following a contest with the Steelworkers, but it is by no means a certainty that Local 1, after abandoning its policies of segregation, can obtain majority support. 12/

12/ Local 1 had between 900 and 1,000 members at the time of the hearing. At the meeting on the new contract, 37 members of Local 1 voted for it, 23 against, 43 abstained, and the rest were absent.

In this connection it should be noted that Steelworkers filed a petition in December 1962, when no contract existed between Local 2 and the Company, and when Local 1's contract, assuming that it had any vitality, did not bar the Steelworkers from raising a question concerning representation because the contract discriminated on racial lines. Pioneer Bus, supra. The present contract which appears to contain no racially discriminatory provisions was executed after the filing of the Steelworkers' petition, and I believe that under those circumstances the Board should not extend or amend a certification which was vulnerable to rescission and under challenge from another labor organization at the time the new contract was signed.

In A. O. Smith Corp., 119 NLRB 621, the Board rescinded a certification for 6 months because the certified union had failed to represent all employees in the unit. Apparently the Board felt that such disregard of the duty of fair representation should be met with rescission of the certification although there was no reason to believe that the union in that case would have acted unfairly in the future. The far more egregious conduct shown on this record should result in no lesser action.

In the light of the long history of racial discrimination at the Hughes plant, a history in which the Steelworkers and the Company, as well as the Independent Metal Workers Union, have played, in varying degrees, something more than acquiescent roles, I further recommend that in any future representation proceedings involving this plant the Board make it inexorably clear to all participants that the Board will not tolerate, racially discriminatory practices on the part of any union which it certifies. I recommend, therefore, that the Board require, as a condition of certifying any labor organization at the plant, that the certified organization post in its offices and on all plant bulletin boards on which it has permission to post notices, the following notice:

NOTICE TO ALL EMPLOYEES

> This labor organization has been certified by the National Labor Relations Board as the bargaining representative of the employees in the unit described below. The certification is conditioned upon our not discriminating against any employee because of his race or color, both with respect to membership in this labor organization on terms fully equal to those afforded any member and with respect to terms and conditions of employment and opportunities for advancement under any contract we may negotiate with management. Any person who believes that this labor organization is not observing a policy of nondiscrimination should bring the matter to the attention of the National Labor Relations Board, Washington 25, D. C., or the Board's Regional Office in Houston.

The above should be followed by a description of the unit, and by the name of the labor organization and the handwritten signature of its president. Such notice should remain posted during the life of the certification, not merely for 60 days nor even 1 year. Whether a similar notice should be required in subsequent certifications is a matter which may be left open, perhaps pending the advice at that time of the Regional Director.

RECOMMENDED ORDER

Upon the foregoing findings of fact and conclusion of law, and upon the entire record in this case, I recommend that the Respondent,

Independent Metal Workers Union, Local No. 1, its officers, agents, successors, and assigns, shall: 13/

1. Cease and desist from:

(a) Restraining or coercing employees in the exercise of their rights under Section 7 of the Act by failing or refusing to handle or investigate their grievances where such failure or refusal is occasioned by considerations of race, color, or union membership.

(b) Causing or attempting to cause Hughes Tool Company to discriminate against any employee by making or enforcing agreements which provide benefits to employees who are members of Local 1 or are eligible for membership, while withholding like benefits from employees to whom membership is unavailable.

(c) Refusing to bargain on behalf of any or all employees in the bargaining unit by failing or refusing to handle or investigate a grievance filed by a member of the bargaining unit where such failure or refusal is caused by the employee's race or color or union membership, or is caused by a belief that the grievance is ill-founded because of the employee's race or color or union membership.

2. Take the following affirmative action which is necessary to effectuate the policies of the Act:

(a) Upon request, investigate and handle grievances filed by Ivory Davis or any other member of the bargaining unit, without regard to the race, color, or union membership of the grievant.

(b) Post at its business office, meeting hall and all places where notices to members of the Respondent Union are customarily posted (including all such places in the Hughes plant) copies of the notice attached hereto as an Appendix. 14/ Copies of said notice, to be furnished by the Regional Director for the Twenty-third Region, shall, after being duly signed by an authorized representative of Respondent, be posted by it immediately upon receipt thereof and be maintained for a period of 60 consecutive days thereafter in conspicuous places including all places where notices to members are customarily posted. Reasonable steps shall be taken by it to ensure that said notices are not altered, defaced, or covered by any other material.

(c) Mail to said Regional Director signed copies of said notice for posting by Local 2, if that Local so desires, in places where notices to its members are customarily posted.

13/ Provisions 1(a) through 2(a) of this Order shall be inapplicable when Respondent shall not be the representative of the employees in an appropriate unit, pursuant to Section 9(a).

14/ In the event that this Recommended Order be adopted by the Board, the words "AS ORDERED BY" shall be substituted for the words "AS RECOMMENDED BY A TRIAL EXAMINER OF" in the notice. In the further event that the Board's Order be enforced by a decree of a United States Court of Appeals, the words "A DECREE OF THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS ENFORCING AN ORDER OF" shall be inserted immediately following the words "AS ORDERED BY."

(d) Notify said Regional Director in writing, within 20 days from the receipt of this Intermediate Report and Recommended Order, what steps it has taken to comply herewith. 15/

5 Dated at Washington, D. C.

Frederick U. Reel

Frederick U. Reel
Trial Examiner

55 15/ In the event that this Recommended Order be adopted by the Board, this provision shall be modified to read: "Notify said Regional Director, in writing, within 10 days from the date of this Order what steps Respondent has taken to comply herewith."

APPENDIX

NOTICE TO EMPLOYEES OF HUGHES TOOL COMPANY

AS RECOMMENDED BY A TRIAL EXAMINER OF
THE NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

and in order to conduct our union as required by the National Labor Relations Act, we notify you that in the event we should become the bargaining representative of the employees:

WE WILL NOT execute any contract which discriminates among employees as to job opportunities, or any other term or condition of employment, because of race or color.

WE WILL investigate and handle any grievance brought to us by an employee without regard to his race or color.

INDEPENDENT METAL WORKERS
UNION LOCAL NO. 1
(Labor Organization)

Dated _____ By _____
(Representative) (Title)

This notice must remain posted for 60 consecutive days from the date of posting, and must not be altered, defaced, or covered by any other material.

Employees may communicate directly with the Board's Regional Office, 6617 Federal Office Building, 515 Rusk Avenue, Houston 2, Texas (Tel. No. Capitol 8-0611, Ext. 296), if they have any question concerning this notice or compliance with its provisions.

TXD-35-64
Brownsville, Tex.

RELEASE AFTERNOON

FEB 5 '64

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
BEFORE THE NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD
DIVISION OF TRIAL EXAMINERS
WASHINGTON, D. C.

LOCAL 1367, INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION, AFL-CIO

SOUTH ATLANTIC AND GULF COAST DISTRICT, INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION, AFL-CIO

and

Case No. 23-CB-476

LOCAL 1368, INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION, AFL-CIO

and

GALVESTON MARITIME ASSOCIATION, INC.
HOUSTON MARITIME ASSOCIATION, INC.
MASTER STEVEDORES ASSOCIATION OF TEXAS

Party to the Contract

Lowell W. Olson, Esq., Houston, Tex., for the General Counsel.
Mandell & Wright, Houston, Tex., by Herman Wright, Esq., for Local 1367.
Sewall Myer, Esq., Houston, Tex., for South Atlantic and Gulf Coast District.
W. J. Durham, Esq., Dallas, Tex., by E. Brice Cunningham, Esq., for Local 1368.

Before: Thomas N. Kessel, Trial Examiner.

TRIAL EXAMINER'S DECISION

Statement of the Case

Upon the filing of a charge on April 29, 1963, by Local 1368, International Longshoremen's Association, AFL-CIO, herein called Local 1368 against South Atlantic and Gulf Coast District, International Longshoremen's Association, AFL-CIO, herein called the District, and against Local 1367, International Longshoremen's Association, AFL-CIO, herein called Local 1367, the General Counsel of the National Labor Relations Board, herein called the Board, by the Regional Director for the Twenty-third Region, issued a complaint on May 13, 1963, alleging that the District and Local 1367 had engaged in and were engaging in conduct violative of Section 8(b)(1)(A), (2) and (3) of the National Labor Relations Act, 61 Stat. 136, herein called the Act. By amendment to the complaint Galveston Maritime Association, Inc., Houston Maritime Association, Inc., and Master Stevedores Association of Texas, herein collectively called the Association, were named Parties to the Contract. By their answers duly filed the District and Local 1367 in substance deny the complaint allegations of statutory violation. Pursuant to notice a hearing was held July 23, 24 and 25, 1963, at Brownsville, Texas, before the undersigned Trial Examiner. All parties except the Parties to

the Contract were represented by counsel. Briefs filed by the General Counsel, Local 1367, and the Charging Party after the close of the hearing have been considered.

Upon consideration of the entire record and from my observation of the witnesses, I make the following:

Findings and Conclusions

I. The pertinent commerce facts

The complaint alleges and Local 1367 and the District, herein collectively called the Respondents, admitted at the hearing that owners and operators and/or agents of deep sea vessels including but not limited to Port of Brownsville Stevedoring Company, Border Stevedoring Company, Lykes Bros. Steamship Co., Inc., Lallier and Company, Dix Shipping Company, and Plitt and Company, arriving at and/or departing from ports in Texas, including the Port of Brownsville, Texas, are members or associate members of Galveston Maritime Association, Inc., and/or Houston Maritime Association, Inc., and/or the Master Stevedores Association of Texas. It is further alleged and admitted that the foregoing assocations are and have at all times material herein been Texas corporations; that Galveston Maritime Assocation has its principal office and place of business in Galveston, Texas; that Houston Maritime Assocation, Inc., and Master Stevedores Association of Texas have their principal place of business in Houston, Texas; that the foregoing associations are associations of employers engaged in the loading and discharging of vessels in the ports of Texas including the port at Brownsville, Texas; that these associations exist for the purpose, inter alia, of negotiating and administering collective-bargaining agreements on behalf of their employer members with various labor organizations including the District, Locals 1367 and 1368, and the International Longshoremen's Association, AFL-CIO, herein called the ILA, and are now operating under the terms of a collective-bargaining agreement with these named labor organizations; that during the year preceding issuance of the complaint the employer members of the foregoing associations in the course of their operations furnished stevedoring services to steamship companies operating vessels in interstate and foreign commerce valued in excess of $500,000, and that Strachan Shipping Company, an employer member of all three foregoing associations, during the same period furnished stevedoring services to steamship companies operating vessels in interstate and foreign commerce valued in excess of $100,000. It is further alleged and admitted that the foregoing employers are engaged in commerce within the meaning of the Act. Accordingly, I find the purpose of the Act will be effectuated by the assertion of the Board's jurisdiction in this case.

II. The labor organizations involved

The District and Locals 1367 and 1368 are labor organizations within the meaning of the Act.

III. The unfair labor practices

Principally at issue are provisions in a labor contract allocating to two unions, one Local 1367 with an all white membership, and the other Local 1368, with an all Negro membership, fixed unequal percentages of work which may be referred by each to employees seeking jobs through their respective hiring halls with the employer Parties to the Contract. The General Counsel and Charging Party contend that the District and Local 1367 by maintaining and enforcing these contractual provisions are violating Section 8(B)(1)(A), (2) and (3) of the Act. The Respondents, particularly Local 1367, maintain that the foregoing work division is not discriminatory but instead represents a fair and equitable sharing of available work between the two racial groups. They further claim that the complained of

quotas may not be found to discriminate against Local 1368 because it had voluntarily agreed to them and had accepted them over the years. The Respondents furthermore disclaim responsibility for the establishment and maintenance of the foregoing quotas and attribute their creation to the ILA which is not a party to this proceeding. The failure to join the ILA as a party, they say, is a fatal defect requiring dismissal of the complaint.

A second issue involves the seizure of control over Local 1367 by an administrator appointed to run its affairs by the ILA at the behest of the District. Allegedly, the District's action was reprisal against Local 1367 because it had filed the charge in this proceeding. Thereby, contend the General Counsel and Charging Party, the District violated Section 8(b)(1)(A) of the Act. Apart from the denial in the District's answer that it had engaged in the conduct ascribed to it or that such conduct in this case was violative of the Act, the only explicated defense is the one made at the hearing, namely, that the trusteeship imposed over Local 1367 was lawful because this was done in accordance with the provisions of the constitution of the ILA and of Local 1368.

The ILA services its total membership through lesser affiliated organizations each with varying degrees of autonomy. Below the level of the parent organization are the districts with jurisdiction over the local organizations within their geographical ambits. The South Atlantic and Gulf Coast District, as implied by its name, has authority over an area comprising the ports on the South Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico. Included therein are the ports of Brownsville, Harlingen and Port Isabel all of which are located in Cameron County, Texas, at the southernmost part of that State on the Gulf of Mexico. The local organizations which by charter or other authorization from the ILA have jurisdiction over the longshore work at these ports are Locals 1367 and 1368. The alleged unlawful work quotas pertain to the longshore work which may be referred by Locals 1367 and 1368 at the three ports above mentioned, 75 percent by the former and 25 percent by the latter.

A contract, effective October 1, 1956, and which by its terms was to have terminated on September 30, 1959, was concededly made with the employing shipping and stevedoring companies operating in the Gulf Coast ports from Lake Charles, Louisiana, southward through all the Texas ports including the three ports under the jurisdiction of Locals 1367 and 1368. These are the companies referred to as the Association. The contract with the Association in evidence does not reveal who were the signators when it was made in 1956 but it does specify that the parties thereto are the Association, the ILA, and 26 designated affiliated locals including Locals 1367 and 1368. In 1959 the contract, with certain variations, was extended from October 1 of that year to October 1, 1962. Thereafter it was again extended until September 30, 1964. The document reveals that these extensions were signed in behalf of the District by its president ostensibly binding all the labor organizations privy to the original agreement.

By stipulation it is established that all employees of the Association engaged in deep sea longshore work at the ports from Lake Charles, Louisiana, southward to and including the Port at Brownsville, Texas, constitute a unit appropriate for collective bargaining within the Act's meaning. The ILA, the District, and all the ILA local organizations within the District from Lake Charles to Brownsville to which the foregoing employees belong are jointly the collective-bargaining representative of the employees in the foregoing appropriate unit. The joint bargaining representative performs the special function of negotiating a single contract with the Association for the unit employees. At the same time each local organization to which these employees belong autonomously performs services under its separate charter, constitution and bylaws for its particular members and in effect acts for these members as their collective-bargaining

representative in all respects in which such representative normally functions except for the negotiation of the unit contract which, as noted, is negotiated by the joint collective bargaining representative.

The only part of the 1956 contract relevant to the issues herein is contained in the section entitled "Hiring Halls." Provision therein is first made for the furnishing of longshoremen to service the needs of the Association through hiring halls operated and administered by the designated 26 local organizations. The section next provides that

> To assure that no discrimination will be made on account of race, it is agreed that the work will be divided between white and colored longshoremen, working in solid gangs of either white or colored on the same ratio basis as now exists in the respective ports covered by this agreement: Except that . . . Local 1368 to receive their proportion of work as agreed upon by the district office of the ILA.

These provisions were unchanged by the 1959 and 1962 extensions and were consequently continued as part of the extended agreement now in force. The complaint alleges and the Respondents admitted at the hearing that these provisions have at all times since October 1, 1956, been enforced and maintained by the Association, the District and Local 1367 as parties to the agreement.

It is the execution and the maintenance of the aforestated provision concerning the "proportion of work" to be received by Local 1368 which represents the crux of the case. To apprehend what is Local 1368's proportion and how it was determined requires consideration of the historical evidence which follows. To avoid any misconceptions it should be emphasized that this case is not concerned with the arrangement suggested by the foregoing contract for the division of work between ILA locals at any ports outside Cameron County. The General Counsel carefully assured the Respondents at the hearing it was not his intention in this proceeding to delve into conditions at these other ports and it was made clear that there would be no litigation of these matters in this case.

Before 1934 there were no ILA locals chartered in Cameron County. Construction was then proceeding of facilities for deep sea shipping at the Brownsville and Port Isabel ports and such longshore work as may have been available was only at the Port of Harlingen. Apparently, because of the expectation that the new facilities would provide work opportunities, Fred D. Wilson, a Baptist reverend at Brownsville, was inspired to organize a group of Negroes and to secure for them a local charter from the ILA. He obtained legal assistance and communicated with ILA President Ryan who referred him to District President Dwyer. The latter informed Reverend Brown that a charter could not be granted his group unless a corresponding charter were simultaneously granted to a local composed of white members. 1/

1/ The official record of the District's May 21, 1956, convention at Brownsville documents the facts concerning the creation of separate white and Negro locals in 1934 and the reasons therefore. It states

> In December 1934, during construction of the deep water Ports of Brownsville and Port Isabel, charters were issued by the International Union to Locals #1367, #1368, #1369, #1370, #1371, #1372 which consisted of three white and three colored locals. The necessity for this was the fact that the ILA rules at that time required that all Deep Sea Coastwise and Warehouse work be divided equally.

Locals 1369, 1370, 1371 and 1372 are chartered for Coastwise and Warehouse work. This case is not concerned with them.

Pursuant to these instructions Reverend Brown and his brethren organized the several Negro and white groups going so far as to lend the white locals the $10 payment for each demanded by the ILA for the charters which it granted.

Having secured its charter, Local 1368 engaged in a vain attempt to obtain longshore work at the Cameron County ports. It appears that employers were unwilling to employ its members because of their race, whereas Local 1367 did succeed in securing some work. There is no evidence to warrant any finding of responsibility on the part of the Respondents for the refusal in these years by the employers to give work to Negro longshoremen. This condition persisted and in 1940 the ILA revoked the Local 1368 charter because its members had no work and because no dues were received. The revocation was with the understanding that the charter would be reinstated as such time as there was need for more longshoremen in the area.

During the war years of the 1940s there was practically no longshore work at the Cameron County ports. In 1946, however, there was a dramatic resurgence in shipping at these ports and the interest of the Negro longshoremen in the area for work opportunities was rekindled. At the District's 1948 convention, a resolution was introduced for the re-issuance of the Local 1368 charter. There followed a 2-year investigation of the question with a recommendation in 1950 by the District for restoration of the charter. Local 1368's objective was not merely to regain its charter but also to share in the work then being obtained exclusively through referral by Local 1367. This matter was also studied by a subcommittee of the District's Executive Board. The minutes of the May 25, 1950, meeting of this subcommittee 2/ show the search for a formula by the committee for the sharing of Local 1367's work with Local 1368 at the Port of Brownsville and the decision of the subcommittee to resolve the question by a division of the work in accordance with the terms of an agreement devised by the subcommittee 3/ which provided that

> the General Longshore work at the port of Brownsville will be divided between the aforementioned locals (1367 and 1368) on a seventy-five percent (75%) and twenty-five (25%) basis.
>
> Local 1367 to dispatch three gangs each time Local 1368 dispatches one gang for work.

The agreement ultimately drafted and signed further provided that the foregoing arrangement was to become

> part of the present and all future contracts, and can only be changed by mutual consent of all parties concerned.

The foregoing minutes of the District's subcommittee meeting reveal the opposition by Local 1367's President Barton to the sharing of his organization's longshore work with Local 1368 for the stated reason that there was not enough work for both locals and that any diminution in Local 1367's work would constitute a hardship for its members. The persistence of the subcommittee to achieve a solution led to its conclusion that the agreement for the 75-25 percent arrangement should be made effective despite the opposition of Local 1367. Accordingly, as shown by the foregoing minutes,

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2/ Appearing in the printed record of the proceedings of the District's Forty-First Annual Convention at Mobile, Alabama, May 21 to 24, 1951.

3/ Members of the subcommittee were also members of the District's Executive Board and included District President F. A. Yeager, Vice President W. M. Jones, and Assistant Secretary-Treasurer Dave Dennis.

It was unanimously agreed that the following agreement would be made an order of the District and if same would not be carried out the committee would recommend that the International revoke the charter of Local 1367 and use all of the resources of the International and the District to reorganize the Port of Brownsville.

The printed record of the District's Forty-First Annual Convention proceedings also contains an account of the resistance by Local 1367 to the subcommittee's action. After the 75-25 percent division was "recommended" to Local 1367, the plan was presented to its members who refused to concur in the recommendation. The District's Executive Board was so advised. Thereupon committees of Local 1367 and 1368 were informed the recommendation now was an "order" of the Board. In June 1950, the ILA notified Local 1367's president that the "policy" concerning the Local had been agreed upon by six International vice presidents and that the Local's membership must carry out that policy. In July the District's president and two Executive Board members met with Local 1367's president at Brownsville and were apprised by the latter that the Local's membership still refused to obey the Executive Board's order. Later that month, as a group consisting of a District subcommittee and the ILA Executive Board met with the employing companies at Brownsville to discuss the division of work ordered by the District Executive Board, the meeting place was picketed by a group led by Local 1367's president. Consequently, the District's president suspended the officers of Local 1367.

Ralph A. Massey, currently the District's president, assumed this office in 1954. Before then he had from 1947 been the District's secretary-treasurer. In his view the arrangement for the 75-25 percent division was accomplished by a committee designated by the ILA. To show further that this was action by the ILA rather than the District, he pointed to the fact that Alfred Chittenden, who in 1950 was a member of the District's Executive Board, was sent by ILA President Ryan to Brownsville as his special representative to obtain acquiescence in the plan by Local 1367 and 1368. It is to be noted in this respect that the document embodying the plan which was ultimately signed by the presidents of both locals states it was "attested to by a Special Representative of President Joseph F. Ryan I.L.A.," and bears Alfred Chittenden's signature as such representative.

The reluctant signature of Local 1367's president has been indicated. It should be added that Reverend Wilson also signed reluctantly in behalf of Local 1368, for a 25 percent share of the work fell short of his local's apparent aim to divide the work equally with Local 1367. 4/ ILA Special Representative Chittenden, however, prevailed upon Wilson to sign, albeit he did so under protest, with the encouragement that Local 1368 would thereby get its foot in the door and that the arrangement was not permanent.

Since the signing of the agreement and the incorporation of its terms in contracts with the Association, several attempts were made by Local 1368 to secure a more favorable revision of the work-sharing formula. Its appeals to the District and to Local 1367 have been unavailing. The District's 1956 convention at Brownsville referred various resolutions to a "committee" which considered and reviewed "all the facts, circumstances and evidence presented by the parties" and made recommendations which

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4/ That Local 1368 sought an even split in the work is indicated from the position taken by President Barton of Local 1367 before the District's 1950 subcommittee. He suggested that unless all work in the District, presumably where dual locals exist along racial lines, were divided 50-50, Local 1367 would not give up any part of its work.

presumably were adopted by the convention. Among the resolutions was one, #13, calling for elimination of the "restriction of one-fourth of the work . . . and we work jointly, forward and aft, with other locals at said Ports in the same performance or class of work." The committee recommended rejection of the resolution and continuation of the status quo. It noted that

> The agreement, negotiated by International Representative, Al Chittenden, and consummated on August 6, 1950, was entered into by the parties in good faith, and therefore should continue to be binding and enforceable upon the parties until such time as they mutually agree otherwise. The committee finds that any change in the present status (25 percent colored--75 percent white) would cause chaos in other Ports where no such division of work exists.

As recently as 1962 and 1963, William O. Tisdale, the Local 1368 president, sought unsuccessfully to negotiate revision of the work sharing arrangement with District President Massey and Local 1367 President McCabe. Tisdale testified that the latter's response to his request in March or April 1963, for discussion of the subject was "this is the way that it is, and this was the way that his membership wanted it, and that was the way it was going to be." Although McCabe sought to refute Tisdale's claims that he had deliberately avoided certain meetings with him, he did not expressly deny that he had communicated the foregoing opposition to abandonment or revision of the work sharing plan. I credit Tisdale's testimony that McCabe had taken the position attributed to him.

Coupled with the work sharing formula is an arrangement which precludes the assignment of a white gang of longshoremen from Local 1367 and a Negro gang from Local 1368 to work side by side in a single hatch on a ship. Generally, only one gang is required to work in a hatch, but there are certain ships and cargoes which requires two gangs. On these occasions both gangs must be of the same race, necessarily from the same local. Because Local 1367 receives 75 percent of the work this means, stated otherwise, that it sends three gangs before Local 1368 sends one gang. If Local 1367 has already sent two gangs and has what is termed the next "out" for a third gang, and if the next out is for a gang to work in a double hatch, the local may choose to avail itself of the fourth out also so that both gangs in the hatch will be white. Local 1368 will eventually make up for the out it could not take in turn so that in the end it will receive its 25 percent share of the total work. Witnesses, however, claimed in its behalf that the arrangement results in the assignment to Local 1367's gangs of more lucrative work. Whether in fact the chance elements inherent in the arrangement produce this favorable result for Local 1367 at the expense of Local 1368 is not seriously disputed by the former which at the hearing and in its brief expressed its willingness to abandon the arrangement and to have its gangs work in the same hatch with Negro gangs. The brief goes so far as to invite a finding that the arrangement is violative of the Act.

There is no provision in the Association contract, nor has there ever been against doubling of white and Negro gangs in single hatches. Nor is this stricture contained in the work sharing agreement signed by the Locals. The arrangement originated, according to President McCabe, in 1950 when the 75-25 percent agreement was reached. Special Representative Chittenden and District President Yeager had then recommended that the turmoil and hard feelings engendered in the course of extracting the agreement made it inadvisable to place gangs from both locals in one hatch. McCabe testified that the hard feelings of that time no longer exist and that no turmoil would ensue if gangs from each local worked together in a hatch. He acknowledged that since the arrangement was instituted his local has complied with it by refusing to permit its gangs to work in a single hatch with Local 1368 gangs.

Upon the filing of the charge in this case by Local 1368, District President Massey initiated his own charge with the ILA against the local for failure to pursue procedures consistent with constitutional requirements of the ILA. 5/ As a result the ILA immediately ordered the imposition of a trusteeship over the local. W. H. Hopkins, the District's assistant secretary and member of its executive board, was authorized to carry out the ILA's mandate and accordingly came to Brownsville for this purpose. In advance of his arrival he had informed Local 1368 President Tisdale to communicate with Massey. By telephone Massey stated his refusal to confer with the Local's representatives unless the charge were first withdrawn. This condition was rejected. Hopkins arrived at Brownsville the next morning and installed an administrator, Henry Washingtom from ILA Local 872 in Houston, and an assistant administrator, Lee Smith, who had been the local's financial secretary-treasurer. The local's president, board chairman, and business agent were stripped of their authority. Smith assumed the duties of business agent. Having taken these actions, Hopkins advised Local 1368 that if its charge were withdrawn the ILA would remove the administrator.

Although Hopkins stated that the expense of operating Local 1368 during its trusteeship would be borne by the District, the record shows that additional expenses resulting from this action have been imposed on the local. Thus, the administrator at first received a weekly expense payment of $50, but from July 1, 1963, was paid a weekly salary of $154 in addition to the foregoing expense payment. Before imposition of the trusteeship only two persons received payments from the local for services. The business agent received $90 weekly salary plus $14 for expenses, and the secretary-treasurer received a weekly salary of $41. Funds for the additional expenses were derived from the initiation fees obtained from 13 new members admitted to the local by the administrator. In according these persons membership, the administrator did not abide by the constitution and bylaws of the local which provide for admission of members upon a favorable report from the local's Investigating Committee followed by election to membership by a vote, ostensibly by the local's members.

In the experience of Local 1367 President McCabe as a member of his organization since 1942 no Negro has ever applied to it for job referral. He maintained that if a Negro were to apply he, as president, "would have to give him consideration within the law," the same as any other person. 6/ Questioned how his organization could possibly refer a Negro to a job in an otherwise solid gang of white persons in view of the contractual provision calling for solid white or Negro gangs, he testified "Well, I would feel that if that part of the contract were illegal, we wouldn't be violating anything." On the other hand, Local 1368's president, Tisdale, related an incident in 1961 when his organization filled out a gang of Negroes with two white longshoremen. When the mixed gang appeared on the dock Local 1367's president at the time, T. T. Curry, protested to the then Local 1368 President Kirby that the integrated gang violated the contractual requirement for solid gangs. Homer White, Local 1367's business agent

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5/ Neither the ILA constitution nor any other document relating to the procedures invoked by Massey's charge are in evidence. Massey's testimony indicates that Local 1368 should have been but was not furnished a copy of the charge he filed with the ILA.

6/ McCabe claimed that referrals by Local 1367 are governed by its seniority system based on years of employment through Local 1367 and Cameron County residence. Asked whether this system had been operative before 1963, he replied it had in that year for the first time been put in writing but that no change was thereby made.

at the time, recalled Curry's protest to Kirby. He inconsistently testified first that Kirby had protested because of the integration of the gang, and then testified that he did not protest for this reason but because Local 1368 had filled out its gang by procuring men from the unemployment office while there were Local 1367 longshoremen available. His confusion does not permit reliance on his testimony. I credit Tisdale's account that Curry had objected to the integration by Local 1368 of its gang because this was forbidden by the contract.

Although, as stated, Locals 1367 and 1368 were created as racially segregated unions, there are no constitutional, charter or bylaw provisions preventing either from accepting in membership persons regardless of race. Nevertheless, no white person has even applied to Local 1368 for membership, nor has a Negro applied to Local 1367. Racial segregation of these locals is not unique within the District. Although there are no ILA or District organic provisions compelling it, all locals within the District from Lake Charles, Louisiana, to Brownsville, are racially segregated. Negroes comprise 75 to 80 percent of the membership of these locals.

Local 1368 has never sought to become integrated. I do not regard this circumstance as proving a desire to remain segregated. Nor do I find such desire established by the document dated April 23, 1963, signed by its members denoting their intention to file the charge in this proceeding in order to obtain an equal division of work with Local 1367.

Relative to the defense that the 75-25 percent division relates equitably to the numbers of available white and Negro workers in the area, I have noticed, as requested, that the 1960 United States Census shows that in Cameron County, Texas, there are 45,857 male workers 14 years of age or older, and, of these, 45,366 are white and 491 are not white.

Counsel for Local 1367 asserted at the hearing that the 1950 quota agreement made with Local 1368 was intended to provide work for Cameron County, Texas, residents. He maintained then and in his brief that the agreement was breached by Local 1368 which imported Negroes from localities outside Cameron County. This assertedly was done to supplement the local labor pool which was insufficient to man all the jobs of the 25 percent share of the work allocated to Local 1368. Thus, according to the analysis of Local 1367 President McCabe, of 425 persons who sought referrals through Local 1368 from 1950 through 1962 only 74 listed addresses which indicated they were Cameron County residents. 7/ McCabe's analysis showed further that in 1963 up to the time of the hearing 171 persons had sought referrals from Local 1368 and that of these only 43 persons could with certainty be regarded as Cameron County residents. Local 1367 Business Agent Beene testified that 2,246 persons had sought referrals from Local 1367 from 1953 through 1962 and that of these all but 120 were Cameron County residents. McCabe testified that in 1963 up to the time of the hearing 460 persons had applied to Local 1367 for referral and all but 6 resided in the county.

The longshore work at the Cameron County ports is seasonal. One of the employer members of the Association, F. A. Lallier, testified that during the slow season Local 1368 encounters difficulty providing men to fill out its quota of gangs whenever there is a "flurry" of business. Local 1367, he maintained, always has enough men in the slow season. Local 1368's

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7/ Among the 74 were 35 persons who were members of Local 1368. The total membership of the organization is 65. The balance of the membership, in McCabe's opinion, did not show bona fide Cameron County addresses.

acting business agent, the aforementioned Lee Smith, testified he normally can provide enough longshoremen to fill his organization's quota. Although Local 1368 members may be working out of the area during the slow season to supplement their earnings, he can on short notice summon them and they will return in sufficient number ready to work on the docks.

Section 8(b)(1)(A)

It is now axiomatic that an exclusive collective bargaining representative is obligated by the Act fairly and impartially to represent all the employees for which it is the representative. The Wallace Corp. v N.L.R.B., 323 U.S. 248, 255; Hughes Tool Co., v. N.L.R.B., 147 F. 2d 69, 74 (C.A. 5). Furthermore, the Supreme Court has held in the Steele 8/ Wallace, 9/and Tunstall 10/cases, and the Board has so recognized in Larus 11/ and Hughes 12/ that the fair and impartial representation which the bargaining agent is duty bound to give all whom it represents does not permit unequal and discriminatory treatment of members of the bargaining unit in matters of employment on the basis of race, color, or creed.

Proceeding from the foregoing established principles, the Board recently, in Miranda Fuel Company, Inc., 140 NLRB 181, interpreted Section 7 of the Act as guaranteeing the right of employees "to be free from unfair or irrelevant or invidious treatment by their exclusive bargaining representative in matters affecting their employment." The Board thereupon declared that "Section 8(b)(1)(A) of the Act accordingly prohibits labor organizations, when acting in a statutory capacity, from taking action against any employee upon considerations or classifications which are irrelevant, invidious or unfair." Although the Board's order was denied enforcement by the United States Court of Appeals, for the Second Circuit, decided December 11, 1963, Docket No. 26232, only one of the three judges who participated in the case took a position on the 8(b)(1)(A) issue. The General Counsel theorizes in the instant case that the maintenance and enforcement by the District and Local 1367 of the contractual provisions for the 75-25 percent division of work between Locals 1367 and 1368 constitute unlawful conduct by the joint collective bargaining representative for which the District and Local 1367 are responsible, because these provisions discriminate against a class of employees in the represented unit (Negroes who must unequally with the white employees seek job referrals through Local 1368) on the irrelevant, invidious and unfair basis of race and that these labor organizations thereby have violated and are violating Section 8(b)(1)(A) of the Act. I agree.

The record permits no challenge to the claim that employees seeking referral to longshore jobs from Local 1368 are in the bargaining unit for which the ILA, the District and the 26 local unions at the ports from Lake Charles, Louisiana, to Brownsville, Texas, are the joint exclusive representative, and that Local 1367 is one of those local unions. It is further incontestably shown that the contract with its extensions covering these unit employees is between the Association and the joint bargaining representative. The banding of all these labor organizations for the common purpose of negotiating the labor contract constitutes them joint venturers and, as such, each is jointly and severally responsible for the collective action of the joint representative. If the contract and its maintenance

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8/ Steele v. Louisville & Nashville Railroad Co., et al ., 323 U.S. 192, 202.

9/ Supra.

10/ Tunstall v. Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen & Engine, 323 U.S. 210.

11/ Larus & Brother Co., 62 NLRB 1075.

12/ Hughes Tool Company, 104 NLRB 318.

and enforcement infringe the Act, each constituent member of the joint bargaining representative, including the District and Local 1367, is a violator of the Act. That only the District and Local 1367 have been charged in this case and therefore are the only Respondents named in the complaint does not require its dismissal. Had all the members of the joint representative been charged and named as Respondents, findings of violations of the Act could also have been made against them. That they were not does not invalidate the proceeding against the District and Local 1367. While the ILA and the other local unions not named herein are proper parties, they are not indispensable parties. As explicated below in the remedy section of this decision, an appropriate remedy is feasible based on action which the District and Local 1367 shall be directed to take.

Local 1368 is racially segregated, not through choice but by compulsion. This fact is unaltered by the absence of ILA, District, or local constitutional or other regulatory provisions compelling racial segregation in local unions. The evidence is clear and uncontroverted that Local 1368 would not have received its charter in 1934 had it not agreed to exist as a union of Negro members only, just as Local 1367 was required to be a union of white members only. There is no reason to doubt that what was thus required when these unions were first chartered is still the condition governing their existence. Everything which has transpired within the framework of the District, as evidenced by the documented reports of its conventions and committee studies, the contract with the Association, and the admissions of District President Massey, reflect that segregration in membership of locals by race within the District from Lake Charles to Brownsville is a uniform condition. I stated at the hearing, and, because I have been so reminded by brief from Local 1367, I repeat that in this proceeding the statutory validity of the mere racial segregation of membership in the District's locals has not been raised. This circumstance is relevant only to the extent that such racial segregation coupled with other conduct, as alleged in this case, infringed statutory rights of employees. I proceed to a consideration of such other conduct and how together with the racial segregation of Negroes in Local 1368 it resulted in the violations alleged by the complaint.

While the labor contract with the Assocation does not set out the 1950 work-sharing agreement between Locals 1367 and 1368, the reference in it to the "proportion of work as agreed upon by the district office of the ILA" is an obvious incorporation into the contract of the terms of the agreement. It means that by the contract, as stated in the agreement, the longshore work at the Cameron County ports is to be allocated on the basis of 75 percent to Local 1367 and 25 percent to Local 1368. This disparate distribution is prima facie discriminatory and no facts have been presented by the Respondents to show otherwise. Because of their race, Negroes are denied the opportunity to fill more than 25 percent of all the jobs allocated to Locals 1367 and 1368. The plain language of the contract reveals that it would be futile for a Negro to seek referral through Local 1367 notwithstanding the insistence of its president, McCabe, that a Negro applicant would receive the same consideration as any other person. McCabe could not accord equal consideration without a breach of the contract requirement that longshore gangs be solid white or Negro. If, as proved, Local 1367 had protested and prevented Local 1368's one attempt to breach this requirement by mixing a gang, how can I be persuaded that Local 1367 would itself similarly disregard the contract? I am not. Furthermore, it is conceded that the Respondents are in fact maintaining and enforcing the contract, and I construe this concession to mean the contract in its entirety. Thus, inevitably Negro applicants are limited to the one-quarter share of the work which the contract allocates to Local 1368.

I find no mitigation of this apparent discrimination in the statistics developed by the Respondents purporting to show that the 75-25 percent quotas equitably distribute available work on the basis of existing

numbers of white and Negro employees in the area. The census figures indicating an overwhelming white male working population as opposed to the Negro male workers in Cameron County shed no probative light on the actual numbers of Negro longshoremen who, absent the restrictive 25 percent quota, would seek job referrals from Local 1368. Assuming, without accepting, the validity of quotas however accurately they may relate to numbers of job seekers, there has been no objective demonstration by the defense that the 75-25 percent quotas represents a perfectly proportionate job distribution among all employees. Without such perfection there is necessarily some degree of discrimination. It could hardly be imagined that there has been no fluctuation in the ratio of white and Negro longshoremen seeking employment through both locals since the quotas were established in 1950. Surely, the quotas were from time to time less than perfect and hence discriminatory. Of course this must have happened and will on almost any given day or hour of any day. Even if the quotas could by some mathematical wizardry be adjusted from day to day or hour to hour as the numbers of workers in the racial groups vary, the accomplishment of such adjustment may not reasonably be expected, for the 1950 agreement, and hence the contract with its current extension, provides that the quotas shall not be changed without the "mutual consent of all parties concerned." This necessarily requires the consent of Local 1367 which its president has emphatically declared will never be given. It is useless in the face of this clear fact even to probe the remote possibility that relative numbers of white and Negro employees could in some unfathomable way ever in this case be a valid factor in setting nondiscriminatory quotas. 13/

There is no evidence to support any claim that the 1950 quota agreement committed Local 1368 to prefer Cameron County residents in filling its 25 percent quota. I doubt whether Local 1367 ever applied such criterion in referring applicants to jobs. But whether it did is inconsequential. It had no authority by agreement or otherwise to require Local 1368 to follow suit. Thus, I perceive no significance in the statistical studies presented by Local 1367 to show that large percentages of members or persons referred to jobs by Local 1368 did not have bona fide Cameron County residence. Whether these persons lived in Cameron County or elsewhere does not affect their status as employees in the bargaining unit which they acquired when they received employment through Local 1368. The duty of their bargaining representative to represent them fairly is not dependent upon their residence but their inclusion in the unit.

The Respondents can find no defense in their contention that the 1950 agreement was voluntarily made by Local 1368 and that that local has in the ensuing years acquiesced in and ratified jurisdiction over work quotas thereby established. In the first place the facts clearly show that the quotas were decided upon by a subcommittee of the District's Executive Board which ultimately "ordered" the signing by the locals of the agreement embodying these quotas. Furthermore, the record convincingly shows the frustrated attempts by Local 1368 up to the filing of the charge in this case to secure revision of the quotas by the District and Local 1367. I would not be persuaded that the conduct of the Respondents which unlawfully discriminated against represented Negro employees is defensible even if Local 1368 had voluntarily joined in or ratified that conduct. As a matter of fact it did not.

13/ It is possible as Local 1367's brief states, that "if anything, taking twenty-five percent of the work from 1367 and giving it to 1368 discriminated against Local 1367." The danger and futility of quotas is thus exposed. The Act is violated regardless of who is the victim of discrimination.

Nor may the Respondent obtain exoneration by shifting responsibility for the 1950 agreement to the ILA. Again, the facts disclose that the agreement is the handiwork of the District which called upon the parent organization to force acceptance of the agreement by Local 1367 when that organization resisted. This step was obviously necessitated because the strenuous opposition of the local required the parent's exercise of the authority which it, not the District, possessed to take over the administration of a rebellious local and to run its affairs with a trustee. In any event, it matters not in this case which labor organization was initially responsible for the creation and imposition of the quotas on the unwilling or even willing locals. What counts is the fact that the 1956 contract and the 1959 and 1962 extensions of that contract by the joint bargaining representative incorporated these quotas and that, as above stated, the District and Local 1367 are jointly and severally responsible for these actions and for the maintenance and enforcement of these quotas now established by contract.

Because the quota provisions in the contract unfairly deprive employees in the bargaining unit of an equal opportunity with all other represented employees to obtain available longshore work, and because this inequality of opportunity is based upon the irrelevant, invidious and unfair consideration of race, I find, in accord with the Board's Miranda principle, that the District and Local 1367, by maintaining and enforcing the foregoing contract provisions, have failed to comply with their duty to represent all employees in the bargaining unit fairly and impartially, and thereby violated Section 8(b)(1)(A) of the Act.

I further find that by maintaining and enforcing the no doubling arrangement forbidding the assignment of white and Negro gangs to work together in ship hatches the District and Local 1367 have violated Section 8(b)(1)(A) of the Act. I am persuaded by the testimony of the General Counsel's witnesses that the arrangement places an additional earnings limitation on Negro longshoremen seeking referral to jobs from Local 1368. Here, also, the discrimination against these employees is based on the irrelevant, invidious and unfair consideration of race. Although it has not been shown that the arrangement was expressly negotiated by the joint bargaining representative with the Association it has nevertheless been accepted by both parties as a condition of employment for the affected employees as though they had bargained for it. Any other conclusion would be unrealistic in the face of the conceded facts that the arrangement has endured for approximately 13 years, and was conceived and instigated by the ILA special representative and the District's president concomitantly with the 1950 quota agreement. No party concerned with these quotas or conditions of employment of the unit employees could during all these years have been unware of the existence and operation of the no doubling agreement. In these circumstances I must regard the arrangement as a condition which the joint bargaining representative maintains and enforces with the Association in its capacity as representative for the affected employees. Because of the discrimination by their representative against the Negro employees seeking referral from Local 1368 in the manner stated, I find that the joint bargaining representative, and consequently the District and Local 1367, have failed in violation of Section 8(b)(1)(A) to abide by the duty to represent all employees in the bargaining unit fairly and impartially.

From the credited testimony of the General Counsel's witnesses, I find that the District's initiation of action with the ILA against Local 1368 to impose a trustee or administrator over its affairs and to strip its officers and membership of their normal authority to run the business of their organization, was an act of reprisal against the local for filing the charge in this case with the Board, and was further intended to force the local to withdraw the charge. That the District's action may have been pursuant to the constitutions of the ILA and Local 1368 does not excuse its

conduct. By this conduct the District restrained and coerced employees in violation of Section 8(b)(1)(A) of the Act.

Section 8(b)(2)

The Act provides in Section 8(b)(2) that it shall be an unfair labor practice for a labor organization to cause or to attempt to cause an employer to discriminate against an employee in violation of Section 8(a)(3). The specific unlawful conduct attributed by the General Counsel to the District and Local 1367 is their refusal to "correct their discriminatory practices and policies based on racial and membership considerations." This refusal, according to the General Counsel, "caused the continuance of the complained of conditions" in the case, presumably the discriminatory quota provisions of the contract applicable to Local 1368. The General Counsel's theory, as I understand it, asserts that the application of the 75-25 percent quotas in the contract, based on race and union membership, discriminates against employees in violation of Section 8(a)(3) of the Act; that it was within the means of the District and Local 1367 to accomplish a termination or modification of this discriminatory condition; that they were requested by Local 1368 to do so but refused, and that by such refusal they caused the employer (the Association) to continue the discriminatory condition in violation of Section 8(a)(3), and that they thereby violated Section 8(b)(2) of the Act. I do not rely on the General Counsel's factual presentation or his theorization in concluding that the Respondents violated Section 8(b)(2) of the Act. I rely instead on a different approach, based on litigated facts, which shows more directly that the Respondents are responsible for the inclusion of the discriminatory quotas in the contract and their maintenance and enforcement.

The documentary record of the District's proceedings at its Forty-First Annual Convention, adverted to in the earlier recital of facts, reveals clearly that the Association was not involved in the formulation of the work sharing quotas for Locals 1367 and 1368. Nor is there any evidence to show that the Association had any interest in the establishment of these quotas or their inclusion in the 1956 contract and the 1959 and 1962 extensions of that contract. I infer from the facts in this case that the inclusion of the quotas in the contract is attributable to the special interest and instigation of the joint bargaining representative of the covered employees. I find that as the joint bargaining representative was the proponent of the quota provisions in the contract it caused the Association to establish them as a condition of employment affecting the Negro longshoremen referred by Local 1368. The contract in evidence states on its covering page that the 1962 extension was actually accomplished on January 25, 1963, approximately 3 months before the filing of the charge in this case on April 29, 1963. It is, therefore, proper within the limitations of Section 10(b) to look to the conduct of the joint bargaining representative at the time of the last extension to determine whether the Respondents at that time infringed the Act.

The General Counsel relies on the Board's Miranda decision, supra, as precedent for a finding that the Respondents by their conduct violated Section 8(b)(2). The General Counsel has excerpted from the majority opinion in Miranda the statement that a union violates Section 8(b)(2) and an employer Section 8(a)(3) when "for arbitrary or irrelevant reasons or upon the basis of an unfair classification the union attempts to cause or does cause an employer to derogate the employment status of an employee." This generalization provoked disagreement from the Board minority in Miranda which pointed out that the literal language of Section 8(b)(2) and 8(a)(3) and controlling Supreme Court cases "require something more than disparate treatment based upon 'arbitrary,' 'irrelevant,' or 'unfair' criteria. The 'something more' is that the discrimination must be 'to encourage or discourage membership in any labor organization.'" What generated this difference among the Board's members is the Supreme Court's

decision in Local 357 14/ which commented at length on the meaning of the Court's Radio Officers 15/ holding on which the Board majority in Miranda relied in postulating the foregoing excerpted principle and in reaching its conclusion in the case that Section 8(b)(2) and 8(a)(3) had been violated.

The Board minority in Miranda was critical of the majority holding because it assertedly reasoned to a conclusion that 8(b)(2) and 8(a)(3) had been violated without record evidence that "the action of the Union or the Company was motivated by a desire to encourage or discourage union membership." The minority maintained that the majority had substituted for such essential evidence an inference of motivation to encourage or discourage from the circumstance that "such desire . . . was a 'foreseeable' result of the Union's conduct." This, claimed the minority, disregarded the Supreme Court's admonition in 8(b)(2) and 8(a)(3) cases that "there must be evidence in the record--upon which the Board can reasonably conclude that the real purpose" for the action which affects the status of employees is to encourage or discourage union membership. The Board's majority opinion took note of this criticism and insisted that it had adhered to the Supreme Court's holdings in Radio Officers and Local 357. It said:

> "As we read Local 357, the Supreme Court did not overrule its holding in Radio Officers that union membership is encouraged or discouraged whenever a union causes an employer to affect an individual's employment status. What it does hold, in our opinion, is that an 8(a)(3) or 8(b)(2) violation does not necessarily flow from conduct which has the foreseeable result of encouraging union membership, but that given such 'foreseeable result' the finding of a violation may turn upon an evaluation of the disputed conduct 'in terms of legitimate employer or union purposes.' Unlike our colleagues, we do not interpret the Court's opinion as permitting unions and their agents an open season to affect an employee's employment status for any reason at all--personal, arbitrary, unfair, capricious, and alike--merely because the moving consideration does not involve the specific union membership or activities of the affected employees. Our colleagues however, miss the essence of our position when they view our present decision as resting on the theory rejected by the Supreme Court in Local 357."

Enforcement of the Board's Miranda 8(b)(2) and 8(a)(3) findings was denied in a split decision by the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, decided December 11, 1963, Docket No. 26322. Judge Medina's opinion, with concurrence by Chief Judge Lumbard as to the 8(b)(2)-8(a)(3) issues, observed that Local 357 held

> it is necessary in a particular case to show that the acts complained of were done with the unlawful intent and purpose of encouraging employees to join the union. It is not enough merely to show that the employer discriminated among employees at the behest of the union. An unfair labor practice has been committed only if the discrimination is deliberately designed to encourage membership in the union.

There is no necessity for preoccupation with the differing views concerning Miranda and the Supreme Court's holding in Radio Officers and

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14/ Local 357, IBT, et al. v. N.L.R.B., 365 U.S. 667.
15/ Radio Officers v. N.L.R.B., 347 U.S. 17.

Local 357. I can, without reliance on the Board's generalizations in the Miranda majority opinion to which I have been referred by the General Counsel resolve the 8(b)(2) issue before me. In concluding that the Respondents herein violated Section 8(b)(2) I rely on the Supreme Court's decision in Gaynor News Co., Inc. v. Labor Board, 347 U.S. 17, as to which there have been no conflicting post decisional views to cloud its meaning and present application. Indeed, Mr. Justice Harlan, in his concurring opinion in Local 357, with Mr. Justice Stewart joining, included certain clarifying observations as to the meaning of Radio Officers using Gaynor's facts and law to illustrate and emphasize. What he said there concerning Gaynor is particularly appropriate for application here. Mr. Justice Harlan elaborated upon what he deemed to be the Board's misconception of the Court's holding in Radio Officers. He noted that a "mere showing of foreseeable encouragement of union status is not a sufficient basis for a finding of violation of the Statute . . . that a finding of violation of Section 8(a)(3) or Section 8(b)(2) requires an affirmative showing of a motivation of encouraging or discouraging union status or activity." He observed, however, there are exceptions to the necessity for a specific finding of motivation to discourage union membership. These exceptions include absence in the record of proof by the employer "of a nondiscriminatory purpose," or a "significant business justification" for his act, or, "if a union or employer is to be permitted to take action which substantially--though unintentionally--encourages or discourages union activity, union or employer ends served by the action must not only be of some significance, but they must also be legitimate, or at least not otherwise forbidden by the National Labor Relations Act." The Court's decision in Gaynor was utilized by Mr. Justice Harlan to exemplify the meaning of his last stated exception. He said concerning it:

> In Gaynor an employer, who pursuant to a nondiscriminatory business end of paying the least wages possible, agreed with the union which was the statutory representative of the employees to give certain benefits only to union members, was prevented from asserting the justifying business reasons for thus encouraging union membership because of his complicity in the union's breach of its duties as agent for all the employees. Indeed, the fact that a nondiscriminatory business purpose forbidden by the Act cannot be used by an employer to justify an action which incidentally encourages union membership seems to me to be the true basis of the Court's holding in Radio Officers that an employer violates Section 8(a)(3) when a union forces him to take action to encourage union membership.

I am satisfied that Gaynor, particularly as the Court's decision in that case is explained by Mr. Justice Harlan, is controlling precedent for the 8(b)(2) issue of the instant case and compels the conclusion that this statutory section was violated by the Respondents herein.

As to whether the quota provisions of the contract, concededly maintained and enforced by the parties thereto, tended to encourage or discourage employees within the meaning of Section 8(a)(3), there can be no doubt. Radio Officers reflected that "it is common experience that the desire of employees to unionize is raised or lowered by the advantages sought to be attained by such action." The unequal benefits received under the contract by white employees through Local 1367 and by Negro employees through Local 1368 tend, in the light of "common experience," to encourage adherence to the former and to discourage adherence to the latter. Negroes confronted by apparent discrimination against them reasonably may be expected to conclude that they gain no advantage by membership in or adherence to the disfavored union. Poignantly, they must ask why they should belong to and pay dues to a union which fails to secure

for them work opportunities equal to those derived from the other union whose white members have more bountiful benefits. Realistically, they doubtless concede the lack of advantage of belonging to and paying dues to their union.

The discriminatory feature of the 75-25 percent quotas is so apparent to the foregoing employees that it must also be found that the encouragement or discouragement of union membership to their employer a natural and foreseeable consequence of the inclusion of these quotas in the contract. While the record does not show specifically that the Association intended by the inclusion of these quotas and their maintenance to encourage or discourage the union membership of its employees, this exact evidence is not a necessary predicate to the finding of an 8(b)(2) violation herein. The Gaynor principle explicated by Mr. Justice Harlan in Local 357 dispenses with need for such proof.

As stated, if the action by union or employer, intentional or not, encourages or discourages union activity, the union or employer end served by the action must be legitimate or otherwise not forbidden by the Act. In Gaynor the union breached its duty to act as agent for all represented employees by securing benefits only for union members. Here the joint bargaining representative also breached its duty as bargaining representative for all employees in the unit, Negro as well as white, by securing greater benefits for the white than for the Negro employees for reasons which were irrelevant, invidious and arbitrary and thereby, as found, violated Section 8(b)(1)(A) of the Act. In Gaynor, the employer's complicity in the union's breach of duty as bargaining representative was accepted by the Court as reason for sustaining the Board's denial to the employer of opportunity even to offer as a defense to his conduct that he was motivated by a legitimate business purpose and not a desire to encourage or discourage union activity. Here, had the Association similarly offered to show a nondiscriminatory purpose or significant business justification for its acts, its complicity with the joint bargaining representative would have been reason for excluding such explanation. Actually, the Association, though a party to the proceeding with notice, did not enter an appearance and there was consequently no explanation offered for its conduct.

Having found that the joint bargaining representative, and thereby the District and Local 1367, instigated the execution on January 25, 1963, of the contract's 1962 extension, including the discriminatory work quotas, that the Association was thereby caused to execute and to maintain and enforce the contract containing these provisions which naturally and foreseeably encouraged or discouraged union activities of its employees, and that no legitimate union or employer justification for these acts has been shown, I find and conclude that the Respondents by their conduct violated Section 8(b)(2) of the Act.

Section 8(b)(3)

The General Counsel and Charging Party contend that the Respondents violated the mandate in Section 8(b)(3) of the Act that a labor organization shall not "refuse to bargain collectively with an employer, provided it is the representative of his employees subject to the provisions of Section 9(a)." They maintain that the joint bargaining representative, and hence the Respondents, breached the duty imposed by Section 8(b)(3) when it made the agreement with the Association discriminating against Negroes required to seek job referrals from Local 1368. They appear to reason that Section 8(b)(3) compelled the joint bargaining representative to refrain from bargaining on any basis which did not accord all the represented employees fair and impartial treatment with respect to matters affecting their employment.

No theoretical explanation has been offered in the briefs to support the foregoing contention except that provided by Professor Archibald Cox, now United States Solicitor General, in his article in 2 Villanova Law Review 151. Acknowledging that the definition in Section 8(d) of the Act of bargaining collectively within the meaning of Section 8(b)(3) may suggest that the union's duty under that section runs only to the employer, 16/ and that there is no revealing legistative history, he nevertheless concludes that a union's "breach of the duty to bargain fairly (in behalf of all the represented employees) should be held an unfair labor practice." This view is predicated on his belief that "a congressman who was sympathetic to the policies of the amended act, who intended to impose a duty of fair representation and who foresaw the present issue, would have made breach of the duty an unfair labor practice remediable by the NLRB" because of the following four considerations:

> (1) Breach of any other obligation imposed by the NLRB, upon employer or bargaining representative, is an unfair labor practice. This is true of the general duty to bargain collectively. There was no reason for making a single narrow exception to the general policy of reliance upon administrative proceedings.
>
> (2) Although the issues are usually distinct, separating the issues raised by a single course of bargaining may be so artificial as to produce gaps or conflict and inconsistency. For example, whether an employer has violated his duty to bargain in good faith may depend upon whether the union's proposals violate its obligation to employees in the bargaining unit.
>
> (3) Even though the legal issues may sometimes have the broad character of constitutional questions familiar to the courts, the administrative process offers several advantages similar to its values in familiar unfair labor practices cases. Persons thoroughly familiar with industrial practices may be a little wiser in appraising the evidence, and applying general standards and even in pricking out new generalizations--new law--for future cases. Precedents are easier to distinguish and even to overrule. Problems can sometimes be solved more easily by conference and compromise prior to formal proceedings. A single agency is better equipped than scattered judges to project the development of standards of fair representation which will protect minorities without constricting normal negotiations.
>
> (4) The General Counsel prosecutes complaints of unfair labor practices because of the general public interest in effectuating the national labor policy. The public welfare equally requires action to prevent unions from using their statutory powers in order to gain unfair advantage for a dominant faction. Private suits are not an effective sanction unless financed by an organized group. Individual victims of unfair bargaining seldom obtained the skilled legal assistance necessary to bring litigation to a successful conclusion in a novel field of law.

16/ Section 8(d) provides in part "to bargain collectively is the performance of the mutual obligation of the employer and the representative of the employees to meet at reasonable times and to confer in good faith with respect to wages, hours, and other terms and conditions of employment . . . ."

Professor Michael I. Sovern of Columbia University, in an article published in 4 Columbia Law Review, Volume 62, was critical of the view expressed by Professor Cox that a breach of the duty to represent fairly should be held to be a violation of Section 8(b)(3). Concerning the foregoing article by Professor Cox he said,

> the difficulty with this view is that the context in which the words 'conferring in good faith' appear, gives repeated evidence of concern with the duties of employer and union to each other, but no evidence at all of concern with the duty of unions to those they represent. For one thing, as Cox himself noted, the statute speaks of the 'mutual obligation of the employer and the representative of the employees,' thereby implying that obligations to others are not the subject of this provision. For another, the duty to "confer in good faith" is imposed upon employers and unions alike. On its face, then, it imports comparable obligations and, of course, an employer can have no obligation comparable to the duty of fair representation. That the duty of unions to bargain collectively was intended merely to parallel that of employers is also suggested by the fact that 8(b)(3), which imposes the duty on unions, was added to the National Labor Relations Act as an obvious counterpart to Section 8(a)(5), which imposes it on employers. The duty to bargain collectively, then, probably does not include the duty to represent fairly.

I am persuaded by Professor Sovern's logical analysis that a labor organization's duty to bargain under Section 8(b)(3) runs to the employer, and that there is no duty under this section of the Act by a labor organization relative to the employees which it represents which if breached requires a finding that this section of the Act has been violated. Accordingly, I find that the Respondents have not violated Section 8(b)(3) of the Act and shall recommend dismissal of this allegation in the complaint.

In reaching the foregoing conclusion I have considered certain legislative history to which reference was made in the brief amicus filed by the American Civil Liberties Union, in the Hughes Tool Company, Case No. 23-CB-429, presently being reviewed by the Board on exceptions filed to the decision of a Trial Examiner. It was noted in that brief that Congressman Hartley in introducing H. R. 3020, the bill authored by him in 1947 to amend The Wagner Act, provided in its Section 8(b)(2) the following:

> (b) It shall be an unfair labor practice for an employee, or for a representative or any officer of a representative, or for any individual acting for or under the direction of a representative, or for or under the direction of any officer thereof . . . .
>
> > (2) in the case of a representative acting and currently recognized by the employer, or certified under Section 9, as the representative of employees, to refuse to bargain collectively with the employer; . . . .

Speaking on the floor of the House, Congressman Hartley stated after H.R. 3020 was reported out of committee, and referring particularly to the foregoing Section 8(b)(2),

> Now let us see what is in this Bill of Rights. Let us see if it oppresses the working man, or if it liberates him and gives him a voice, free of fear, in the affairs of a union that has over

him the power that The National Labor Relations Board gives to his exclusive bargaining agent. This Bill guarantees to him . . . .

Fourth. The right to require the union that is his bargaining agent to represent him without discriminating against him in any way or for any reason, even if he is not a member of the union--Section 8(b)(2).

The 8(b)(2) section in H.R. 3020 concerning which Congressman Hartley commented ultimately became, in effect, the 8(b)(3) section of the present Act, as amended. Accordingly, the brief amicus argues that Section 8(b)(3) should be construed to mean that a labor organization violates its provision when it fails fairly to represent all employees for which it is the bargaining agent.

I am not persuaded by the foregoing meager reference that Congress intended Section 8(b)(3) to have the effect proposed by the brief. Judge Medina, in his opinion in Miranda Fuel Co., Inc. (C.A. 2), decided December 11, 1963, (Docket No. 26232) had before him the same legislative history and dismissed its suggested significance with the following comment:

> The Legislative History of the NLRA is not particularly illuminating on the issue before us. If anything the various expressions of Congressional intent would seem to indicate that the duty of the union to bargain as set forth in Section 8(b)(3) is merely the counterpart of the employers to bargain, expressed in Section 8(a)(5), and does not in this context impose an additional duty of fair representation. Cf. 93 Cong. Rec. 4021 (1947), 2 NLRB, Leg. Hist. L.M.R.A., 1947 at 1025. Moreover, we think the remark of Congressman Hartley, 93 Cong. Rec. 3425 (1947), 1 NLRB, Leg. Hist. L.M.R.A., 1947 at 616, to the effect that Section 8(b)(3) requires the union to represent the workingman (without discriminating against him for any reason, even if he is not a member of the union), refers rather plainly to discrimination between members and nonmembers of the union.

I share this view.

I have searched the Legislative History of the Act's 1947 amendments and find no other comment by Congressman Hartley concerning the 8(b)(2) section in H.R. 3020 which would lead to a belief that if he had meant this section to create a duty by a union running to represented employees he maintained this purpose in pressing for the adoption of the section. Moreover, there is a conspicuous absence in the exhaustive section by section interpretation and analysis of H.R. 3020 submitted by Congressman Hartley to the House in behalf of the Committee on Education and Labor, House Report No. 245 on H.R. 3020, 80th Congress, 1st session. Concerning Section 8(b)(2) the Report said:

> By Section 8(b)(2), the bill requires a union or other representative that is acting as and is currently recognized as an exclusive representative of employees, by an employer, or that is certified as such a representative, to bargain collectively with an employer. The standards and definitions which have been discussed in relation to Section 2(11) apply in the case of unions, as well as in the case of employers. The duty to bargain now becomes mutual. This, the Committee believes, will promote equality and responsibility in bargaining.

The definitions of "bargain collectively" and "collective bargaining" contained in Section 2(11) and the explanation of these definitions in the

Report convincingly show that what Congress was concerned with was establishing mutuality of obligation between employer and union during the bargaining process and in effect set up standards for good-faith bargaining comparable to if not identical with those presently included in Section 8(d) of the Act as amended. Professor Sovern's analysis and comments concerning the meaning of Section 8(d) in relation to Section 8(b)(3) satisfy me that whatever meaning may be ascribed to the foregoing remarks by Congressman Hartley to Section 8(b)(3) of the Act as it finally emerged did not impose upon a union the duty to employees of fair representation ascribed to it in the brief amicus.

IV. The effect of the unfair labor practices upon commerce

The activities of the Respondents set forth in section III, above, occurring in connection with the operations of the Association described in section I, above, have a close, intimate, and substantial relation to trade, traffic, and commerce among the several States, and tend to lead to labor disputes burdening and obstructing commerce and the free flow thereof.

V. The remedy

Having found that the District and Local 1367 have engaged in and are engaging in conduct violative of Sections 8(b)(1)(A) and 8(b)(2) of the Act I shall recommend that they cease and desist therefrom and take certain affirmative action designed to effectuate the policies of the Act.

Ordinarily, a backpay remedy is recommended where findings are made of violation of Section 8(b)(2). Although the General Counsel and Charging Party have elaborated requests in their briefs for specific findings and remedies, no mention has been made of a recommendation for backpay. I do not regard this as an oversight. Rather, I am convinced that they do not believe such remedy is necessary to cure the fundamental vice in the Respondent's misconduct, namely, the denial to employees of equal opportunity in employment for the invidious reason of race and of fair representation by their collective bargaining agent. I, too, do not believe that a backpay remedy is either necessary or practical in this case, and am satisfied that the other remedial action by the Respondent herein recommended will sufficiently cure the effects of the unfair labor practices to satisfy the purposes of the Act. Accordingly, no backpay remedy shall be recommended.

I will not, as requested by the Charging Party, recommend that there be substituted for the unlawful 75-25 percent quotas in the contract 50-50 percent quotas for Locals 1367 and 1368, or any other mathematical quotas for the sharing of work by employees seeking referral through their hiring halls. I shall recommend no particular nondiscriminatory hiring system for adoption by the parties, but leave to them the formulation and adoption of an appropriate method for granting employees opportunity for work in accordance with the requirements of the Act.

I shall recommend that the District terminate its trusteeship over the affairs of Local 1368 and restore the conduct of the affairs of this organization to its duly constituted officials. I shall also recommend that the District reimburse Local 1368 for all expenses incurred by the trustee and paid by or chargeable to Local 1368 in excess of those expenses which would have been normally incurred by this organization in the management of its affairs. I shall not, as requested by the Charging Party, recommend revocation of membership of those persons accepted into membership during the trusteeship, as this is an internal matter which can effectively be resolved by Local 1368 after autonomy over its affairs has been restored. Nor shall I specifically recommend payment to the local of an amount equal to the initiation fees collected by the trustee from new members accepted by him in disregard of Local 1368 procedures for admitting new members. If,

after action by the duly constituted officers and members of Local 1368, the membership of improperly admitted persons is revoked, these persons may be required to look to the trustee or his principal for restitution of their initiation fees. In any event all revenues, including initiation fees obtained from such new members, shall be taken into consideration in the general accounting which must necessarily be made to determine what financial restitution must be made by the District to Local 1368.

Upon the basis of the foregoing findings of fact and upon the entire record in the case, I make the following:

Conclusions of Law

1. The Association is an employer engaged in commerce within the meaning of Section 2(6) and (7) of the Act.

2. The District and Locals 1367 and 1368 are labor organizations within the meaning of Section 2(5) of the Act.

3. By the extension on January 25, 1963, of the 1956 contract with the Association and by the maintenance and enforcement of the provisions in that extended contract which, in effect, allocate jurisdiction to Locals 1367 and 1368 over 75-25 percent quotas based on race and union membership of referrals to jobs with the employer members of the Association, the District and Local 1367 restrained and coerced employees in the exercise of rights guaranteed by Section 7 of the Act and thereby violated Section 8(b)(1)(A) of the Act.

4. By the conduct set forth in paragraph 3, above, the District and Local 1367 caused or attempted to cause the employer members of the Association to discriminate against employees in violation of Section 8(a)(3) of the Act and thereby violated Section 8(b)(2) of the Act.

5. By maintaining and enforcing an arrangement with the Association forbidding the assignment of gangs of white and Negro employees referred to jobs to work together in single ship hatches, the District and Local 1367 have restrained and coerced employees in the exercise of rights guaranteed by Section 7 of the Act and thereby violated Section 8(b)(1)(A) of the Act.

6. By causing the imposition of a trustee over the affairs of Local 1368 in reprisal for the filing of the charge in this case and to compel the withdrawal of the charge the District restrained and coerced employees in the exercise of rights guaranteed by Section 7 of the Act and thereby violated Section 8(b)(1)(A) of the Act.

7. The aforesaid unfair labor practices are unfair labor practices affecting commerce within the meaning of Section 2(6) and (7) of the Act.

8. The allegation of the complaint that the District and Local 1367 here violated Section 8(b)(3) of the Act has not been sustained.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Upon the basis of the foregoing findings of fact and conclusions of law and upon the entire record in this proceeding I recommend that:

A. Local 1367 and the District, their officers, representatives, successors, agents, and assigns each, shall;

1. Cease and desist from:

(a) Performing or giving effect to the provisions of the 1956 contract with the Assocation extended on January 25, 1963, which,

in effect, allocate jurisdiction to Locals 1367 and 1368 over 75-25 percent quotas based on race and union membership of referrals to jobs with the employer members of the Association.

(b) Maintaining and enforcing the arrangement with the Association forbidding the assignment of white and Negro employees to work together in single ship hatches.

(c) In any like or related manner restraining or coercing employees in the exercise of rights guaranteed by Section 7 of the Act.

2. Take the following affirmative action which I find will effectuate the policies of the Act;

(a) Notify the employer members of the Association who employ longshoremen at the Cameron County, Texas, ports that they do not insist upon performing or giving effect to the provisions of the 1956 collective bargaining contract with the Association extended January 25, 1963, in effect allocating to Locals 1367 and 1368 jurisdiction by 75-25 percent quotas over referrals to longshore jobs with these employers, and that they also do not insist upon performing or giving effect to the arrangement forbidding assignment of gangs of white and Negro employees to work together in single ship hatches.

(b) Post in conspicuous places at their business offices and meeting halls or other places where notices to their members are customarily posted copies of the notices attached hereto, marked Appendix A for Local 1367's notice and Appendix B for the District's notice. 17/ Copies of said notices, to be furnished by the Regional Director for the Twenty-third Region, shall, after being duly signed by representatives of Local 1367 and the District, be posted immediately upon receipt thereof and maintained for at least 60 consecutive days thereafter. Reasonable steps shall be taken by them to insure that said notices are not altered, defaced, or covered by any other material. With the permission of employer members of the Association who employ longshoremen referred to jobs at the Cameron County, Texas, ports, copies of said notices shall be posted by the Regional Director at their places of business where notices or communications to their employees are customarily posted.

B. The District, its officers, representatives, successors, agents, and assigns shall, additionally;

1. Cease and desist from:

(a) Causing the imposition of a trustee over the affairs of Local 1368, and refusing to withdraw or take necessary action to accomplish the withdrawal of the trustee thus imposed over Local 1368 unless it withdraws the charge filed in this case.

17/ In the event these Recommendations shall be adopted by the Board the words "A DECISION AND ORDER" shall be substituted for the words "THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF A TRIAL EXAMINER" in the notice. In the further event that the Board's Order be enforced by a decree of the United States Court of Appeals, the words "A DECREE OF THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS ENFORCING AN ORDER" shall be substitued for the words "A DECISION AND ORDER."

(b) In any like or related manner restraining or coercing employees in the exercise of rights guaranteed by Section 7 of the Act.

2. Take the following affirmative action which I find will effectuate the policies of the Act.

(a) Notify the International Longshoremen's Association, AFL-CIO, that it has caused it to impose a trustee over the affairs of Local 1368 in reprisal for the filing of the charge in this case and to compel its withdrawal of that charge, and that it desires the withdrawal of the trustee and restoration of authority to the officers and membership of Local 1368 to manage their own affairs.

(b) Make whole Local 1368 for all expenses incurred during the trusteeship in excess of those expenses which normally would have been incurred by Local 1368 in the management of its affairs by its own officers and membership.

C. Local 1367 and the District, their officers, representatives, successors, agents, and assigns each shall notify the Regional Director for the Twenty-third Region, in writing within 20 days from the receipt of this Decision what steps they have taken to comply herewith. 18/

Dated at Washington, D. C.

Thomas N. Kessel

Thomas N. Kessel
Trial Examiner

18/ In the event that these Recommendations are adopted by the Board, this provision shall be modified to read: "Notify the Regional Director for the Twenty-third Region in writing within 10 days from the date of the receipt of this Order what steps the Respondent has taken to comply herewith."

APPENDIX A

NOTICE TO ALL MEMBERS
OF LOCAL 1367
INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S
ASSOCIATION, AFL-CIO

PURSUANT TO

THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF A TRIAL EXAMINER

of the National Labor Relations Board, and in order to effectuate the policies of the National Labor Relations Act, we hereby notify you that:

WE WILL NOT perform or give effect to the provisions of the collective bargaining contract with GALVESTON MARITIME ASSOCIATION, INC., HOUSTON MARITIME ASSOCIATION, INC., and MASTER STEVEDORES ASSOCIATION OF TEXAS which allocates on the basis of race and union membership 75 percent jurisdiction to us and 25 percent jurisdiction to LOCAL 1368, INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION, AFL-CIO, over referral to longshore jobs at the ports in Cameron County, Texas, with the above employers.

WE WILL NOT perform or give effect to the arrangement forbidding the assignment by us and LOCAL 1368, INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION, AFL-CIO, of gangs of white and Negro longshoremen to work together in single ship hatches for the above-named employers at the Cameron County, Texas, ports.

WE WILL NOT in any like or related manner coerce or restrain employees in the exercise of their rights guaranteed by the National Labor Relations Act.

LOCAL 1367, INTERNATIONAL
LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION,
AFL-CIO
(Labor Organization)

Dated _____ By _____
(Representative) (Title)

This notice must remain posted for 60 consecutive days from the date of posting and must not be altered, defaced, or covered by any other material.

Employees may communicate directly with the Board's Regional Office, 6617 Federal Office Building, 515 Rusk Avenue, Houston, Texas 77002, (Tel. No. Capital 8-0611, Ext. 271), if they have any question concerning this notice or compliance with its provisions.

APPENDIX B

NOTICE TO ALL MEMBERS OF SOUTH
ATLANTIC AND GULF COAST DISTRICT,
INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S
ASSOCIATION, AFL-CIO

PURSUANT TO

THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF A TRIAL EXAMINER

of the National Labor Relations Board, and in order to effectuate the policies of the National Labor Relations Act, we hereby notify you that:

WE WILL NOT cause a trustee to be placed over the management of the affairs of LOCAL 1368, INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION, AFL-CIO, for filing charges against us with the National Labor Relations Board or to compel the withdrawal of charges filed by this labor organization againt us.

WE WILL take all necessary steps to end the trusteeship over the affairs of LOCAL 1368, INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION, AFL-CIO, which we have caused, and to have the management of these affairs restored to the officials and membership of this labor organization.

WE WILL make whole LOCAL 1368, INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION, AFL-CIO, for all expenses incurred by the trustee in the course of the foregoing trusteeship in excess of the expenses which would normally have been incurred in the operation of this labor organization by its own officials.

WE WILL NOT perform or give effect to the provisions of the collective bargaining contract with GALVESTON MARITIME ASSOCIATION, INC., HOUSTON MARITIME ASSOCIATION, INC., and MASTER STEVEDORES ASSOCIATION OF TEXAS which allocates on the basis of race and union membership 75 percent jurisdiction to LOCAL 1367, INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION, AFL-CIO, and 25 percent to LOCAL 1368, INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION, AFL-CIO, over referral to longshore jobs at the ports, in Cameron County, Texas, with the above-named employers.

WE WILL NOT perform or give effect to the arrangement forbidding the assignment by LOCAL 1367, INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION, AFL-CIO, and by LOCAL 1368, INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION, AFL-CIO, of gangs of white and Negro longshoremen to work together in single ship hatches for the above-named employers at the Cameron County, Texas, ports.

WE WILL NOT in any like or related manner coerce or restrain employees in the exercise of their rights guaranteed by the National Labor Relations Act.

SOUTH ATLANTIC AND GULF COAST
DISTRICT, INTERNATIONAL
LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION,
AFL-CIO
(Labor Organization)

Dated _____ By _____
(Representative) (Title)

This notice must remain posted for 60 consecutive days from the date of posting and must not be altered, defaced, or covered by any other material.

Employees may communicate directly with the Board Regional Office, 6617 Federal Office Building, 515 Rusk Avenue, Houston, Texas 77002 (Tel. No. Capital 8-0611, Ext. 271), if they have any question concerning this notice or compliance with its provisions.

ORGANIZING AND THE FEDERAL LABOR LAW

EDUCATION SECTION
INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT, AFL-CIO

ORGANIZING
NLRB PROCEDURES

TABLE 20.1

UNION MEMBERSHIP AND PER CENT OF NONAGRICULTURAL EMPLOYMENT ORGANIZED, SOUTHERN STATES AND UNITED STATES,

1939 - 1964

	Union Members (thousands)			Per Cent of Nonagricultural Employment Organized		
	1939	1953	1964	1939	1953	1964
Texas	111	375	370	10.3	16.8	13.3
Tennessee	71	187	184	15.3	22.5	17.6
Alabama	64	168	151	16.1	24.7	18.0
Virginia	68	156	179	12.8	17.3	15.5
Kentucky	85	155	107	22.5	25.0	25.7
Florida	44	136	201	11.3	16.3	13.1
Georgia	36	136	150	7.0	14.3	12.7
Louisiana	38	136	147	9.6	19.5	17.1
North Carolina	26	84	89	4.2	8.3	6.7
Arkansas	25	68	112	12.7	21.5	26.2
Mississippi	13	50	53	6.5	14.7	11.6
South Carolina	12	50	52	4.0	9.4	7.9
South	593	1,701	1,875	10.7	17.2	13.5
United States	6,518	17,860	17,187	21.5	34.1	29.5

Source: Nonagricultural employment figures from U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Employment and Earnings, July, 1958 and U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States; Union membership figures: Leo Troy, Distribution of Union Membership Among the States, 1939 and 1953 (National Bureau of Economic Research, occasional Paper 56, 1957); 1962 figures, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

NEWS from U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary

~~Labor~~ Union Membership

USDL - 6979

FOR RELEASE: A.M. Editions
Wednesday, January 19, 1966

Bureau of Labor Statistics
961-2320

UNION MEMBERSHIP BY STATE

Three States accounted for about 1 out of 3 union members in 1964: New York (2.5 million), California (1.9 million), and Pennsylvania (1.4 million). Illinois and Ohio also had more than a million union members each, according to estimates prepared by the U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Total union membership in the U. S. amounted to nearly 17.2 million, of whom 14.1 million were in unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO, 2.6 million in national unaffiliated unions, and about 450,000 in unaffiliated local organizations.

The percent of employees in nonfarm establishments organized in each State ranged from a high of 43 percent in Washington (367,000 union members out of 853,000 employees) to about 7 percent in North Carolina (89,000 out of 1,341,000). The national ratio was about 30 percent of the 58,188,000 nonagricultural work force. The proportion organized in States without right-to-work laws was almost twice the proportion in States with such laws—34 percent as against almost 15 percent.

Estimates for each State are presented in the following tabulation.

LABOR DEPARTMENT.—Union Membership by State
Page 2

State	Total Membership	Membership as a percent of employees in nonagricultural establishments
All States	17,187,700	29.5
Alabama	151,000	18.0
Alaska	21,000	32.2
Arizona	81,000	20.8
Arkansas	112,000	26.2
California	1,888,000	33.8
Colorado	124,000	21.6
Connecticut	244,000	24.6
Delaware	36,000	21.5
Florida	201,000	13.1
Georgia	150,000	12.7
Hawaii	50,000	24.2
Idaho	32,000	19.2
Illinois	1,394,000	37.9
Indiana	522,000	34.1
Iowa	150,000	20.8
Kansas	109,000	18.8
Kentucky	187,000	25.7
Louisiana	147,000	17.1
Maine	57,000	20.3
Maryland - District of Columbia	352,000	21.8
Massachusetts	572,000	29.1
Michigan	962,000	38.9
Minnesota	339,000	33.0
Mississippi	53,000	11.6
Missouri	546,000	38.8
Montana	63,000	36.2
Nebraska	78,000	19.3
Nevada	49,000	32.8
New Hampshire	44,000	20.9
New Jersey	814,000	37.7
New Mexico	34,000	13.4
New York	2,507,000	39.4
North Carolina	89,000	6.7
North Dakota	21,000	14.8
Ohio	1,148,000	35.7
Oklahoma	86,000	13.7
Oregon	198,000	34.8
Pennsylvania	1,450,000	38.4

State	Total Membership	Membership as a percent of employees in nonagricultural establishments
Rhode Island	89,000	29.6
South Carolina	52,000	7.9
South Dakota	14,000	9.5
Tennessee	184,000	17.6
Texas	370,000	13.3
Utah	58,000	19.7
Vermont	22,000	19.3
Virginia	179,000	15.5
Washington	367,000	43.1
West Virginia	192,000	42.0
Wisconsin	400,000	31.5
Wyoming	19,000	19.2
Membership not classifiable	181,000	-

NOTE: Estimates of total membership by State, prepared for the first time by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, are based largely on reports to the Bureau for its forthcoming Directory of National and International Labor Unions in the United States, 1965. For most of the unions unable to provide a State breakdown, the Bureau allocated membership among the States on the basis of local union per capita payments to the national union. Membership data for unaffiliated local and single-employer unions were taken from a previous survey (see BLS Bulletin No. 1348).

NEWS from U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary

USDL - 4745
Bureau of Labor Statistics
961 - 2320

FOR RELEASE: A. M. Editions
Thursday, September 16, 1965

UNION MEMBERSHIP, 1964

Membership in national and international unions with headquarters in the United States climbed to 17,976,000 in 1964, an increase of 346,000 since 1962, according to preliminary estimates derived from the biennial survey conducted by the U. S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics. More than 1.1 million members were in Canadian divisions of U. S. unions. Excluding Canadian members, U. S. totals for 1962 and 1964 were 16,586,000 and 16,841,000, respectively, a gain of about 255,000.

Despite this rise, union membership in the U. S. as a proportion of the total labor force and of employees in nonagricultural establishments has, in general, continued to decline.

		Membership (exclusive of Canada) as a percentage of--			
		Total labor force		Employees in nonagricultural establishments	
Year	Total union membership, excluding Canada	Number (thousands)	Percent union members	Number (thousands)	Percent union members
1956 ---------	17,490	70,387	24.8	52,408	33.4
1957 ---------	17,369	70,744	24.6	52,894	32.8
1958 ---------	17,029	71,284	23.9	51,368	33.2
1959 ---------	17,117	71,946	23.8	53,297	32.1
1960 ---------	17,049	73,126	23.3	54,203	31.5
1961 ---------	16,303	74,175	22.0	53,989	30.2
1962 ---------	16,586	74,681	22.2	55,515	29.9
1963 ---------	16,559	75,712	21.9	56,643	29.2
1964 ---------	16,841	76,971	21.9	58,188	28.9

In 1964, AFL-CIO affiliates reported 15,150,000 members, compared with 14,835,000 in 1962, and national unaffiliated unions reported 2,825,000 members, as against 2,794,000 in 1962.

Sizeable gains were reported by the Auto Workers, Steelworkers, Teamsters, and a number of public employee unions, while losses were indicated among unions in the railroad industry.

More detailed information on union membership will be presented in a forthcoming issue of the Bureau's Monthly Labor Review and in the Directory of National and International Labor Unions in the United States, 1965.

How 'Right-to-Work' holds back unions

New evidence was put on the record last week showing how so-called "Right-to-Work" laws work to hold back union membership in most of the 19 states where they are in force.

The facts came out when the U.S. Department of Labor released its estimates of the number of union members in each state and the proportion of union members in each state's nonfarm work force. Those estimates are in the table below where the "Right-to-Work" states are shaded.

The table shows that 15 of the 20 states with the lowest percentage of union members are "Right-to-Work" states.

Furthermore, only one such state, Nevada, is above the national average for union membership—29.5 per cent. Nevada is unique in that the highly-organized entertainment industry is a major element in its economy.

The Labor Department reported that the proportion joining unions in states without "Right-to-Work" laws is more than twice the proportion in states with such laws—34 per cent as against about 15 per cent. You can check your state in the table.

Proportion of work force in unions

Rank	*State*	*Number of Union Members*	*Per Cent Union Members In Non-Farm Work Force*
1.	Washington	367,000	**43.1**
2.	West Virginia	192,000	**42.0**
3.	New York	2,507,000	**39.4**
4.	Michigan	962,000	**38.9**
5.	Missouri	546,000	**38.8**
6.	Pennsylvania	1,450,000	**38.4**
7.	Illinois	1,349,000	**37.9**
8.	New Jersey	814,000	**37.7**
9.	Montana	63,000	**36.2**
10.	Ohio	1,148,000	**35.7**
11.	Oregon	198,000	**34.8**
12.	Indiana	522,000	**34.1**
13.	California	1,888,000	**33.8**
14.	Minnesota	339,000	**33.0**
15.	Nevada	49,000	**32.8**
16.	Alaska	21,000	**32.2**
17.	Wisconsin	400,000	**31.5**
18.	Rhode Island	89,000	**29.6**
19.	Massachusetts	572,000	**29.1**
20.	Arkansas	112,000	**26.2**
21.	Kentucky	187,000	**25.7**
22.	Connecticut	244,000	**24.6**
23.	Hawaii	50,000	**24.2**
24.	Maryland—D.C.	352,000	**21.8**
25.	Colorado	124,000	**21.6**
26.	New Hampshire	44,000	**20.9**
27.	Iowa	150,000	**20.8**
28.	Arizona	81,000	**20.8**
29.	Delaware	36,000	**21.5**
30.	Maine	57,000	**20.3**
31.	Utah	58,000	**19.7**
32.	Nebraska	78,000	**19.3**
33.	Vermont	22,000	**19.3**
34.	Idaho	32,000	**19.2**
35.	Wyoming	19,000	**19.2**
36.	Kansas	109,000	**18.8**
37.	Alabama	151,000	**18.0**
38.	Louisiana	147,000	**17.1**
39.	Tennessee	184,000	**17.6**
40.	Virginia	179,000	**15.5**
41.	North Dakota	21,000	**14.8**
42.	Oklahoma	86,000	**13.7**
43.	New Mexico	34,000	**13.4**
44.	Texas	370,000	**13.3**
45.	Florida	201,000	**13.1**
46.	Georgia	150,000	**12.7**
47.	Mississippi	53,000	**11.6**
48.	South Dakota	14,000	**9.5**
49.	South Carolina	52,000	**7.9**
50.	North Carolina	89,000	**6.7**
	All 50 States	**17,187,700**	**29.5**

First Me card is to H

With a pen fr Johnson, former Pr S. Truman prepares to s No. 1 to become the first citizen to be protected by Medicare. Card No. 2 was issued to Mrs. Truman.

The signing ceremony took place at Independence, Mo., highlighting a drive to get all senior citizens to sign up for the Medicare program before the March 31 deadline. The program, first proposed by Mr. Truman more than 20 years ago, goes into effect on July 1 (see Editorial, page 12).

President Johnson was in Independence last week to help launch the Harry S. Truman Center for the Advancement of Peace. The center, to be located in Jerusalem, will be devoted to the destruction of the causes of war.

UPI PHOTO

All-out campaign urged to beat 14(b) filibuster

Across the USA last week the AFL-CIO was marshalling its forces for the fight to get a vote in the U.S. Senate on repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act's Sec. 14(b).

Labor viewed it as certain that the Republican floor leader, Sen. Everett Dirksen of Illinois, would resume last year's filibuster the moment that Majority Leader Mike Mansfield moved to bring up the 14(b) repeal bill.

Majority support

In talks with newsmen Mansfield stressed that a majority of the Senate supports the ending of so-called "Right-to-Work" laws by repeal of Sec. 14(b). The fight, he said, will be over the Senate's right to vote on the issue.

Dirksen announced that "no amicable compromise" is possible on the measure, that he will try to talk to death Mansfield's attempt to bring it up.

Dirksen's announcement was greeted happily by the National Right to Work Committee. The committee declared it was ready to take the offensive with drives for new "Right-to-Work" laws in at least 10 states. A committee spokesman told a news conference that Dirksen's effort would "hasten the day" when the union shop on the railroads—specifically authorized by the Railway Labor Act—would be eliminated.

Chamber campaign

The Chamber of Commerce of the U.S. jumped into the picture, too. It designated Feb. 1 as "14(b) Day" when businessmen would make cut-rate conference calls to their Senators opposing repeal.

In a message to all unions Andrew J. Biemiller, AFL-CIO legislative director, called on every local to contact their Senators again through calls, telegrams, or letters. He declared:

"Urge them to support the right to vote on Sec. 14(b).

"Urge them to stay in Washington near the Senate floor to help break the anti-labor filibuster."

The AFL-CIO Executive Council's position is this, Biemiller emphasized:

"Let us have a vote on the issue—a vote up or down—but let us have a vote."

If the filibuster can be broken, a simple majority vote is all that is required in the Senate to pass the repeal bill. The House has already approved it.

Dirksen also unveiled a new "Committee for the Government of the People" last week. This is a pressure group created to drum up support for his proposed Constitutional amendment to get around the U.S Supreme Court's "one man, one vote" decision.

That decision held that both houses of state legislatures must be apportioned on the basis of population.

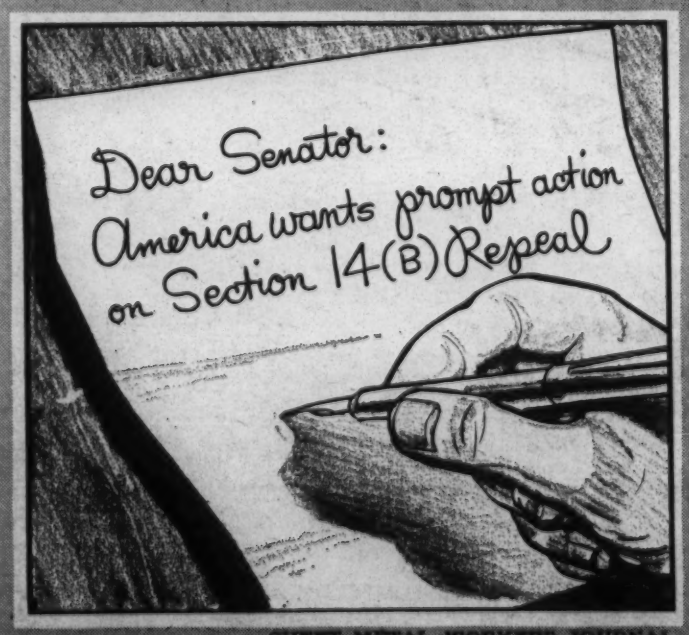
Dirksen's campaign launching was handled by the famous California publicity firm of Whitaker & Baxter that has directed many drives for measures opposed by labor.

The deal

Numerous observers on Capitol Hill have speculated that Dirksen is attempting to stage the scene for some kind of a deal by which he would accede to a vote on 14(b) repeal in exchange for approval of his amendment on apportionment.

The AFL-CIO has stated repeatedly that it will never accept such a trade.

CARTOON COMMENT: *Repeal 14(b)*



SHEET METAL WORKERS JOURNAL

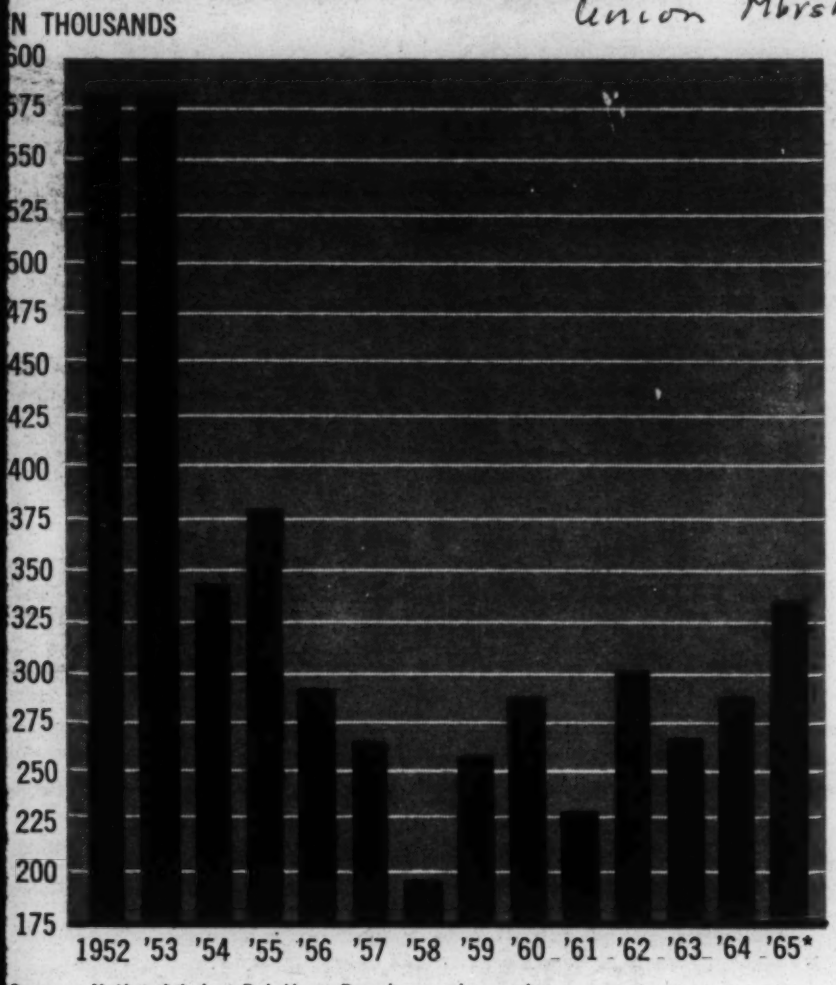
SEAMAN-AFL-CIO

AFL-CIO News 3/19/66

TRENDS IN UNION GROWTH

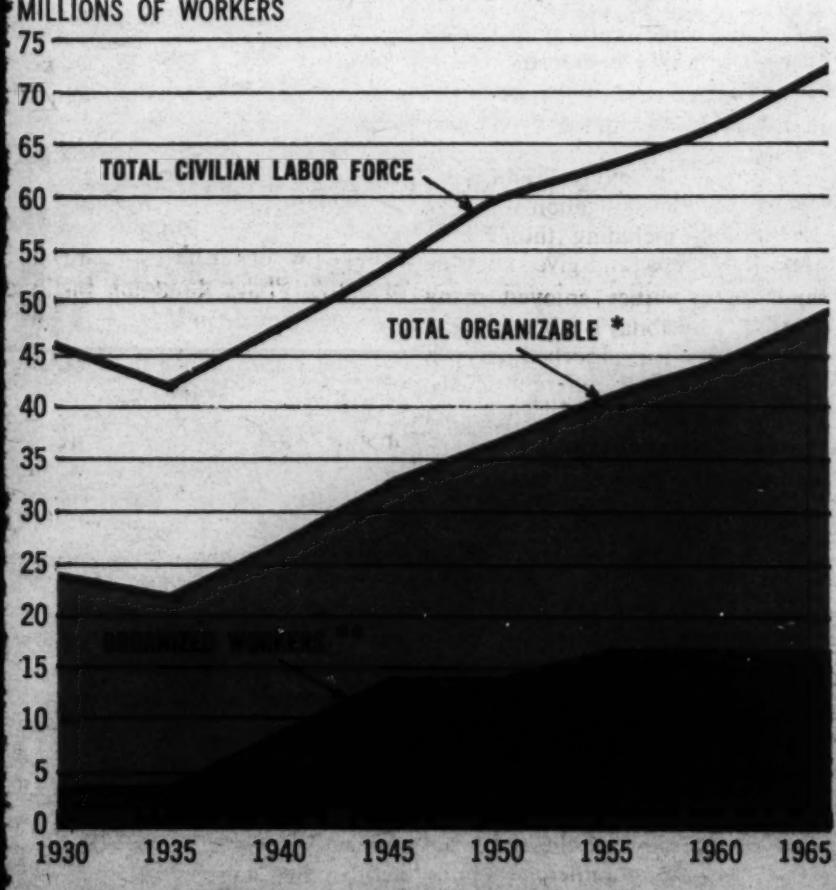
Employes in units which voted union in National Labor Relations Board elections.

Union Mbrship.



Source: National Labor Relations Board annual reports.
*1965 total based on NLRB data.

U.S. UNION MEMBERSHIP COMPARED TO POTENTIAL AND TOTAL LABOR FORCE



* AFL-CIO calculations based on U. S. Department of Labor data on non-supervisory wage and salary workers.

** Excludes Canadian members.

Where the union members are

States ranked by percentage of nonfarm workers in unions	Thousands of members 1966	Thousands of members 1964	Percentage of non farm workers unionized 1966	Percentage of non farm workers unionized 1964
West Virginia	217	206	44.1%	44.7%
Michigan	1,135	1,074	40.5	42.7
Washington	398	376	40.3	44.0
Pennsylvania	1,533	1,462	37.7	38.7
New York	2,506	2,453	37.3	38.5
Indiana	631	563	36.5	36.4
Illinois	1,466	1,419	36.0	38.4
Missouri	550	537	35.6	37.9
Ohio	1,254	1,180	35.5	36.7
Montana	63	62	34.0	35.2
Minnesota	374	350	32.8	34.0
Oregon	208	196	32.7	34.2
Wisconsin	448	424	32.1	33.4
California	1,952	1,857	32.0	33.3
New Jersey	737	701	31.3	32.3
Alaska	22	21	30.2	32.1
Nevada*	48	49	29.8	32.8
Kentucky	217	195	27.1	27.0
Rhode Island	88	86	26.8	28.3
Hawaii	62	49	26.6	23.6
Massachusetts	549	549	26.2	28.0
Connecticut	286	267	26.1	27.0
Maryland-D.C.	404	369	22.8	22.9
Colorado	138	128	22.2	22.3
Delaware	42	41	21.8	24.0
Iowa*	173	163	21.4	22.6
Wyoming*	20	19	20.4	19.4
Maine	61	59	19.9	20.8
Alabama*	178	158	19.2	18.7
New Hampshire	44	42	19.0	20.1
Tennessee*	225	201	18.9	19.2
Nebraska*	81	78	18.8	19.2
Idaho	34	32	18.4	19.0
Louisiana	176	160	18.3	18.7
Arizona*	77	71	17.9	18.5
Kansas*	110	109	17.5	18.6
Vermont	22	21	17.1	18.7
Arkansas*	83	73	17.0	17.0
Utah*	53	53	16.6	18.0
New Mexico	43	37	15.8	14.5
Virginia*	199	184	15.5	15.8
Oklahoma	102	94	15.0	15.1
North Dakota*	21	21	14.2	14.8
Georgia*	188	166	14.0	14.2
Texas*	423	394	13.7	14.1
Florida*	234	214	13.6	14.0
Mississippi*	64	62	12.3	13.5
South Dakota*	16	15	10.4	10.0
North Carolina*	104	100	6.9	7.4
South Carolina*	49	48	6.7	7.4
U.S.	**18,325**	**17,188**	**28.8**	**29.5**

*Right-to-work law states

Data: Bureau of Labor Statistics

Counting the union buttons

Latest BLS survey shows membership growing—but not as fast as labor force

One-third of all union members in the U. S. are in the states of New York, California, and Pennsylvania, according to the Labor Dept.'s Bureau of Labor Statistics. In figures just released for 1966—the most recent government survey of union membership—the bureau found that the three big states accounted for 6-million of 18.3-million members.

Counting the million members of U. S. unions with locals in Canada, the over-all membership was 19.1-million two years ago—a sharp rise from 17.9-million two years before. (AFL-CIO reports a continuing rise.)

The government said that in the 1964-66 period, "sustained economic activity generally and organizing efforts among government workers . . . resulted in the largest growth in union membership since BLS began its biennial surveys in 1952."

Ratio slips. But the increase in union membership hasn't kept pace with the rise in nonfarm employment: BLS said the ratio has continued to slip, from 33.4% in 1956 to 28% in 1966. As a proportion of the total labor force, union membership was a relatively stable 22.7%—but less than a 1956 peak of 25.2%.

Forty-seven unions reported more than 100,000 members, while 91 had fewer than 25,000. The 10 largest unions, each reporting more than 400,000 members, accounted for 45% of total membership. The 91 small unions—nearly half of all U. S. unions—together have less than 4%.

Three major industries—metals (2.9-million), transportation (2.5-million), and construction (2.4-million)—accounted for more than two-fifths of all union members.

Unions reported 2.5-million members in New York, 2-million in California, and 1.5-million in Pennsylvania. But West Virginia was the most unionized, with 44.1%. **End**

Union	No. in South	% of U.S.
UMW	120,000	53
Glass & Ceramic	7,000	18
Chemical	17,776	22
IBEW	100,000	12
USWA	85,000	8
Printing Pressmen	11,000	10
IWA (1965)	70,589	24
Bricklayers	21,319	14
IAM	90,000	10
Letter Carriers	32,404	7
Teamsters	104,092	20 (? of 1.5M?)
P&S.	37,000	33
Postal Clerks	27,840	23
AFSCME	17,844	8
ILA	19,000	33
SMW	12,000	10
OCAW	30,000 (?)	30 (?)
IUEWU.	18,900	5
UAW	50,000	4

Highest proportion of So. mfg. in non-50T or more large urban areas of to nat'l

5–18% depending on Southern region (% of total employment)

New firms & firms of high value added more likely to be organized

Lawyers specially in bargaining in good faith

Attempted to: Factor out Canada's dues paying members only

Source — Union research dept.

UMW, CWA, IAM, P&S, Postal, ILA — as well org as in rest of country; sit by Truly in Court.

OCAWO — hitting organized for South

OCAW — Owen says La & Tex alone (first 4) has double 30T

Projects: 3:30 — Poverty
5:00 — Theory of School
5:30 — Student Groups.

Week III 1/23-1/28	9-10:30	MORNING 10:30-10:45	10:45-12:15	AFTERNOON 1:30-3:30	EVENING
Sun. 23					Evaluation and Orientation
Mon. 24	Labor Law Dan Pollitt	Coffee	Labor's Future in the South Ray Marshall	Southern Economic Problems Vivian Henderson	
Tues. 25	Labor's Future in the South Marshall	"	Labor Law Pollitt	Trends in Collective Bargaining Marshall	5:00 Projects
Wed. 26	Southern Economic Problems Henderson	"	"	Southern Economic Problems Henderson	Projects Marshall
Thurs. 27	" Henderson	"	"	Trends in Collective Bargaining Marshall	C.O.P.E. Phil Weightman Dan Powell Wilbur Hobby
Fri. 28	~~Marshall~~	"	"	C.O.P.E. Weightman Powell Hooby	

get Urban renewal name

News stay topics —

(4) History

Miners — Anti trust

UMW & larger operators accused of violation

of Anti-trust —

Current picture.

Many places in South where Unions are strong —

1958 figures % of workers in industry under contract (not necessarily union members)

	South	North East	U.S.
Primary metals	95%	88%	88
Petro & Coal	88	85	88
Transp. Equip	86	73	86
Paper & allied	79	73	75
Tobacco Mfg	12		63
Lumber & Wood	27	23	43
Stone	65	84	78
Mach		68	66
Chemicals	62		66
Printing	61	65	
Fab. Metals	57	75	71
Food & Kindred	41	74	67
Apparell	30	70	60
Furniture	28	50	50
Textile	14	51	28

(5) —

Growth Unions in last few years —

IBEW	AFSCME
ACWA	RWDSU
AMC&BW	ILGWU
Labors	NALC
IAM	Hotel & Rest.

Ark — increase
ACWA, Bldg Trades, Chemical
Va — diversified industry
Ala — drops in mining & steel
in South USWA & UAW had hit

# of locals (1960 Bur of Lab Mgt

Carpenters	493	in South
Painters	191	in South
Chemical	95	
IBEW	301	

Declining Unions in South
USWA
UAW
Carpenters

Only spurts in growth at come with
→ recoveries after periods of depression —

3) Co. tactics important to South
4) Size of Union — scarcity for Union — reduction of employees to employer —

Factors in growth —

1. Economic —
Company structure — branches (usually well organized if organized as soon as come down)
But if heavy concentration of industry in South (Textiles), then branch theory doesn't apply
Degree of competition leads to resistance to Unions

2. Geographic — Base outside of South for most of strong Unions; concentration of Unions leads to strength;

Org- S.

SOUTHERN ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND THE FAILURE OF TRADE UNION ORGANIZING POLICIES IN THE SOUTHEAST

Marvin E. Lee

Presented to the Graduate Seminar in Economics
The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina
February 18, 1958

EVC ~~South~~ Organizing — South

Industrial Relations
Research Association

PROCEEDINGS OF THE 1964 SPRING MEETING

Gatlinburg, Tennessee
May 4 and 5, 1964

EVC - Organizing

READING MATERIALS

FOR COURSE IN

ORGANIZING TECHNIQUES

"First-year" course
Week-Long Summer Schools

CWA Education Department
NE-723

May, 1964

1964 COPE success spur city and state drives

Kentucky Labor News 3-8-1965

Bal Harbour, Florida — "From the White House to the Court House" is the direction which the AFL-CIO is looking as it surveys its successes of 1964 and lays plans for the future.

At a highly optimistic session of COPE's Administrative Committee held here, plans were laid for a sharp step up in activities on the state, city and county level beginning this year. This is the first time that the Federation has directed a major effort on the local front as well as for national elections.

Optimism for future successes was justified. AFL-CIO President George Meany told the meeting that COPE has proved itself increasingly strong and effective. He pointed out that in 1960 COPE-endorsed candidates had been successful in 57 per cent of the Congressional elections; that this victory ratio had increased to 60 per cent in 1962 and that it had further boomed to 68 per cent during the 1964 election.

On the local level speakers at the COPE meeting said that about 1,000 political offices in cities of more than 10,000 population will be determined in 1965. Local COPE organizations are expected to redouble their efforts to assure the election of liberal, and progressive candidates.

Turning to the 1966 National elections, Meany stressed the vital importance of getting out the vote among union members and workers in general. He pointed out that in only two elections since the 'Thirties' — 1934 and 1962 — had the party in power been able to maintain its gains during an off year election.

He urged that 1966 be made a year in which the liberal and progressive victories of 1964 could be maintained. A lot of excellent new and young Congressmen were elected in 1964, he said, and the AFL-CIO was determined to support them and help return them to Congress.

Meany said that election statistics showed that the greatest fall off in registration and voting in off years came in workers' dis-

(Continued on page 6, Col. 1)

1964 COPE success spurs city and state drives

(Continued from page 1)

tricts. The drop in some of the larger cities was as much as 20 per cent. This must be corrected, he declared adding: "If we get our own people, we can win."

Other speakers before the Committee, including Al Barkan, National COPE Director, and Roy Reuther, head of the registration campaign committee, said that the battle to get fair reapportionment on the state level was of the utmost importance. They expressed conviction that the states which reapportion fairly, will encourage registration and voting rather than discourage the use of the ballot.

In this connection, an AFL-CIO spokesman said that COPE was doing all it could to educate Negroes on their voting rights and to help them register in states which now deliberately bar them the vote. This, he said, was notably true in Alabama where the State COPE is highly active in helping to assure free registration.

Also as part of its deep concern that all citizens must have the right to vote, the AFL-CIO Executive Council will endorse legislation that would create Federal Registrars to assure the right of all Americans to vote in Federal elections.

Textile Labor 3/65

COPE Charts Big '66 Drive

BAL HARBOUR, Fla.—COPE—the political action arm of the AFL-CIO—is preparing an all-out drive to bring out a maximum vote in the 1966 Congressional elections, it was announced here by the federation's executive council.

The campaign is aimed at reversing the "historic" losses of off-year contests.

The liberal gains in Congress resulting from the 1964 elections can be preserved, COPE believes, if trade unionists, their families and their friends will turn out in full strength next year.

Since 1932, there have been only two off-year elections when the administration in power did not lose strength in Congress—in 1934 and in 1962.

The fact that the off-year loss pattern can be reversed holds out hope that an intensive campaign in 1966 can safeguard the sharp increase in liberal strength registered last year.

The pattern of off-year losses, COPE noted, stems primarily from a drop-off in voting turnout in low- and middle-income wards and precincts.

Intensive register and get-out-the-vote campaigns, coupled with drives for changes in registration and voting laws—to make it easier and simpler for citizens to cast votes—can produce results in 1966, COPE stressed.

A major factor in preserving the 1964 Congressional gains will be in returning a number of new Congressmen who won by slim margins last year, according to COPE.

The best possible help these Congressmen can get is the passage of a legislative program that the voters indicated they need and want, COPE added.

Reviewing the results of the 1964 balloting, COPE noted the growth in effectiveness of labor political action.

In 1960, the committee pointed out, 57% of the COPE-endorsed Congressional candidates were elected. The figure rose to 60% in 1962 and to 68% in 1964.

COPE also focused attention on the more than 1,000 city and county elections scheduled for 1965 in places with populations of over 10,000.

Agenda (IUD)

Organizing – South

ORGANIZING NEWSLETTER

A Major Defect In Present Labor Laws

"The principal defect in the labor relations law today is that companies can, and with virtual immunity do, cold-bloodedly instill raw fear in their employees—fear of job loss, fear of plant shutdown, even physical fear—if they exercise their right to join a union."

This was one of the opening comments of Nick Zonarich, director of organization of the IUD, before a recent hearing by a subcommittee of the House Committee on Education and Labor. The committee is determining whether or not to proceed with a full investigative hearing on the administration of the Labor-Management Relations Act by the NLRB.

Director Zonarich expressed the concern of the labor movement when he stated that a "great number of . . . employees want and are struggling for the rights guaranteed by national law taken for granted in many places, but denied to them by unscrupulous employers with clever lawyers who have no hesitancy in deliberately violating the law in pursuit of their selfish interest.

"It is a rare organizing drive today that does not occasion at least one unfair labor practice charge against the company. Crafty lawyers have shown employers that it is cheap and virtually danger-free to threaten, coerce, and discharge employees as an effective deterrent to the representation effort of the union.

"Companies know that by the time the built-in delay factors of Labor Board processes have been taken advantage of, the employees and the union will frequently become completely discouraged. Moreover, the company may get off scot-free if the union-busting campaign is cleverly done with the full bag of tricks—including a flood of leaflets disguised as free speech but carefully phrased to convey the message of possible harm that it would be illegal to state openly.

"The present chairman of the National Labor Relations Board recently posed the following question which I think expresses in a nutshell the matter we believe this committee should consider and investigate. He said, 'Why should we, 30 years after adoption of Congressional policy to protect the right to organize, still find companies firing people for trying to form a union? Yet this is the great bulk of the work that comes to the NLRB in 1965.' "

The Statistics Tell The Story

Cold statistics down through the years point to the urgency of the problem:

NLRB's fiscal 1964 report shows that unfair practice cases now make up more than half the constantly rising workload. In 1948 the workload was 66 percent representation cases, 34 percent complaint cases. Since 1957 unfair labor practice charges have outnumbered representation petitions by a constantly increasing percentage, reversing a 17-year pattern in the years 1941 through 1957. By 1964 the load char-

acter almost reversed that of 1948, with 57 percent complaint cases and 43 percent representation matters. A significant development in unfair labor practice charges has been the dual growth of (1) number of cases and (2) those found to have merit, prompting issuance of formal complaints by the NLRB general counsel.

In fiscal 1964 the proportion of charges found to have merit rose to 33.4 percent compared to the 32.3 percent of fiscal 1963, with fewer cases and continuing the upward trend since the 20.7 percent of 1958.

In an article for the *Harvard Law Review*, Professor Derek C. Bok made this observation: **"The problems created by a rising volume of cases may also have bearing on remedial policy. As matters now stand, many remedies of the Board are trifling enough that an employer in a representation case can often profit from violating the law even if he is eventually brought to book. By encouraging violations in this manner inadequate remedies not only work hardship on the other parties involved, they may also increase the workload of the Board unnecessarily. Although we cannnot determine the extent to which these dangers have been realized, it is disturbing to note that over the past several years the number of cases involving discriminatory discharges and other interference with the rights of employees has risen much more rapidly than the number of representation elections. Under these circumstances, there is good reason to pay the most careful attention to devising more adequate sanctions."**

In his closing comments before the subcommittee of the House Education and Labor Committee, Director Zonarich urged that a subcommittee be designated to inquire into the problems and weaknesses of the present labor relations act with an eye toward devising some effective remedies for the existing weaknesses.

Teacher's Union Wins Two More

President Charles Cogen, American Federation of Teachers, reports the AFT has started off the new school year in the best possible way, by winning an important organizing victory and negotiation contracts at two important locations.

In a representation election the teachers in Hartford, Conn., voted in favor of the AFT over the Association by 527 to 498. President Cogen promises that this is but the first of other election victories in the coming year.

Contracts have been negotiated by AFT in Yonkers, N. Y. and Philadelphia, Pa. The details of the Yonkers agreement are not yet available, but in Philadelphia months of negotiations were concluded by the Philadelphia Teachers Union, Local 3, and the school bargainers on 225 contract items. Gains were registered in reduction of classroom size and increases in salary schedules starting at $5,500 a year and reaching a maximum of $10,400 in yearly steps, the number of which was reduced from 13 to 10. The wage increase averages $850 for 11,500 school employees.

Negroes in South push to sign up

Organizing is gaining momentum as result of ferment on civil rights

Southern Negroes, shaken out of apathy by civil rights movement, show new interest in unionism. These poultry workers meet in a Greensboro (Ala.) church.

Time and again, unionists have prematurely predicted the organization of the South.

Today, it may actually be happening—in a manner few predicted.

Southern Negroes are joining unions as an outgrowth of the civil rights movement. Sometimes the connection is direct. Negro workers at the Pomona Products Co. food packing plant in Griffin, Ga., signed membership cards in the Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Union while picketing the plant to protest the firing of a Negro who had used the white drinking fountain. Sometimes the connection is indirect—a matter of a new willingness to defy Mr. Charlie, union officials say. Either way, the situation offers organizing possibilities that didn't exist a year ago. Unions have reacted by hiring more Negro organizers.

Moreover labor officials insist the civil rights movement has also brought white Southerners into unions by teaching them the value of organization.

"They've learned from the Negro that the way to improve conditions is to join an organization and push," one official says.

Less static. Whatever the explanation, the facts are clear. Unions whose Southern membership had remained static or grown by handfuls during a decade of rapid industrial development now report substantial increases during the past year, often the past few months. A sampling:

- RWDSU claims 17,000 Southern members; 1,500 of them joined since June.
- The independent International Union of Laundry Workers claims 7,000 Southern members; 2,000 of them joined during the past year.
- The International Chemical Workers Union claims 15,000 Southern members; 2,000 of them joined during the past year. This includes the 800 employees of Scripto, Inc., 700 of them Negro, who walked an Atlanta picket line with Dr. Martin Luther King last winter. A "discriminatory" wage increase—2% for unskilled workers (mostly Negro) and 4% for skilled (mostly white)—led both to King's participation and the union's success.
- The American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees claims 4,000 members in Georgia; 1,000 of them joined during the past year.

Old Confederacy gains. In all cases, Negroes make up a healthy percentage of these unions' Southern membership, ranging from 35% for RWDSU to 90% for the Laundry Workers. Five years ago, AFSCME's Georgia membership was 15% Negro. Today it is 40%.

Records of National Labor Relations Board elections in the 10 states of the Confederacy tell a similar story of increased receptiveness to unionism.

In fiscal 1963, 87,085 workers cast valid votes in NLRB collective bargaining elections. The unions won in bargaining units whose total work force numbered 44,372. In other words, 51% of the workers who participated in NLRB elections wound up with union representation.

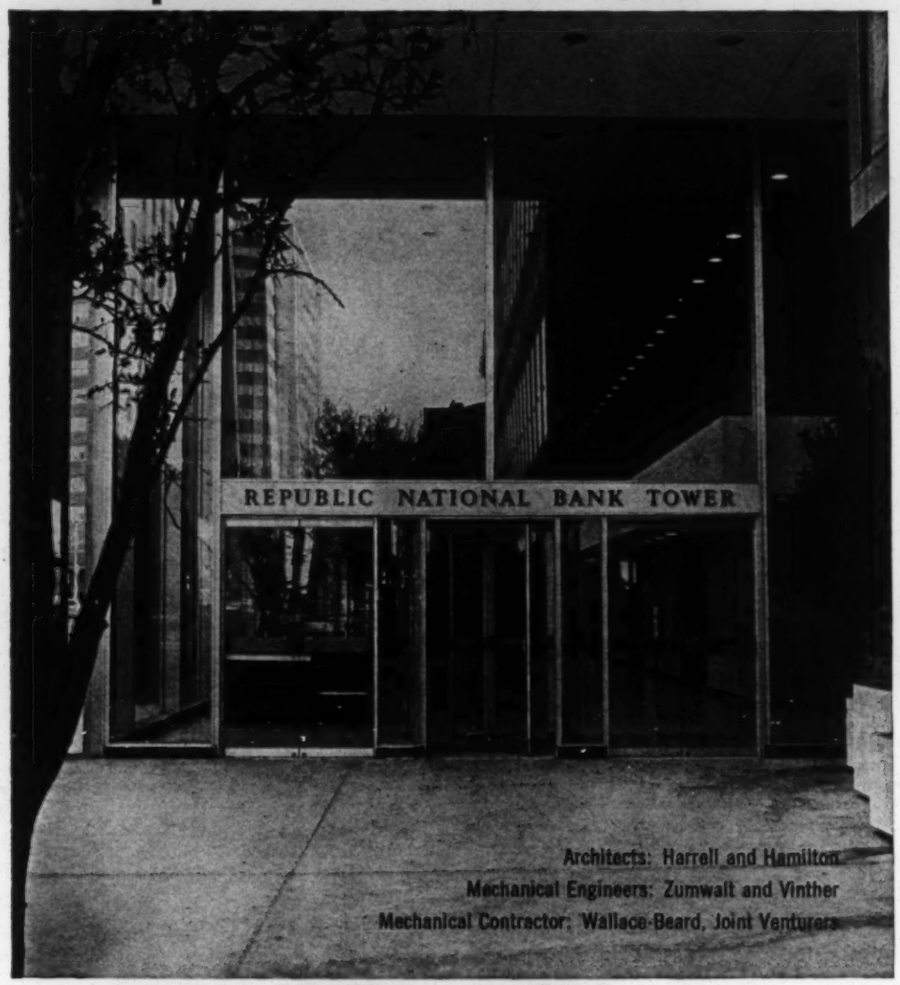
In fiscal 1965—which ended June 30—99,351 workers cast valid votes in Southern NLRB elections. The unions won in bargaining units whose total work force numbered 67,104—67%.

The change is less striking when one compares the number of elections won rather than the number of employees covered in winning elections—635 out of 1,138 (or 56%) for 1963; 761 out of 1,286 (or 59%) in 1965. This suggests that union prospects are improving more quickly in large plants than they are in small.

Phenomenon. Even more significant in the view of historically minded unionists, a fair number of the newly organized plants came in "cold." Such plants have no previous record of organizing attempts and, often, no employees who ever worked in union plants elsewhere. They simply respond to their first contact with an organizer by joining the union. It took the RWDSU just three days to sign up the bulk of Pomona Products' 350 workers after hearing about their picket line from the NAACP.

This is phenomenal, especially in the South. There unions have hammered at their targets in campaign after campaign, sometimes with

Republic National Bank Tower



another "Buffalo-quality" air conditioning job

Air conditioning the new 50-story addition adjacent to the 36-story Republic National Bank Building in Dallas, Texas, presented several unusual problems. For example, the systems for the two buildings had to be integrated, and a variety of environmental requirements were encountered in the new building. ■ Buffalo's comprehensive line of air conditioning equipment was able to meet every requirement. In the Tower, over 75 'Buffalo' factory-fabricated air conditioning cabinets handle interior zones. 'Buffalo' fans and coil units serve peripheral zones through a high pressure system. ■ This is one more example of the confidence engineers and contractors place in 'Buffalo's' engineering and fabricating capabilities. For quality equipment correctly applied, see your Buffalo Engineering Representative. He's in the Yellow Pages of the business center near you.

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Canadian Blower & Forge Co., Ltd., Kitchener, Ontario

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Air Handling Equipment • Centrifugal Pumps • Machine Tools • Process Equipment

years in between, before painfully amassing a majority.

Large numbers of workers last signed up cold during the great organizing surges of the 1930s in the urban North. Perhaps the South is on the verge of a similar period, some laborites suggest.

Many reasons. Others offer more mundane explanations for union successes. Quicker NLRB elections give employers and anti-union communities less time to wear down union loyalties, one official notes. Others observe that some Southern employers, particularly those connected with national chains, no longer fight so hard.

Another school holds that it's natural for Negroes to join unions once they get over their fear because "they know they belong to the working class—there's no status problem there." And certainly it's true that recent Negro—and white—union recruits work mainly at unskilled, low-paying jobs.

Moreover, tarring unions with the civil rights brush is not the foolproof anti-labor technique it used to be, now that employers must avoid overt discrimination themselves if they want to keep government contracts —or simply keep out of trouble.

Natural direction. Overriding all these explanations is a more basic one: that industrial civilization inevitably brings unionism, and that the time has come for the South. A veteran organizer explains it like this.

"Of course, the civil rights movement has had a tremendous subliminal effect on the Southern worker. It's replaced the old fatalism with a new object lesson: Here are people even more downtrodden than he, helping themselves through their organizations.

"But the Southern worker would be moving in our direction anyway. He's been off the farm long enough. That $1.25 an hour doesn't look so great any more. He's seen other plants around, he's met other kinds of people, he doesn't think the boss and the jackleg preacher between them know everything.

"He's ready to join the union on logical grounds, and he won't be scared off so easily by talk of Red agitators or race mixing."

This official believes that a period of Southern membership growth lies ahead even for those unions—like his, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union—that have registered little organizing improvement so far. It's implicit in the new steadfastness shown even in losing campaigns today, he says. **End**

Organizing

feature section

ORGANIZING IN THE SOUTH

How RWDSU Has Gained 3,000 Members in 8 Months

By Max Greenberg
President, RWDSU

Generalizations are usually suspect, and hopes have been raised high in previous years, only to be frustrated, but I believe the experiences of our union over the past eight months lead to the conclusion that the conditions are ripe today. This appears to be the time for a great new effort to bring wages and labor relations in the South into the 20th century.

Max Greenberg

Since last May, the RWDSU has organized some 3,000 new members in 20 shops and plants in Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Florida and Texas. The drive is continuing, and in fact appears to be growing in scope. Of course, we are not the only union organizing in the South, and conditions for us may be entirely different from those facing other unions, but I believe that our experiences include a number of factors of interest to all of labor.

First and foremost, our organizing successes are a product of the civil rights revolution that has swept the South in recent years. In fact, the identification of our union with the civil rights movement has led to specific organizing leads—including entire shops of 300 and more workers, chiefly Negroes, marching into our union because they knew that we believed in their cause.

Negroes' Right to Living Wage

It is natural—perhaps inevitable—that Negroes who have secured such basic rights as the right to sit at a lunch counter, to use a swimming pool or golf course, to vote as any other American and attend a public school with other American children should turn now to that other great goal, without which the others fade into nothingness—the right to a living wage. Since this is obtainable for the masses of Americans only through the trade union movement, it was inevitable that the civil rights forces and the labor movement would seek each other out and join forces for a big push to end wages of $1.25 an hour and less that are prevalent in the South.

In Selma, Alabama, following the events of last spring that brought world-wide attention to this city, the Negro community emerged from the battles with a new sense of strength and self-respect, but the people still lived in hovels—as we saw ourselves during the Selma-to-Montgomery march—and the pay envelopes were mighty thin. When civil rights leaders in Selma came to the conclusion that a union was needed, they turned to the RWDSU. We now have a local on the move in Selma, with some 400 workers in the process of organizing, winning elections and negotiating contracts.

Vote Union Despite Klan

In Greensboro, a town near Selma, a plant of 300 workers voted by an 8 to 1 margin for our union despite all sorts of terroristic tactics used against them, including the direct participation of a band of Ku Klux'ers.

There have been many roads taken into the RWDSU by the 3,000 in the South who have joined since last May, but for most the civil rights movement has been the inspiration.

In Griffin, Georgia, several young Negro students working last summer at Pomona Products, a food packing plant of 400 workers, rebelled at a foreman's insistence that they use the "colored" water fountain. They were fired, but 350 of their fellow workers walked out with them. Civil rights leaders directed the workers to the RWDSU, and after nine days of strike a contract was signed which brought pay raises and other gains to all the workers, and additional raises for the Negro workers previously discriminated against in pay rates as well as in other ways.

Needless to say, employee facilities at Pomona have been totally integrated, so that a worker will no longer have to take care which water fountain he uses.

In another large company, the Kimco auto parts warehouse in Memphis, 300 workers, again predominantly Negro, organized speedily last fall and secured a fine contract. Raises of 45 cents an hour went to many Negro workers previously held to a maximum of $1.35 an hour despite seniority of up to twenty years. New classification rules will now permit job advances for Negroes for the first time, and here too, the prevailing discrimination in rest rooms and lunchroom facilities has been eliminated.

These are examples—in Alabama, Georgia and Tennessee— of good union work adding up to good civil rights work. We can see here the enormous potential implicit in an alliance between the various civil rights organizations and labor, directed at organizing the South.

It should be noted that white workers as well as Negroes are joining the RWDSU in this growing campaign in the South. In some instances the white workers have expressed opposition to the civil rights movement, but they feel an even greater opposition to the low pay they have been receiving, and they recognize that they must work with the Negroes so that both groups will overcome.

IUD Drive Wins in Texas

Our drive continues to progress. In Dallas, Texas, where the Industrial Union Dept. of the AFL-CIO is coordinating the campaign, the latest important achievement was organization of the Coca-Cola Bottling Company, with 350 employees made up equally of Negroes and whites. In Orlando, Florida, a late report shows that the Minute Maid citrus plant of 170 workers voted for the RWDSU. In other sections of the South widespread contacts are certain to keep the campaign moving foward.

Our organizing efforts in the South will continue, and will expand. We feel that no efforts of our union anywhere are more productive, and more significant for the future of our country. The South for too long has languished in the background—economically, politically, and in many other ways. The civil rights movement provided a necessary spark towards correcting this grievous imbalance. The labor movement must pick up the torch and carry it forward.

Yes, we in the RWDSU believe the South can be organized, and we are dedicating every effort and resource at our command towards that end.

V) 10 CENTS

Keeping Unions Out

Companies Fight Harder Against Labor Attempts To Organize Employes

Carpenter Steel Wins Election By Hard Campaign; Bakery Local Loses in New York

The Fuzziness of Labor Law

1/19/60

By NEIL ULMAN
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

READING, Pa.—When the United Steelworkers recently launched a drive to organize Carpenter Steel Co.'s nonunion plant here, the victory hopes of USW officials were understandable. They had attempted to sign up the plant in 1956 and, although the effort failed, the election showing was encouraging—some 42% of the votes were cast for the union. Thus the disappointment when, in the recent contest, barely a third of the Carpenter workers voted for the USW.

What happened?

For one thing, Carpenter President John Moxon set a speech-making pace worthy of a hard-working politician in an election year. On the two days before the election alone, the executive made seven speeches in praise of Carpenter's benevolence; the speeches were made at different plant locations between shifts. In addition, the plant's 2,000-odd workers were bombarded with letters, bulletin-board messages and posters alleging all the advantages of nonunionism. Masterminding the campaign was a recently hired lawyer whose specialty is labor.

All this effort, which sharply contrasts with the company's relatively lethargic counterattack in 1956, helps point up an important new development on the management-labor front. Increasingly, companies are putting up a real battle against the organizing attempts of unions. And increasingly, as the recent election at Carpenter suggests, management is scoring a smashing victory—without any recourse to illegal measures but by the sort of hard campaigning carried on by Mr. Moxon.

"Greatest Organizing Campaign"

Management's stiffening resistance comes in the wake of what one AFL-CIO official calls "the greatest union organizing campaign of the century." Union membership, after declining for years, began to rise again in 1962. Whether this rise will continue, many labor analysts believe, hinges in large part on who mounts the most persuasive election campaigns in coming months, union organizers or management.

Testimony that management is putting up a stronger fight comes from the union organ-

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Testimony that management is putting up a stronger fight comes from the union organizers themselves. "Employers have become very crafty and resourceful in resisting unions," reports Elmer Chatak, an AFL-CIO organizer. James M. Pierce, another AFL-CIO organizer with responsibilities in the South, worries over increasing management "sophistication" in organizing battles and attributes this development to "a few union-busting law firms and a few anti-union consultants who have made a specialty" of advising companies on ways to keep unions out.

The increasing attention executives are paying to keeping unions out also shows up at meetings arranged by the American Association of Industrial Management, an employers' group set up to "develop and preserve sound industrial relations." Its periodic discussions of unions, including ways to "combat union organizing drives," nowadays draw upward of 1,000 executives, reports an official of the nonprofit association. As recently as 1963, she recalls, similar discussions attracted barely 400 executives, on the average.

Similarly, Patrick B. Comer, Jr., a Greensboro, N.C., management consultant who specializes in union matters, says the circulation of his semimonthly bulletin on such matters as how to defeat union organizing efforts has more than doubled since 1960. And the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry reports a "nationwide interest" in its 15-page 1964 pamphlet entitled "What to Do When the Union Calls." After the first printing of 500 copies was quickly sold out, the Chicago association hurriedly ran off three more printings and by now has sold "over 4,000 copies" at $1.50 each, "a good portion outside of Chicago," says a spokesman.

Long-Range Measures

In addition to such concerted pre-election tactics as Carpenter's recent campaign here, many companies increasingly are turning to long-range measures to thwart union organizers.

Some corporations, for instance, are overhauling the type of information they periodically give employes. Typically, Carpenter has changed its house organ so that personnel notes are relegated to the rear and financial data and important corporate moves are featured. The company also takes care to publicize situations in which Carpenter employes are doing better than comparable steelworkers under union contract.

An official of a medium-sized Pennsylvania manufacturer that has defeated two organizing drives attributes these successes partly to a series of monthly meetings between company executives and small employe groups. The discussions cover everything from the concern's pay structure to its production methods. "The subject of unions comes up regularly," says the official, "and we make our position known."

There can be no charge that management is selecting specific employes for anti-union pressure, he contends, because the conferences are set up without regard to whether a labor election is pending. Were the conferences bunched just before elections, the official says, union leaders might be able to bring a justifiable complaint to the National Labor Relations Board.

Some companies are cutting back on directories that bear the names and addresses of their employes. Such lists, according to consultant Comer, are "rare plums" for union organizers. He also warns companies to scrutinize any firms that volunteer to take care of mailing house organs and the like to employes; one such firm, he recalls, turned out

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Keeping Unions Out: Companies Fight Harder Against Organizers

Continued From Page One

to be located at a Southern AFL-CIO union hall.

Many firms are resorting increasingly to cloak-and-dagger methods to fend off unions. John Sheridan, a Chicago management consultant, tells of a small client company in Michigan that discovered its switchboard operator was monitoring executives' phone calls and passing information on to a union trying to organize the employes. The company started feeding phony plans for campaign letters over the phone and then sat back while the unionists worked to prepare letters to counter company propaganda that never materialized.

"Sometimes it's really a colossal game," says Mr. Sheridan, adding that "most of my clients have paper shredders in their waste baskets" to keep confidential information from reaching union organizers.

A Broad Counterattack

In some cases, management's counterattack ranges over a very broad front. When a Teamsters unit tried this fall to organize a Washington, D.C., manufacturer and distributor of mattresses and appliances, the president responded with a combination of letter-writing, the personal touch, some psychology and electronic gadgetry. He also armed himself with a profile of the Teamsters Union published by Employee Relations Counselors, Inc., a New York nonprofit group, and a Government guide to the Labor Relations Act. The official then went through the plant to talk with each employe and personally distributed leaflets and letters stating the company's objections to unionization.

In addition, the day before the balloting, he delivered a speech in which, he confesses, he "got pretty emotionally wound up." Long active in civil-rights activities, he identified himself with the aspirations of his employes, some 85% of whom are Negroes, by showing slides of himself in the August 1963 March on Washington for minority-group rights. Then, stressing that unions don't automatically deliver on their promises but must bargain, the executive played tape recordings of a bargaining session the company had with the Teamsters back in 1957, when the firm was unionized. The recordings, which were taped with the knowledge of the union bargainers, contained a considerable amount of talk by the unionists about deducting union dues from employes paychecks, according to the executive. The company won the election 45 to 21.

Many companies are trying harder to reach the families of their workers with campaign propaganda. In an effort to get its message into the home, Consolidated Aluminum Co., Jackson, Tenn., recently distributed a phonograph record of a plant manager's voice for home playing. "Believe me when I tell you you would make the worst mistake of your life if you gambled your entire future and the security of your job and the security of your family on wild union promises," warns the voice. "I see no reason why we should exchange our freedom for the control of union bosses." The plant, the company's new Johnsonville, Tenn., facility, rejected the organizers in an election held in September.

Horn & Hardart Co., a New York-based restaurant and bakery chain, has successfully fended off efforts to organize its food-production workers by turning the campaign spotlight on a union's internal troubles. In the past five years, most recently in September, the company has won five election battles from Local Three of the Bakery and Confectionary Workers International Union of America.

Using the McClellan Hearings

"The company doesn't want to see Local Three get in because of Local Three's association with the corruption and dishonesty of its international union, which was thrown out of the AFL-CIO," says a multi-lingual Horn & Hardart letter circulated shortly before the latest election. The company also circulated excerpts from McClellan Committee hearings on labor rackets with the suggestion that employes "read what Local Three won't tell you about the disgusting and disgraceful record of the international union to which it belongs." The company noted that Frank Dutto, president of Local Three, took the Fifth Amendment before the McClellan Committee when asked by the Senators whether he had been a member of the Communist Party before 1950.

No unfair practice charges have been filed on the latest election thus far. The union has attacked some similar tactics used by Horn & Hardart in 1964, but with no success to date.

Not surprisingly, most companies are reluctant to discuss their counter-organizing tactics, fearing such talk will make them special targets for unions in the future. "A union campaign can be a powder keg," comments Carpenter's Mr. Moxon, who doesn't like to talk about his company's recent victory here.

Adding to this reluctance is the fact the National Labor Relations Board's interpretation of labor law is constantly changing; what once may have been a legitimate tactic may subsequently be banned. Harvard Law School Professor Derek Bok claims the legal doctrine on union election campaigns "has traditionally been referred to as a prime example of instability in labor law." And the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry cautions businessmen that "the NLRB is not so predictable as to allow cataloging of permitted actions with any degree of certainty."

In many instances, to be sure, companies still resort to clearly illegal measures to keep unions out. NLRB records attest to this at length. The board reports more than 70% of all the cases it handles involve charges of illegal firing of employes for union organizing. Of course, not all such charges are well founded, but "given the high number of cases, there's probably something to the argument that men don't join unions because of employer discrimination," says Bernard Samoff, the NLRB's Philadelphia regional director.

The board reports that unfair labor practice charges filed against employers in the year ended last June 30 totaled 10,931, up slightly from 10,695 in fiscal 1964. These are only charges, it should be stressed, not findings; the NLRB compiles no record of findings.

Organizing, South

1/29/66 AFL-CIO News

Unit of 800:

Hotel Union Wins New Orleans Vote

New Orleans—The Hotel & Restaurant Employes won bargaining rights for more than 800 workers at a famous Deep South hotel here—the Roosevelt—after two closely-contested National Labor Relations Board elections.

Workers in the 900-room hostelry chose the union, 365 to 338 for no union, with 23 challenged ballots not sufficient to change the runoff result. The vote in an earlier election had been 340 for the union, 251 no union, 141 for the expelled Teamsters and one challenged ballot.

The long-unorganized hotel was sold by Seymour Weiss, former owner, during the organizing campaign. New owners, the Swig interests, staged a strong anti-union campaign whose edge was blunted with the aid of Hotel & Restaurant Employes representatives from other cities where the same management has union contracts.

Among them, Dir. of Organization Charles Paulsen said, was Pres. Joseph Belardi of the San Francisco AFL-CIO, who gave details of the contracts under which employes operate at two other Swig hotels—the Fairmont in San Francisco and the Mission Inn at Riverside, Calif.

Belardi spoke at several employe meetings here during the campaign. He heads the hotel union's San Francisco Joint Board.

Only two other local hotels had been organized before the vote at the Roosevelt — the Sheraton Charles and the Sheraton Delta, formerly the Claibourne Towers.

All Roosevelt departments are included in the bargaining unit—the housekeeping, front desk, food and beverage, laundry, maintenance and front office staffs. The Roosevelt has many Negro and white workers and, said Williams, "we organized them together." The workers will form one local union.

Paulsen said his organizers had the "fullest cooperation" of the AFL-CIO regional office staff headed by Dir. E. H. Williams.

Gypsum Pact Ends Walkout Of 168 Days

Fort Dodge, Ia.—A settlement called one of the best in the gypsum industry was won here after a 168-day strike by Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers Local 6-503.

The strikers voted Jan. 16 to accept a three-year contract offer including wage hikes of 4.5, 3 and 3 percent in each year of the pact; a wage escalator tied to the cost-of-living index; and a pension plan effective in 1967.

The cost-of-living escalator clause was a major union objective in a plant where wages have long been substandard, OCAW Intl. Rep. Ernest J. Toth reported.

Other gains included a major medical plan, improved sickness and accident payments, life insurance, accelerated vacations and other benefits.

Assistance from the local labor movement and the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept. were called major factors in the strike's success.

Organizing – South. Ala.

ILGWU SE News

December Election Victories Bring In 400

Jan - Feb/64

Ala. Genesco Workers Vote Yes

The ILGWU won an election December 22 at Hobco Mfg. Co., a division of Genesco, in Hobson City, Ala. The company has continued to commit unfair labor practices and to try to delay negotiations for a contract.

After refusing to recognize the Union, the company tried to stall an election and, when the Union won by a vote of 60 to 49, the company petitioned to have the election set aside on the grounds that the ILGWU had injected "racial hatred" into the campaign. The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., had endorsed the ILG in a telegram to the employees, all of whom are Negroes.

The day of the election, after the votes were counted, the company laid off two thirds of its employees. They were called back the next day.

In a speech the day before the election, a company vice-president told the employees he would rather see Hobson City be nothing but sand and rocks again than have a union and reminded them that they could thank Genesco for all their cars and wigs and clothes. He held up an angry picture of ILG President David Dubinsky and asked "Is this who you want to represent you?"

Regional Director Martin Morand told a meeting of Hobson City workers in early January, "This company is trying to delay its *inevitable* legal responsibility to deal with the Union. Nothing could be more ridiculous than to accuse the ILGWU of using racial hatred."

Southeast Regional Counsel Jack G. Handler is defending the Union against the company's legal attempts to delay negotiations.

Tenn. Workers Vote ILG, File Charges

The ILG won an election Dec. 3 at Cherokee Sportswear in Madisonville, Tenn., filed unfair labor practice charges Dec. 27, and began negotiations with the company Jan. 7.

The election victory, 127 to 111, followed a campaign marked by discriminatory layoffs, threats to blackball union sympathizers and to close the plant, surveillance, promises of benefits for abandoning the union, and other illegal pressures on the workers.

HAPPY ABOUT SOMETHING — The Cherokee negotiating committee includes Benny Dansavage, David Russell, Nick Bonanno, Annie Rae Cole, Pearl Prince, and Clifton Foxx. Alene Moser is not shown.

Business Agent Carl Stafford, who went into Madisonville to offer ILG representation to the employees who had tried to join the Steelworkers, described the conditions in the plant: "Most of them were making $1.25; just a few made more. They were all on time work until the Union came around and the company started putting in piece rates. The company's been dictatorial, with favorites and no grievance procedure and no job security. These people are more interested in improving their working conditions than anything else."

Negotiating for the Cherokee workers are Southeast Assistant Director Nick Bonanno, Stafford, Organizing Coordinator Benny Dansavage, a committee of workers: Clifton Foxx, Pearl Prince, Annie Rae Cole, David Russell, and Alene Moser.

Maddin

Org - South

The Machinist 3/3/66

Annual Report

Union gains in South

Members of IAM District 75, Daleville, Ala., helped to bring union benefits to the employees of four more Southern firms during the past year.

A report of the year's activities in the district's newsletter, *Wiregrass Labor News*, shows that the union was won by employees at the Page Automatic Data Processing Center, Daleville; at Page Aircraft Co. for headquarters and clerical personnel; at the Dothan Paper Box Co., Dothan; and at Republic Aviation, Inc., Crestview, Fla.

Ted Maddin, union representative, reports that it is the first time that employees at Dothan, Ala., have won the IAM as their union.

New contracts covering employees at these firms have already been ratified.

Another new contract was negotiated for employees at the Hayes International Corp., Napier Field, Ala. The three-year contract, ratified after a strike of nearly three weeks, provides pay raises, hospital insurance benefits and other improvements.

Here are other highlights from the District 75 report:

- IAM Lodge 2003, Daleville, organized its own credit union. In just one year, membership in the credit union has grown to 300. Capital invested already totals more than $8,000.

- IAM Ladies Auxiliary 466 contributed much to the welfare of district members during the year. They assisted pickets during the strike at Hayes International Corp. They started a food bank to help needy families in the district area.

- IAM Lodge 42, Crestview, Fla., conducted its own school for officers and stewards with the assistance of Grand Lodge Rep. W. C. Clitheroe. Three district members attended the advanced Machinist Leadership School held at the University of Texas.

The report concludes with a discussion of the importance of the IAM Scholarship Program. District lodges were urged to support and increase support of the program so more IAM scholarships can be provided.

Vietnam Labor Fund

Want to help the South Vietnamese labor movement complete a welfare center and school for hard-hit families and children of union members? Send a dollar to Vietnam Labor Fund, Machinists Bldg., Washington, D.C. 20036. Make check or money order payable to Matthew DeMore, Secretary-Treasurer.

Big Wage Hike Sought in Va. At Planters

SUFFOLK, Va.—Local 26 will ask for a $2 an hour minimum wage in renewal talks for its 1,500 members at the Planters Peanut Co. here, which open March 11.

The local's present two-year contract, which expires in early May, provides a plant-wide minimum of $1.50 an hour.

In addition to the 50-cent boost in the minimum, the local will seek a 50-cent across-the-board wage increase and classification boosts for 200 to 300 workers. The present range in the plant is from $1.50 to $2.58.

The union will also propose improvements in pensions, health plan coverage, vacations and holidays. Employees presently get one week's vacation after 1,440 hours (about nine months) of service and two weeks after five years, and six holidays.

Reg. Dir. Irving Lebold, Vice-Pres. Lee Ray, Sec.-Treas. Robbie Mae Riddick, Org. Alfred Bailey and Parker will head the local's bargaining committee at Planters.

The company turns out a variety of peanut products, and is a subsidiary of the giant Standard Brands corporation.

The day after the Planters negotiations open, the local will start renewal talks on behalf of 150 members at the Suffolk Peanut Co.

Talks Slow Down, Strike Looming At Memphis Plant

MEMPHIS, Tenn. — Negotiations for a first contract for 50 employees of the National Manufacturing Co. here have come to a virtual standstill, and the possibility of strike action is being considered by the workers, members of Local 19.

"If there are no gains, we're going to have a strike," said Earl Fisher, Local 19 president. "The company hasn't changed its attitude since it tried to beat the union during our organizing drive."

Outstanding issues in the contract talks include the low wages, as many rates of pay as there are employees, the absence of a grievance procedure, and no vacations for Negro employees.

"The National workers understand now to what extent the company was working against them," said Fisher, "and they're ready to strike if necessary."

Union Helps Her Win $400 In Jobless Pay

PLYMOUTH, Fla.—With the help of her union, Local 1025, Henrietta Miller has won $400 in unemployment compensation.

After Mrs. Miller, a packer at Plymouth Citrus Growers Ass'n, was laid off last spring, she applied for unemployment compensation. An examiner held that she was not eligible, but Mrs. Miller went to Local Pres. Roy Jernegan and Int'l Rep. Harry Bush, who sent her to Nelson B. Stephens of the Tampa law firm of Hardee, Ott & Hamilton.

Stephens appealed the ruling to the compensation commission's board of review, and won a reversal of the examiner's findings, which brought Mrs. Miller $400.

"There are many things a union can help a member with other than job security, wages and working conditions," Bush said, "and Mrs. Miller's story illustrates one of them."

Big Ala. Shop Vows Fair Talks

GREENSBORO, Ala.—Big changes are taking place these days, and the RWDSU Alabama Council is playing its part in bringing them about. Several months after the owners of Massengale Poultry Co. tried to run Org. Henry Jenkins out of town, the company began honest-to-goodness negotiations with the Council for a first contract.

The opening of talks for 300 workers at Massengale Feb. 26 is the first set of negotiations that the Council has begun in the Selma-Greensboro area, where it has won five NLRB elections and organized 500 workers since August.

"It's newsworthy that we won a lot of elections over the past eight months," Ass't Southern Dir. Frank Parker said, "but now we are going to bring the fruits of the organizing campaigns to the workers."

The union has scheduled March 24 for the opening of negotiations for a first contract with the management of the Stuart, King & McKenzie wholesale grocery in Selma.

The union will also open talks shortly with the Henry Brick Co., where it won an NLRB election in November.

But the change in employer attitudes is most obvious at Massengale. At the time of the vote there in November, a gang of men believed to be Klansmen tried to frighten Jenkins into leaving town, and one man put something, at first believed to be a bomb, under the hood of his car. For 12 hours the gang kept Jenkins trapped in a minister's house, and it took the assistance of the Alabama Highway Patrol to get him out of town safely. The object placed under the car's hood turned out to be bottles of liquor, intended to frame Jenkins on a charge quite serious in Alabama.

Four months later, Massengale co-owner Charles Massengale sat down at the bargaining table, across from Jenkins, Org. John Parker and the shop committee, and said: "I think the union is best for me and for the people."

At the first session the company agreed to a dues check-off and to several other proposals, and said that it would have counter-proposals to present to the union within two weeks.

Also bargaining for the RWDSU members at Massengale are Mattie Miles, Andrew Holifield, Rosie Holifield, Jessie Dixon and Johnny Wilson.

ORGANIZING BOX SCORE

7th Shop Organized in Selma

SELMA, Ala.—A petition has been filed for an election among the 30 employees of the Central City Laundry and Dry Cleaning Co. in town, Org. Henry Jenkins announced. Central City is the seventh shop organized in the Selma area in the organizing drive which began last May.

The first contacts with the laundry's employees were made by workers at the Stuart-King and Coca-Cola plants, where the RWDSU won recent elections. Jenkins met with some of the Central City workers Feb. 24, and again on Feb. 27. One day later, having signed up 25 of the 30 employees, Jenkins notified the employer, and on March 1 filed his petition. The signed workers are all Negroes, the remaining five or six are white.

In this day and age, the Negro employees work 51 hours a week, and their pay runs from $17.50 to $20 a week. Some have worked at their jobs from 20 to 30 years, with no fringe benefits, no coffee breaks, and are permitted only 30 minutes for lunch.

Ga. Bakery Election Win Seen

AUGUSTA, Ga.—On March 18, the NLRB will be counting ballots in Augusta, and the RWDSU is counting on another victory as 150 employees at the Claussen Bakery cast their votes in a board-ordered election.

"With over 90 percent of the employees signed up, we're sure we have this wrapped up," said James Dickinson, RWDSU representative, who is heading the drive.

The election, the result of a recent board decision, crushes a last-ditch effort by Claussen to block the union with an "appropriate unit" squabble. The bakery is located in downtown Augusta, the seat of a long cherished tradition of anti-unionism.

In an unusual provision to accommodate 17 of the firm's 38 driver-salesmen who are stationed out-of-town at distances of up to 150 miles, the balloting will be held in two phases. The out-of-town drivers will vote by mail, with a return deadline of March 17 (the ballots will be mailed to them March 3), and regular employees—cake and bread production workers—will vote the next day.

50 at Peanut Plant Join in Va.

NORFOLK, Va.—Local 26 has petitioned the NLRB for an election among the 50 production and maintenance workers of the Old Dominion Peanut Corp., manufacturers of peanut and other hard candies. The hearing date on the petition has not yet been set, but with 45 signed cards Local Pres. Lock Parker has no worries about the outcome.

Organizing of the employees began about 3½ months ago through one of the local's members who knew several Old Dominion workers. Later, house visits were made, all in perfect secrecy, with the company unaware of the campaign.

The force of 50 workers expands to about 100 during the peak season of June-August, and is composed of about 90 percent Negroes, mainly women.

The prevailing wage rates are $1.25 an hour for women and $1.35 for the men, with just a few of the most skilled men, cookers and machine operators, earning $1.70 an hour. The women work very hard, often having to lift 125-pound bags of peanuts. They have to cook, roll out and cut the candy, work which is almost always performed by men at the Planter's factory in Suffolk, where the union represents the employees. At Old Dominion there are no vacations for the workers, no holidays, and no regard for seniority at layoff time. They do get a Christmas bonus—from $10 to a munificent $40.

The organizing campaign is headed by Org. Alfred Bailey and Parker.

5-Cent Raise Won At Ga. Cotton Oil Co.

MACON, Ga.—Twenty-eight members of Local 315, employees of the Southern Cotton Oil Co., a division of Hunt's Foods, have successfully negotiated a one-year wage reopener.

The agreement, effective March 20, calls for a five-cent across-the-board hourly increase and provides for reclassification of two jobs, which will bring an additional two-cent hourly increase to some of the Southern employees. The workers process cotton seed for food products.

"I WANT TO HAVE EVERYTHING PUT IN MY WIFE'S NAME"

* * Wall St Jnl

NON-UNION WAGES outgain union pay, Federal officials find. 3/8/66

Government data indicate non-union pay raises were the fatter last year, reversing a pattern of several years. Federal experts point to the Southern textile industry's third round of pay boosts in 18 months as a sample of the non-union trend. Explanations for the increases: New cotton subsidies to the mills, increased union organizing pressures, more difficulties in recruiting mill labor.

Non-union pay increases this year are thought likely to be fatter than 1965's, too. Contributing factors: More flexibility for non-union employers to change rates to compete for labor, plus the impact on pocketbooks of higher living costs and a new social security tax bite.

Organizing - South

Initial Federal data for 1966 show pay for some occupations rising faster in less organized areas than for the same occupations in highly unionized territory.

* * *

The Machinist 3/10/6

Mississippi test site votes IAM, 168 to 38

Organizing - Miss.

McKimmey

The men and women who will run NASA's 142,000-acre rocket test facility in Southwest Mississippi have won the IAM as their union, IAM Vice President Eugene D. Glover reports. The campaign was directed by Grand Lodge Rep. Vernon McKimmey.

The Mississippi test site, near Gainesville, will perform the initial static tests on all future space projects beginning with the giant Saturn V launch vehicles to be used in the Apollo lunar landing mission.

Five contractors will maintain the site. Each was a separate voting unit in the recent Labor Board election. The results:

M & T Co. (Utilities) 24 for IAM, 3 against, 6 challenged.

H. R. Morgan Contracting Co. (Custodial) 34 for IAM, 8 for South Central Mississippi Metal Trades Council, 6 against.

James N. Travirca (roads), 44 for IAM, 1 for South Central Mississippi Metal Trades Council, 10 against.

Southern Cafeteria, 40 for IAM, 0 for South Central Mississippi Metal Trades Council, 1 void.

Space Services International (mechanical maintenance) 26 for IAM, 0 for IBEW, 3 against.

Also assisting in the organizing were Grand Lodge Reps. A. T. Adams and W. W. Fitzgerald, H. E. Higgins, Jr., union representative for IAM Lodge 405 and D. E. McClenahan of Lodge 405, New Orleans.

Answer to brain twister: Two. Bill drove 5,000 miles, then took off two tires and put on two spares. After another 5,000 miles, he changed again, replacing the two which had used up 10,000 miles with the two he took off first. At this point. all four tires had 5,000 miles left.

Organizing South

AFL-CIO News 3/12/66

UAW Wins Election At Georgia 'Runaway'

Hartwell, Ga.—The Auto Workers, "buried" in effigy in a public ceremony here three years ago, came back to win a National Labor Relations Board election at the plant of the runaway Monroe Auto Equipment Co.

The vote was 342-264 in a repeat election. A previous loss by a 466-147 margin in 1964 had been set aside by the NLRB because of management and community interference.

The local plant originally came here as a runaway operation from Monroe, Mich., where UAW Local 878 had represented workers for many years. When six union organizers showed up to handbill the local plant in 1963, the UAW reported, company foremen rounded up a gang of men who roughed them up and warned them to "clear out or be killed."

The burial incident occurred during a later visit of the organizers.

The governor of Georgia, the State Highway Patrol and county officials had been warned of possible violence and were asked to provide protection. But police and deputy sheriffs made no move to intervene, the UAW said, when the union men were attacked by a rock-throwing, club-wielding crowd of 150 company partisans.

Leaflets were seized and burned and the organizers were threatened, cursed, and called "Communists" and "NAACPers," they reported, and when they refused to leave they were pushed, pummeled and kicked up a hill toward watching police.

UAW Vice Pres. Pat Greathouse, one of the six who were driven out of Hartwell, recalled that "we promised we'd be back."

The UAW did come back frequently, reinforced by members working in other Georgia plants, and obtained enough signatures to petition for an election, held July 23, 1964. The vote went heavily against the union, but the NLRB agreed that the company-community campaign had been unfair and ordered a new election.

On the day of the second election, a UAW representative reported, "the town paper printed a slanted editorial," a local clergyman "prayed against us on the radio," and a Viet Nam veteran, on leave from his job in the factory, "made a speech saying he was fighting the Communists in Asia and came home to fight them here, too."

This time the tactics didn't work, UAW Rep. Lew Eccles observed.

"We didn't run for cover—we stood up to fight," he said. "The workers sort of admire guts."

Retail-Wholesale Union Wins 5 Selma Votes

Selma, Ala.—The Retail, Wholesale & Dept. Store Union has won five consecutive representation elections in six months in the Selma area, scene of historic civil rights demonstrations.

Nearly all of the newly-organized workers are Negroes, the union reported.

Organizing South

TWUA Spurs Campaign in Southern Mills

Charlotte, N. C.—The Textile Workers Union of America will expand its already intensive organizing activities in the Carolinas and Georgia, TWUA Pres. William Pollock announced here.

The expansion, Pollock told southeastern regional staff members at a meeting, is in response to appeals from southern workers "saddled with low wages and deprived of modern fringe benefits" at a time when the industry is reporting "record-shattering profits."

He called the industry's failure to share its profits "inexcusable" because, he said:

- Textile net income was 42 percent higher for the first nine months of 1965 than for the same period in 1964—more than twice the average U.S. rise for corporations.
- Textile companies averaged $1,500 a year profit before taxes for each production worker.
- The industry is operating at 99 percent of capacity with huge backlogs of orders, and some goods sold out a year in advance.
- Worker productivity rose by 64 percent more than the average of all workers in 1965 but wages now lag about $30 a week behind the national manufacturing average.

Textile Workers To Step Up Campaign In Southern Mills

Carolina Labor 3/13/66

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3/19/66 Organizing

Kircher Analyzes Problems:

Changing Workforce Poses New Organizing Challenges

"Vast changes" in American society and the makeup of the workforce pose "new challenges" to the labor movement, declared William L. Kircher, recently named director of organization for the AFL-CIO.

Kircher uses no rose-colored glasses in his analysis of labor's organizing problems, appearing in the March issue of the American Federationist.

He acknowledges the obstacles to union growth, including a contraction of the blue collar workforce and an expansion of employment in fields where unions have been weak. But he is convinced that these obstacles can be overcome, that the labor movement can and will continue to grow.

The claim that workers no longer need or want unions, Kircher declares, is "pure hogwash." Employers obviously don't think so, he points out, because they're spending vast sums to keep unions out.

As a starting point, he asks his fellow trade unionists to take a new look at the men and women they are trying to organize.

They're mostly young, the "baby boom" of postwar years come of working age.

They have no memory of the depression era, of the great labor struggles and triumphs of the late thirties and early forties.

What's more, they're not greatly interested.

The answer, Kircher is convinced, is not to try to give a short course in labor history to the workers you're trying to organize. "Hardly anyone joined unions in the late thirties and early forties just because the Knights of Labor had a difficult time," he points out.

As far as today's young worker is concerned, "before he accepts unionism, he is going to have to recognize it as a helpful method of getting at the things bothering him today."

One of the facts unions today must face, Kircher notes, is the changed economic conditions of the typical worker.

"Many, if not most, paychecks are committed before they are received. The worker who is meeting house payments, television payments, car payments, education bills, etc., is in hock so far in advance that he is apprehensive about anything that might rock his personal economic boat. The forces who are not interested in seeing unions grow do a fairly good job of equating unionism with boat-rocking."

Linked to this is the propaganda effort of employers to portray unionism as an institution, rather than as a movement of people, Kircher declares.

"The greatest thrust of the management resistance campaign," he writes, "is the effort to psychologically separate the worker from the union, to make him think of the union as a third-party entity. It is almost as though the employer would like the worker to sit up in the grandstand while management fights the union."

To organize successfully, he says, unions must develop "methods of penetrating the network of fear and misunderstanding that has been carefully woven around workers' attitudes toward unions."

There is no general "recipe" for organizing, he points out, because "organizing is a personal business" . . . the two-way communication between a union member and a non-member.

Help Available

But the resources for organizing successfully are available, Kircher emphasizes. There are the 128 national and international unions in the AFL-CIO which can "beef up" their organizing efforts. There are the 60,000 local unions, many with offices, meeting halls and fulltime personnel. There are some 800 local central bodies and 50 state bodies, six national departments of the AFL-CIO and many subordinate councils.

"It should be utterly impossible to look at the broad network of union representation spread over this nation and the vast source of talent and energy that it contains and shrink from the union growth challenge as an unattainable task," Kircher declares.

Added to these factors, he notes, is "the unique effectiveness of collective bargaining itself as a means of meeting the needs of workers." When workers see in unions the embodiment of the collective bargaining process "and at the same time understand their role in directing this process toward their problems, they become very firm in their determination to organize."

3-20-66

'Buried' Union Comes Back To Win Georgia NLRB Vote

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Organizing
RWDS 21
3/20/66

Unions - Fla.

MAR 2 5 1966

ST. PETERSBURG TIMES

Union Board Backs Hoffa

MIAMI BEACH (AP) — Teamster Union president James R. Hoffa, troubled by two federal court convictions, has won a resounding vote of confidence from the union's executive board.

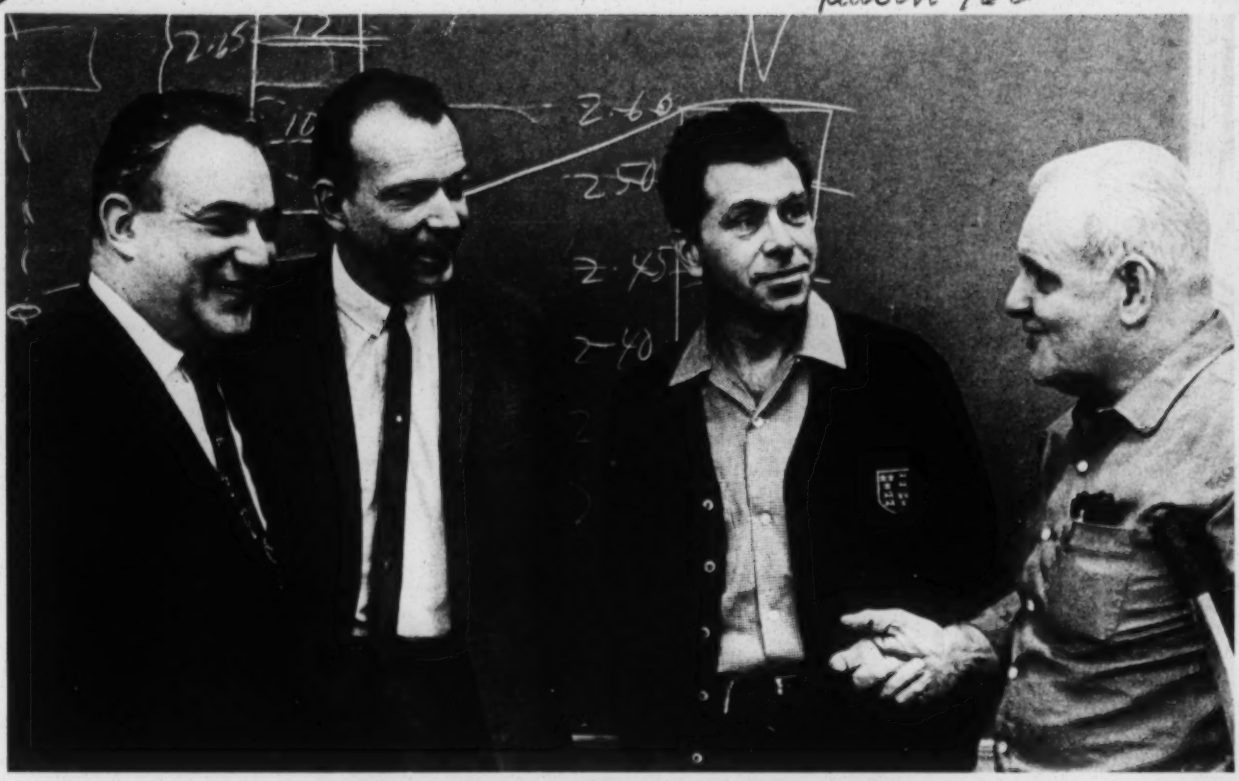
At a meeting in Miami Beach Wednesday, the board roared its approval of Hoffa's candidacy to succeed himself as president and continue drawing his $75,000-a-year salary.

"Brother Hoffa is still in the ball game," the union leader quipped. "You can bet your britches he is."

The executive board also voted to endorse itself for reelection in the July 4 balloting by the 1.7-million member union at Miami Beach.

Hoffa is appealing convictions for jury tampering and for fraudulently negotiating loans from the Teamsters' pension fund. Should the convictions stand, he could serve 13 years in prison.

Union News
March 1960



Guernsey Draws Laugh

Drawing a chuckle with one of his wry comments during a brief recess at the NILE Southern Staff Institute is George Guernsey, right, associate director of the AFL-CIO education department and a co-director of the institute.

Enjoying Guernsey's talk are, from left, Donald Slaiman, director, AFL-CIO Civil Rights department; Hugh B. Owen, OCAW international representative in District 3 and Anthony R. Hodnick, OCAW Education Department international representative. Third NILE institute was held in Athens, Ga., Jan. 16-22.

Bias Hamstrings Dixie Organizing, NILE Class Told

Discrimination against Negroes and poorly-timed drives have hurt labor union organizing efforts in the South, students at the third National Institute of Labor Education (NILE) were told.

Ray Marshall, of the University of Texas department of economics, made the claims in his classes. And students agreed with him, OCAW Education Department Intl. Rep. Anthony Hodnick reported.

Hodnick and Intl. Rep. Hugh B. Owen of District 3 attended the NILE sessions held at the University of Georgia in Athens, Ga.

Students also heard Marshall's theory of why Southern workers do not stick together. "His reasons should provide helpful information to organizers," Hodnick said.

Marshall said organizing efforts launched immediately after World War II and during the 1949 recession period were poorly timed. In covering "A History of Southern Unionists," he also made these points:

- The labor movement in the South will never reach its full membership potential while racial discrimination is allowed.
- The Negro has not been too willing to join labor unions.
- The AFL-type unions have been more successful organizing in the South than CIO unions.

Other courses Hodnick attended and reported on included one in speed reading conducted by Professor Hazel Simpson of the University of Georgia, and one on the new Civil Rights Bill led by Donald Slaiman, AFL-CIO Civil Rights department director.

George Guernsey, AFL-CIO Education Department associate director, was co-director of the institute.

Civic Gang-Up

How A Southern Community Helped To Break A Union

The story of how a community can be used to gang up on a trade union and help destroy it has been graphically illustrated in the southwestern Arkansas town of Hamburg. This community of 2,904 wanted industry, but not decent wages or conditions for those workers who might come with it.

In 1961 the businessmen of Hamburg, who sought industry, made a deal with Bernstein & Son Shirt Corp. which had a plant in Mississippi to set up a new plant in Hamburg. The plan called for the issuance of $300,000 in bonds to build a factory and to cover the cost of training local workers.

Everything went according to plan until an organizer for the Amalgamated Garment Workers signed up 92 out of 123 rank-and-file employes and asked for collective bargaining recognition. From that time on the battle was on.

NOT ONLY DID the Bernstein Co. and its local manager oppose the union, but the leaders of the local community also set out to break the union. According to testimony submitted to a Trial Examiner for the National Labor Relations Board "various businessmen of Hamburg conducted an anti-union campaign."

One of them "enlisted the services of his brother-in-law, Rev. Raymond Carpenter, minister of the Gardner Baptist Church and assistant postmaster of Hamburg, to speak to members of his church."

The Rev. Carpenter visited 10 of his parishioners who were workers at the factory "and asked them to vote against the union."

SOME OF THE prominent businessmen of the town visited other workers and told them that Bernstein would never accept the union, that he would shut down the plant and that the businessmen of Hamburg would lose the money they had put to get the plant for the town.

One of them was asked by a union worker why the plant would have to close down. He pointed out that other plants had unions and got along all right. The businessman, according to the NLRB report, "did not answer."

Two days before the election the "Ashly County Leader" which is published in Hamburg pushed up its publication date by one day "so that it would have an impact on the forthcoming election." It had a front page editorial urging the workers to vote "No" so as to keep the plant in Hamburg.

INSIDE WAS A full-page advertisement. "The top half of the page was a cartoon showing a hand (labeled 'Amalgamated') holding an ax (labeled 'Union') poised as though to strike a goose (labeled 'Hamburg Shirt Corp.'). The goose is pictured sitting on a nest containing an egg (labeled 'Hamburg')". Below the cartoon in bold faced letters almost one inch high appeared the following:

"DON'T KILL THE GOOSE THAT LAID THE GOLDEN EGG."

An extra 100 copies of the paper were printed and distributed free at the shirt plant from a box placed on a picnic table used by the employes to eat their lunch.

Meanwhile, seven top union workers had been fired allegedly for incompetence. All in all the union got the works and lost the election 43 to 67 with eight ballots challenged and one void. More than half of its original card signers had been scared off by the anti-union campaign.

Now the NLRB has set aside the election, has ordered the Hamburg Shirt Co. to "cease and desist" from discouraging membership in the Amalgamated and has further ordered them to offer the seven illegally fired workers their old jobs and pay them back wages in the bargain.

Organizing – South

Borg-Warner in 'Right-to-Work' State

Strike Runaway Plant In Deep South

"Right to work" has a bitter twist for workers who are forced to go out on strike to earn a decent wage.

In Mississippi, one of those "R-T-W" states where low wages and the crawling economic and social development of the area have gone hand-in-hand, members of the USWA know the true meaning of open shop legislation.

Since Jan. 27, some 300 members of Local 1543, Atkins Saw Division of Borg-Warner, have been on strike in the Deep South city of Greenville, Miss. USWA Staff Representative William T. Edwards declares that the strike is one which can affect all workers in the area:

"The Atkins wages may compare with other industrial wages in Greenville—which is another way of saying that wages at Atkins are substandard and do not provide a decent living in 1966."

In 1961, the Borg-Warner Corp. moved its Atkins Saw Division from Indianapolis, Ind., to Greenville. Three-hundred members of USWA Local Union 1543 lost their jobs.

A NEW PLANT was built and turned over to the corporation by the taxpayers of Mississippi. Borg-Warner staffed the plant with Greenville workers and a few of the original members, paying all less than half the wages paid in Indianapolis.

In October of 1965, the USWA won representation rights by a vote of 180 to 146, after having lost two previous elections by close margins. A charter was issued and the new local assigned the old number, 1543.

Negotiations with Borg-Warner began on Dec. 3, 1965. It became obvious quickly that the corporation had not come to the table to do any serious bargaining. By Jan. 26, 1966, the corporation had still refused to offer a single item relating to either wages or benefits. It still refuses to either.

THE SHORT HISTORY of the new local with the old number has a strange and ironic twist as 300 bers of an old and honored local are trying to break out of the economic backwash of controlled area rates. It is a fight which involves every member of our union no matter where he lives. The low wage statistics of Mississippi and other Southern states gnaws away at the base of every bargaining table. The potential run-away plants know about Mississippi wages."

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THE SHORT HISTORY of the new local with the old number has a strange and ironic twist as 300 Greenville members struck the plant and 300 members remain on strike.

But there is still the tragic aspect, as 300 Indianapolis members lost good-paying jobs. Now, 300 Greenville members have struck because their wages are so low they cannot provide for their families even while working a regularly scheduled six-day week of nine and 10 hours per day. Edwards adds: "The new members of an old and honored local are trying to break out of the economic backwash of controlled area rates. It is a fight which involves every member of our union no matter where he lives. The low wage statistics of Mississippi and other Southern states gnaws away at the base of every bargaining table. The potential run-away plants know about Mississippi wages."

On the Cover

Executive Board members of USWA Local 1543 at the Greenville, Miss., plant of Atkins Saw Division, Borg-Warner Corp., man the picket lin in the picture on page one. Front row, from left: C. R. Little, vice president; Mary Francis Smith, recording secretary; Harold Perminter, trustee; John A. Fortier, financial secretary; Tommy R. Lemons, trustee. Back row from right to left: Lewis H. Clayton, original member with 25 years' service with Atkins Saw; Clayton W. Moss, Jr., president; W. T. Edwards, staff representative; Carl E. Pittman, guard; O. J. Spurgeon, guard; Rufus H. Brooks, treasurer; Junior Guy, standing in for Curtis Martin, guide and Harry E. Allen, trustee.

State's Greatest Export

"Right-to-work" advocates in Mississippi have claimed that the open shop state has attracted "industrial development" (read runaway plants). A more profound observation has come from a University of Mississippi student, Robert Boyd, during a television debate on Section 14(b). Said Boyd: *"It is no accident that Mississippi's greatest export is skilled labor."*

GREAT GAINS for the members of Steelworkers Local Union 6918 were included in the contract recently signed (above) with R. Hoe & Co. in Birmingham, Ala.—with a total wage increase of no less than 48.7 cents per hour over the life of the three-year agreement. Staff Representative Maurice R. Allen reports the new pact to be "one of the best we have ever signed" in District 36. Other provisions call for one week vacation after six months service, two weeks after one year; 10 per cent over the hourly rate for shift differentials; three additional holidays, for a total of eight; Blue Cross-Blue Shield hospitalization paid by the company; life insurance from $1,000 up, computed on length of service and rate of pay. Seen here at the contract signing are: seated, left to right, Vincent F. Regan, secretary and personnel director of R. Hoe & Co., and USWA Representative Allen; standing—Horace W. Ward, Felton Harris and Vincent Zukowski, all members of the Negotiating Committee. The members of Local 6918 voted themselves into the Steelworkers on Oct. 28, 1965. Their contract was made retroactive to Nov. 1, 1965.

Two Volunteer State USWA Locals Gain New Contracts

Two new contract settlements—one a first—were recently completed for Steelworker local unions in District 35, reports Staff Representative R. E. Starnes from Johnson City, Tenn.

At Abingdon, Va., members of USWA Local 6891 ratified their first agreement with the Hapco Division of Kearney-National. Contract benefits included a nine cents per hour across-the-board wage increase, improved grievance procedure, gains in insurance programs, better over-time pay provisions, strengthened seniority rights and improved vacation programs. Bargaining Committee were George Schilbe, local president, Richard Musick, Ronnie Groseclose, George Owens, Paul Faw.

At Bristol Metal Products, Bristol, Tenn., members of Local 4586 gained a new three-year contract providing wage increases of 4.5 per cent in 1966, six cents in 1967 and six cents more in 1968, plus improvements in the insurance program and important changes in contract language. Bargaining Committee included Ben Price, local union president, Charles Ray, Marvin Cantor, Kelly McCall, William Dixon.

Representative Starnes assisted in the negotiation of both contracts.

Civic Gang-Up

How A Southern Community Helped To Break A Union

The story of how a community can be used to gang up on a trade union and help destroy it has been graphically illustrated in the southwestern Arkansas town of Hamburg. This community of 2,904 wanted industry, but not decent wages or conditions for those workers who might come with it.

In 1961 the businessmen of Hamburg, who sought industry, made a deal with Bernstein & Son Shirt Corp. which had a plant in Mississippi to set up a new plant in Hamburg. The plan called for the issuance of $300,000 in bonds to build a factory and to cover the cost of training local workers.

Everything went according to plan until an organizer for the Amalgamated Garment Workers signed up 92 out of 123 rank-and-file employes and asked for collective bargaining recognition. From that time on the battle was on.

NOT ONLY DID the Bernstein Co. and its local manager oppose the union, but the leaders of the local community also set out to break the union. According to testimony submitted to a Trial Examiner for the National Labor Relations Board "various businessmen of Hamburg conducted an anti-union campaign."

One of them "enlisted the services of his brother-in-law, Rev. Raymond Carpenter, minister of the Gardner Baptist Church and assistant postmaster of Hamburg, to speak to members of his church."

The Rev. Carpenter visited 10 of his parishioners who were workers at the factory "and asked them to vote against the union."

SOME OF THE prominent businessmen of the town visited other workers and told them that Bernstein would never accept the union, that he would shut down the plant and that the businessmen of Hamburg would lose the money they had put to get the plant for the town.

One of them was asked by a union worker why the plant would have to close down. He pointed out that other plants had unions and got along all right. The businessman, according to the NLRB report, "did not answer."

Two days before the election the "Ashly County Leader" which is published in Hamburg pushed up its publication date by one day "so that it would have an impact on the forthcoming election." It had a front page editorial urging the workers to vote "No" so as to keep the plant in Hamburg.

INSIDE WAS A full-page advertisement. "The top half of the page was a cartoon showing a hand (labeled 'Amalgamated') holding an ax (labeled 'Union') poised as though to strike a goose (labeled 'Hamburg Shirt Corp.'). The goose is pictured sitting on a nest containing an egg (labeled 'Hamburg')". Below the cartoon in bold faced letters almost one inch high appeared the following:

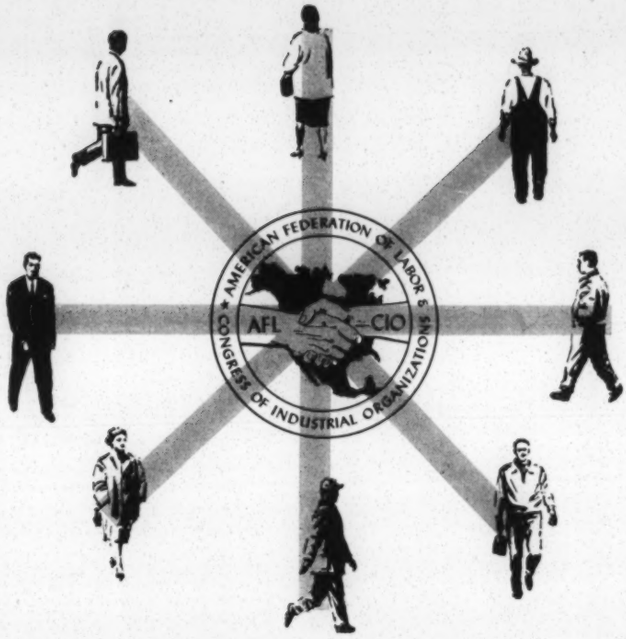
"DON'T KILL THE GOOSE THAT LAID THE GOLDEN EGG."

An extra 100 copies of the paper were printed and distributed free at the shirt plant from a box placed on a picnic table used by the employes to eat their lunch.

Meanwhile, seven top union workers had been fired allegedly for incompetence. All in all the union got the works and lost the election 43 to 67 with eight ballots challenged and one void. More than half of its original card signers had been scared off by the anti-union campaign.

Now the NLRB has set aside the election, has ordered the Hamburg Shirt Co. to "cease and desist" from discouraging membership in the Amalgamated and has further ordered them to offer the seven illegally fired workers their old jobs and pay them back wages in the bargain.

Labor — Organizing — South



The New Challenges To Organizing

by William L. Kircher

As the labor movement resumes its long-term growth, it faces unprecedented challenges in its organizing efforts. In a long and often turbulent history, trade unions have been broken and have risen again despite depressions, company police, court injunctions, armed militia, political attacks and even such prosperity as the American Plan offered in the 1920s.

Today, with the labor movement solidly established, unions are finding they can progress only if they recognize the vast changes under way in American society. Rapid technological change, popularly called "automation," is remaking the workforce. The baby boom of the postwar years has come of working age. The civil rights revolution continues to ripple through every segment of American life. More women have become fulltime workers. The white-collar and technical occupations have emerged as the new growth areas. Education and training are clearly today's keys to advancement.

The new young look in the workforce has long been predicted. Experts say the average age in this nation will be 25 years by 1968. This means the "average person" will have been born in 1943. As far as the appeal of labor history is concerned, what can this young person be expected to know of the Great Depression, the sweatshops, the sitdown strikes, the union role in building the wartime "arsenal of democracy" and other early accomplishments? Most of the benefits for which union members struggled, bled and died were here when this young person arrived, so he may easily assume the benefits always existed.

To try to create in him an understanding and appreciation of days and conditions that existed before he was born as a means of exciting him towards embracing unionism just isn't going to get the job done. Before he accepts unionism, he is going to have to recognize it as a helpful method of getting at the things bothering him today.

Hardly anyone joined unions in the late thirties and early forties just because the Knights of Labor had a difficult time in the latter 19th century. It's just possible that the "good old days" of the thirties excite a desire in young workers to join unions today just about as much as the Knights of Labor excited the young fire-eaters in Flint or Gary 30 years ago.

Whether he is a technician or one of the working poor . . . a teacher or a drop-out in marginal employment . . . a Negro in the South or a Mexican-American in the West, one thing is certain—his receptivity to unionism is going to be in accord with his ability to see it as a device to help him with his problems today and to assist him in reaching the reasonable goals he has set for himself for tomorrow.

It is in facing these challenges as they exist today that the events of the past 10 years and an examination of how they contributed to the organizational dropoff become important. To face the fact that the categories of employment in which unions have traditionally grown are the areas where the least expansion is occurring, and at the same time to face the fact that the great expansion areas of the workforce are those in which unions have demonstrated the least organizational effectiveness, is to recognize the overwhelming need for some kind, perhaps many kinds, of change. Probably the greatest change is simply facing the fact that what the union stands for must be responsive to the needs of today's workers.

The growth rate of unions during the first 10 years of merger is a subject about which many writers have had a great deal to say.

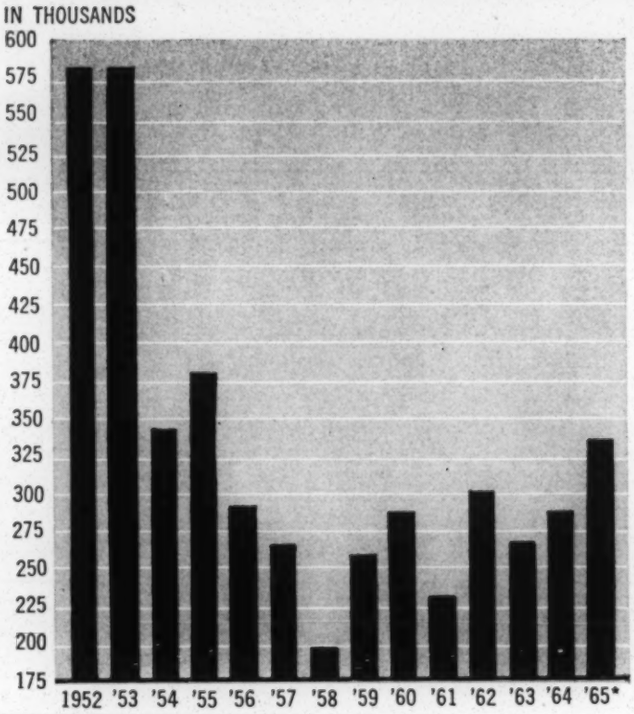
There are many different sets of figures available on the union potential among the non-union segments of the national workforce. There is an even greater variety of percentage figures.

The variation in the figures is sometimes a matter of manipulation. At other times it is the result of honest differences in statistical methods. Whatever use is made of the figures, and whatever the method of arriving at them, one thing is certain—organized labor's growth rate has not reached expectations. Over

WILLIAM L. KIRCHER was recently appointed Director of the AFL-CIO Department of Organization.

TRENDS IN UNION GROWTH

Employes in units which voted union in National Labor Relations Board elections.



Source: National Labor Relations Board annual reports.
*1965 total based on NLRB data.

the past decade, union membership levels have remained rather constant. Organizing efforts have produced substantial growth in terms of new members, but this has barely offset the loss of membership through plant shutdowns, automation-shrunk workforces, runaway plants, etc. Simply maintaining the numerical total has meant the relative size of union membership has gradually worsened over the past decade as the workforce grew.

At the time of merger, for every two workers with union cards in their pockets there were three who could have had cards but didn't. Those three without union cards are now four and the fourth one represents the increase in the workforce with which union organizing efforts have not kept pace.

Why it happened that way is something every union is studying today in an effort to discover clues for better growth performance in the future.

There are those outside the labor movement who would like everyone to believe that all this means workers no longer need unions or that they no longer are attracted to unionism. This is pure hogwash.

The annual average number of workers in units for which unions have gained bargaining rights during this 10-year period is nearly a quarter million and the rate of acceptance in the last six-month period of 1965 hit a new 10-year high.

There is a noticeable upsurge of interest on the part of such critical groups as teachers, government workers, retail sales persons and others. The current increase in favorable organizing results is not, significantly, limited to any one geographical area.

One of the best indications of the fact that workers still need and want unions is a recent article in the Wall Street Journal which details the accelerated efforts and highpowered methods of managements to resist unionization by their employes. Obviously, if workers were losing interest in organizing into unions, there would be no necessity for such an acceleration and proliferation of anti-union campaigning.

Still, it is important to look at the reasons for the deceleration in the rate of union growth over the past decade—and there are reasons, many of them. They probably fall within five basic categories: the economic climate, the legislative encumbrances, the massive management resistance campaign, internal problems of organized labor and the changing nature of work and of the working population.

The economic characteristics of the past 10 years were substantially different from those of the periods in which the great growth of unionism occurred. The worker today who has become an "owner"—either in fact or through the phenomenon of credit—is a far cry from the worker of those early days who owned precious little, if anything. The memory of the Great Depression has almost disappeared completely.

Many, if not most, paychecks are committed before they are received. The worker who is meeting house payments, television payments, car payments, education bills, etc., is "in hock" so far in advance that he is apprehensive about anything that might rock his personal economic boat. The forces who are not interested in seeing unions grow do a fairly good job of equating unionism with boat-rocking.

Much of the management community interpreted the merger of the AFL and CIO as a call to arms. Labor relations became the science of preventing union relations. A new creature came to flourish—the "labor consultant." His expertese in frustrating workers' efforts to unionize became a highly marketable commodity in the management community.

The company labor relations director who in earlier days often rose from the ranks and got the job because of his ability to understand shop problems and get along with the workers has been replaced in many cases by college-trained psychologists whose ability lies in keeping company employe relations policies from going beyond the point where the workers might become interested in organizing. "Do-it-yourself" kits on what to do when the organizer shows up are available from many sources.

The time was ripe in 1955. Taft-Hartley, passed in 1947, was being administered by a National Labor Relations Board tuned in to the big business wishes of the "Eisenhower age." In the very first year of the Board under the Eisenhower Administration, the number of employes in units which voted union in NLRB elections dropped to almost half of what it had been

averaging annually. At the same time, the percentage of all the unfair labor practice cases issued against unions doubled and then later doubled again. Whereas less than one of six complaints had been against unions prior to 1954, in 1956 over half of all the complaints were issued against unions, even though the ratio of charges against unions and against employers remained relatively constant.

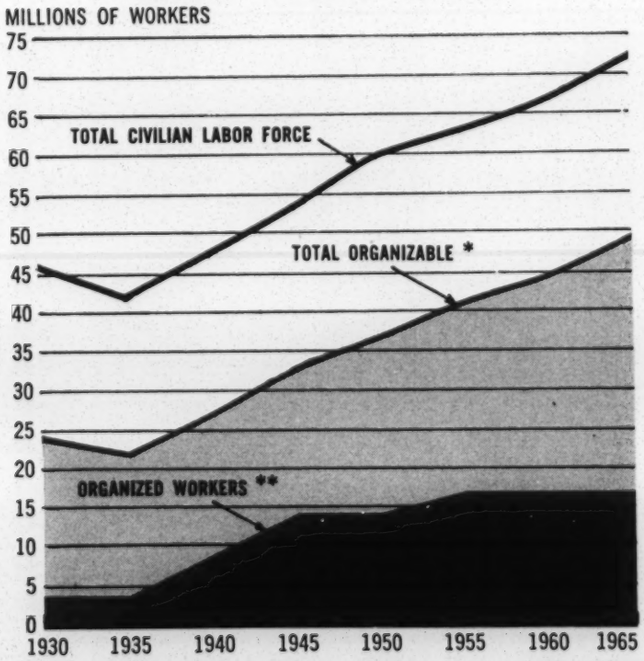
The McClellan hearings were daily grist for the opinion-making mills. Yet the AFL-CIO's voluntary accomplishments in the field of standards of conduct, labor's "Code of Ethical Practices," for example, received little more than passing reference.

The extra burdens placed on parent unions and their subordinate bodies by the Landrum-Griffin Act necessitated the assignment of manpower which normally would have been utilized in organizational efforts. The brush-fire wars carried on by "right-to-work" fanatics at the state level drained off money and manpower that otherwise would have been put into organizing.

Internally, there were the problems of "growing pains." Many unions were having to learn to "live together" with other unions under radically-changed circumstances. The problems of effecting a multitude of mergers at state and local levels were critical in many areas for several years. And through all these trying problems, the emphasis on autonomy, democracy and voluntarism was never lessened.

There never has been a recipe for successful organizing and there probably never will be. If such were the case, it would have been written in the great growth periods and the rate would never have slackened off.

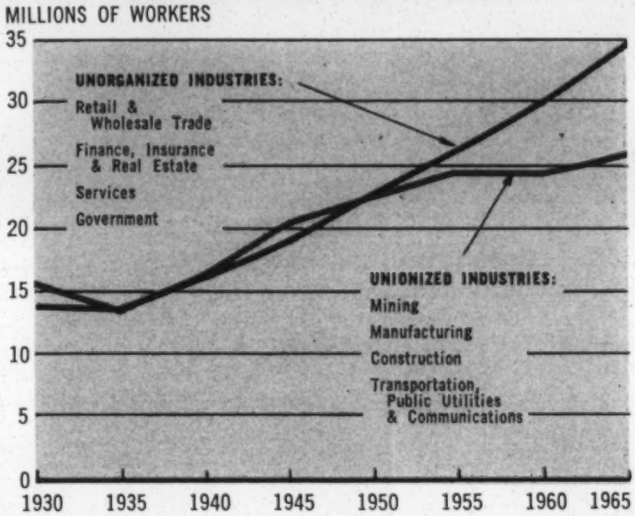
U.S. UNION MEMBERSHIP COMPARED TO POTENTIAL AND TOTAL LABOR FORCE



* AFL-CIO calculations based on U. S. Department of Labor data on non-supervisory wage and salary workers.

** Excludes Canadian members.

EMPLOYMENT GROWTH IN UNIONIZED AND UNORGANIZED INDUSTRIES,* 1930-1965



The fact is that organizing is a personal business. As people and their conditions change, the nature of the organizing task changes. The basic tools remain pretty much the same, but they must be sharpened and reshaped constantly to meet the challenges as they develop.

Essentially, organizing is a communications process and a two-way process at that. It is as important for an organizer to know what workers' attitudes are as it is for workers to know what the union program is.

Devising methods of penetrating the network of fear and misunderstanding that has been carefully woven around workers' attitudes toward unions by the events of the past decade is what makes the skill requirement in organizing one of the greatest of any task in the movement today.

There are those who think that change means the introduction of many new techniques and methods, perhaps turning to the highly trained social scientist or psychologist, or utilizing skills similar to those of Madison Avenue. It may well be that some of these very things will be needed to help unions to better condition the climate within which they organize and to more effectively formulate and direct their organizational programs.

In the main, however, the idea of unionism is still going to have to be conveyed to the non-union member by unionists. Further, it's going to be done with essentially the same kind of machinery that has been used in the past. A look at that machinery is far from discouraging. It is there and in good shape, except for a little dust here and there.

There are 128 national and international unions in the AFL-CIO, nearly all of them having regional or district offices in various sections of the country, all with manpower and facilities which can "beef up"

organizational efforts. There are in excess of 60,000 local unions of these affiliates, embracing nearly 14 million members. Many of these locals have offices, meeting halls and fulltime personnel.

There are about 800 local central bodies in the nation and a functioning state body in each of the 50 states. There are six major nationally-chartered departments of the AFL-CIO, with many subordinate bodies and councils.

There are few localities where a public committee, commission or board operates for the general community betterment without some representation from the union movement of that locality. Local union members often are among those recognized and respected as community leaders.

It should be utterly impossible to look at the broad network of union representation spread over this nation and the vast source of talent and energy that it contains and shrink from the union growth challenge as an unattainable task. This is so especially if we add to all these factors the unique effectiveness of collective bargaining itself as a means of meeting the needs of workers.

The flexibility of collective bargaining is limited only by the imagination of those who use it. A great deal of the economic fabric of this nation and the fringe benefit structure about which even the employer boasts today resulted from the ideas of union leaders—ideas considered strange when first proposed.

Workers need to see unions as the embodiment of the collective bargaining process. When they do and at the same time understand their role in directing this process toward their problems, they become very firm in their determination to organize.

Unfortunately, too many people have accepted the false characterization of unionism as an institution rather than as the form which workers with common problems and mutual interests assume in order to bring their collective effort to bear on these problems.

The greatest thrust of the management resistance campaign is the effort to psychologically separate the worker from the union, to make him think of the union as a third-party entity. It is almost as though the employer would like the worker to sit up in the grandstand while management fights the union.

When an employer—or a "consultant" who is guiding him—can create such a situation, he enhances the effectiveness of his speeches and letters about strikes, high dues, violence, loss of employment and the other classic fear-producing propaganda.

It is just this kind of management activity that has led two chairmen of the National Labor Relations Board to deplore the failure of certain segments of the business community to accept the national labor policy as established by the Congress and upheld by the courts.

Lest someone consider them prejudiced in these statements, one was a Republican, the other a Democrat; one was a conservative, the other a liberal; one was appointed by President Eisenhower, the other by President Kennedy. Yet both reached similar conclusions with respect to the manner in which many employers skirt the law in order to avoid the responsibility of bargaining with their employes.

Unionism is not an institution—it is a movement, a movement of people. It has been and always will be that despite its critics, friendly and otherwise.

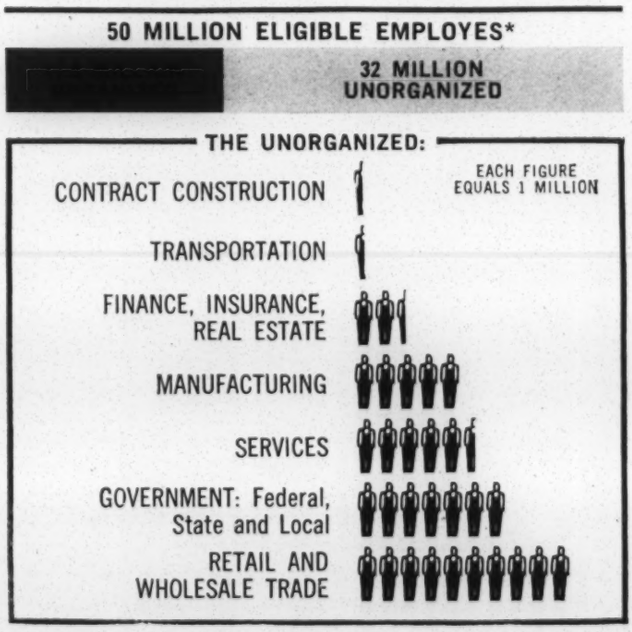
The Sixth AFL-CIO convention analyzed the total organizing situation and laid down essential guidelines for the future. Stating that "nothing but total commitment and total involvement" can meet the "challenge, the opportunity and the obligation" to help the organizing efforts of American workers who are still without the benefits of union representation, the delegates resolved:

"That all affiliates adopt a continuing program of evaluating their organizing operations with the aim of developing more effective means of organizing, increasing the organizing skills of their staffs and encouraging participation in coordinated organizing programs.

"That all members of AFL-CIO unions be viewed as potential and important participants in the overall organizing mission of the American labor movement."

It is the bringing together of all these factors—an understanding of workers' attitudes as they exist today, the marshaling of the vast array of talents and manpower available and then the skill of relating collective bargaining to progress and advancement—which is today accelerating union growth. And this combination is certain to do it even more so in the years ahead.

THE ORGANIZABLE WORKFORCE



* Of 60.5 million wage and salary employes in U. S. in 1965, 8.5 million are mainly supervisory personnel and so are ineligible; 2.5 million are considered beyond the practical reach of unions by reason of being in very small firms and in remote areas.

Source: AFL-CIO calculations based on U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics data and exclude Canadian membership.

Southern Organizing

U.S. News & World Report

4/4/66 ~~3/10~~

A New Punishment for Employers

Employers accused of unfairness to unions now face the threat of a new kind of punishment. The penalty, subject to rulings on appeals, has just been imposed in one unfair-labor-practice case.

In a unanimous ruling, the National Labor Relations Board ordered a big textile manufacturer, J. P. Stevens & Company, to do these things:

1. Call meetings of employes and have a company official read a promise, written by NLRB, not to interfere with union organizing efforts.

2. Mail to each employe a copy of the promise that Stevens will not engage in antiunion conduct.

3. Allow the Textile Workers Union to post union messages on plant bulletin boards for a period of one year.

The alleged offenses occurred in three cities in North and South Carolina. But NLRB ordered Stevens to call meetings, mail pledges to all its 30,000 employes in about 50 plants in the two States.

The company also was told to reinstate, with back wages, 71 employes allegedly fired because of union activities.

The order for an "apology" at employe meetings came under fire in Congress. The company has appealed the decision in the courts.

The union also has appealed, but on another point—refusal of NLRB to order the firm to bargain at three plants.

The NLRB said "conventional" remedies—such as posting notices—"are not completely adequate to undo the effect of the massive and deliberate unfair labor practices committed" by the firm.

The company, in reply, said that "approximately 7,000 votes have now been cast at eight of the company's plants. In each and every election the union has been decisively defeated. . . ."

Among other things, NLRB charged that the management spied on the union, questioned employes about union activities, and threatened reprisals.

Firemen Consider Teamster Hook-Up

Talks Weren't Sanctioned, Firefighters Local Says

Some city firemen have been talking with Teamster officials here about possible affiliation with the powerful truckers' union, it was reported Thursday.

"They're very unhappy," Teamster official Tony Zivalich said of the firemen, "and if their other efforts remain unsuccessful, we might take a shot at seeing what we can do."

An officer of the local firemen's association said that any talks by city firefreighters with the Teamsters had not been sanctioned or approved by the local's leadership.

Capt. John Burdette, vice president of the International Association of Firefighters local here, said he had heard that some firemen had approached the Teamsters and stressed that "they were acting on their own."

Zivalich, the Teamsters' organizer here, said the discussions with some firemen had been going on for some time. But he said he wasn't familiar with details of the talks because they had been handled mostly from the Teamster end "by some of our agents."

Zivalich said the Teamsters were not trying "to raid" any labor organization. "We need more members like we need a hole in the head," he said.

But he declared the Teamsters were "in sympathy" with the city firemen's objectives of trying to increase their pay and lower their 60-hour work week.

The firefighters local recently put these requests before the Atlanta aldermanic board, but the city finance committee turned them down on grounds that funds weren't available.

"I don't know what it will take to jar the mayor and aldermen into acting on these men's reasonable requests," said Zivalich.

He added that he understood some of the firemen's problems because "we've got a group of ex-firemen working out here with us."

He said they "started out moonlighting" but found the pay so much better they left their city jobs.

"a little child shall lead them"

How can a child learn to find his place in the world, and make it a better place to live?
We would answer, by having the great treasures of the Bible opened up to him, and learning its lessons of love and spiritual power. That's what goes on every Sunday at the Christian Science Sunday School.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE SUNDAY SCHOOL

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SECOND CHURCH
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THIRD CHURCH
850 Cascade Ave., S.W.

FOURTH CHURCH
1189 Ponce de Leon, N.E.

FIFTH CHURCH
1685 Mozley Dr., S.W.

DECATUR

FIRST CHURCH
446 Clairmont Ave.

Workers Needed

TORONTO (AP) — Ontario has published a fetching 60-page illustrated book to lure skilled workers from abroad. Officials estimate the province needs about 35,000 skilled people and is sending 30,000 books to Ontario House in London for distribution.

Atl Const.

Don't Need Teamsters

4/11/66

The Teamsters' Union reportedly is in contact with certain members of the Atlanta fire department with a view to possible affiliation with the Teamsters.

We hope the report is not true. The local firemen already are represented by the International Association of Firefighters which is capable of giving adequate voice to local needs. To tie in with the Teamsters would mean trouble for the firemen and for the city.

Ruthlessenss of Teamster tactics was well illustrated during the past few days by a threat to cut off deliveries of food and medical supplies to all municipal hospitals in the city of New York. It is incredible that such a threat should be made but that it was made seriously is a matter of record.

According to the New York Times, a Teamster spokesman spoke quite callously in saying there would be "innocent victims" but that these were comparable to persons killed in the air bombing of German cities during World War II. This was a cynical and brutal approach to the problems of the sick and dying.

We presume that the Teamsters, if they should gain control of the Fire department, would let the city of Atlanta burn to the ground to gain their ends. At least that is what we read into what happened in New York in what primarily was a jurisdictional dispute.

Organizing – South
Steel
Labor

Charge Police Violence at Struck Florida Citrus Plant

The efforts of a big Florida citrus products processor to deny some 1400 workers a fruitful share in the cooperative firm's fat profits has touched off a bitter strike.

Newly organized United Steelworkers at Cypress Citrus Products, Inc., charged State Police and sheriff's deputies with violence in which seven women pickets were injured in a sudden eruption of club-swinging touched off by the police as the unionists sought to persuade a trucker from delivering cans to the struck plant.

The workers struck the plant in Winter Haven, Fla., on March 9 in support of contract proposals asking an equitable up-grading of substandard wages and fringe benefits. Plant workers—second in the citrus processing industry to be organized by the United Steelworkers—became members of the union after an NLRB election on Jan. 20 which followed a swift organizational campaign.

SPEARHEADING the successful drive were Charles Todd of Local 5409, American Can Co., Plymouth, Fla.; Carroll Lewis, Local 2120, American Can Co., Tampa, Fla., and Willie R. Bennett and Robert Cameron of Local 6148, Crown Cork & Seal Co., Bartow, Fla.

Three of the same "Fearsome Foursome"—a proud title which can be applied to determined union organizers as well as big pro football offensive line units — moved in with equal success to organize under the USWA banner the 800 workers at the Adams Packing Plant in Auburndale, Fla., about 10 miles from Winter Haven. Huey Cole of Local 6148 replaced Robert Cameron for the winning Adams drive.

Contract negotiations at Adams began March 17. The strategy in fruit processing negotiations is tied to the picking season, now at its height.

International Representative Pat Burke and his assistant, Estes Riffe, in charge of the Cypress Citrus Products contract drive, expected no quick capitulation there — nor any place else where the union has drives on in a notorious "right-to-work" state.

"THE POLICE SUPPOSEDLY were called out to 'preserve order,'" said one embittered picket. "But the way they pushed us around, we can only believe that the only 'order' they were interested in was the company's 'order' to bust the strike."

Despite the odds stacked against them, morale of the strikers remained high. There is "no doubt in their hearts and minds that eventual victory will result," said Mr. Burke.

Settlement talks were resumed at the request of federal mediators as STEEL LABOR went to press. No further developments were reported.

The first citrus processor organized by the Steelworkers was the 200-worker plant of the Birdseye Foods Corp., also in Winter Haven. USWA organized there because the plant—as many other citrus plants are starting to do put in its own can manufacturing lines.

Mr. Burke said the USWA will continue a determined drive to organize the entire processing industry. "There is a potential of at least 20,000 workers involved," he said. "We want to bring them an advancement in wages, working conditions and fringe benefits they deserve."

10 CENTS

Unionizing Dixie

A Campaign to Organize Southern Plants Meets Formidable Opposition

NLRB Says Union Members Are Fired by Textile Mills; Civic Leaders Back Firms

5/11/66

The Battle at J. P. Stevens

By KENNETH G. SLOCUM
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

GREENVLLE, S.C. — Charlie Jenkins worked 35 years for textile producer J. P. Stevens & Co. here. Half that time he was a mechanic, or "loom fixer," the highest paid hourly job in the industry. During his final eight years with Stevens, he didn't miss a day's work, and the company once awarded him five silver dollars for superior performance, he claims.

But for the past two and a half years the stocky, mustached 52-year-old hasn't been able to find work of any kind in textile mills in this part of the country. The reason for Mr. Jenkins' ostracism, from every indication, is that he has acquired a reputation as a "union agitator." As such, he is about as popular with most Dixie businessmen as a "civil rights agitator" would be at a gathering of white supremacists.

Stevens claims Mr. Jenkins was discharged for poor workmanship. But the National Labor Relations Board, after investigation, asserted that he was fired by Stevens for joining a union and urging fellow employes to do the same. Recently the NLRB ruled that Mr. Jenkins, who has been living lately off the earnings of his wife's factory job, had been discharged illegally for union activity and ordered him reinstated with back pay he estimates at $17,000. But union officials fear that the case of Mr. Jenkins, along with 70 other discharged Stevens employes whose cases were similarly decided by the NLRB, will drag on for years in the courts and that the NLRB finding perhaps may be reversed.

Formidable Obstacles

The discharged employes of Stevens, a family-run business with 42,000 workers at 70 plants largely concentrated in the Southeast, attest to formidable obstacles confronting unions in Dixie, much of which remains a holdout against unionism. Opposition comes not only from individual companies seeking to thwart unionization drives, but also from community leaders and organized groups of businessmen.

One such business group, Central Piedmont Industries, was formed in Charlotte in 1958 with the primary purpose of obstructing unionization. Says Edward J. Dowd, Jr., executive vice president: "'Labor down here is considerably more productive than elsewhere because workers don't know anything about featherbedding or make-work approaches of entrenched unionism. We plan to keep it that way."

Unions have tried off and on for many years to make headway in the South, and they are well established in some Dixie industries, such as Alabama steel plants. But still outside the union fold are some 7 million nonagricultural workers employed by hundreds of companies in nine Southern states. In hopes of speeding up unionization of these firms, unions in 1963

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Ripe for Unionization?

Both North and South Carolina would seem to be ripe for unionization. North Carolina manufacturing workers averaged $1.82 an hour in 1965, ranking, along with Mississippians, as the lowest paid in the country, according to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. At $1.88 an hour, South Carolina factory hands weren't much better off. These wage levels compared with an average of $2.61 for the nation as a whole and $3.22 in heavily unionized Michigan.

North Carolina also ranks at the bottom in unionization, with only 6.7% of nonagricultural workers enrolled in unions. For South Carolina the proportion is 7.9%. Nationwide, 29.5% of nonagricultural workers are union members. The figure for Michigan is 38.9%, while Washington, at 43%, is even higher.

But if all this makes the Carolinas an inviting target for union organizers, it doesn't make them an easy one. Evidence of the difficulty of unionization is provided by the NLRB scorecard on elections for union representation of workers in the two states. From 1963 through last year unions won 236 of these certification elections and lost 279. While the number of elections won by unions may look fairly impressive, most of these victories involved small, single-plant operations averaging less than 100 workers, according to one labor leader. Four elections at Stevens plants in North and South Carolina were all lost by the Textile Workers Union.

Going After Stevens

The 153-year-old Stevens concern, which is headed by Robert T. Stevens, Secretary of the Army in the Eisenhower Administration, has become the chief target of the organizing campaign. One reason for the unionists' decision to go after Stevens with special vigor is that the company's workers initially seemed receptive to organization. Another consideration was the firm's sound financial state, which, the union felt, would make it difficult for officials to plead poverty when presented with union demands.

Perhaps the most obvious reason for singling out Stevens, however, was its reputation as the most militantly anti-union company in the generally anti-union textile industry. A union foothold at Stevens could carry symbolic significance for the whole organizing drive in the South.

"If we can crack Stevens—and we will—it will automatically follow that people in the other textile plants will want to unionize to obtain the wages and other benefits won there,"

Please Turn to Page 15, Column 2

Unionizing Dixie: Organizing Effort Encounters Formidable Opposition

Continued From Page One

declares Jim Pierce, who heads the Southeast drive for the IUD. "That would undoubtedly ease the way for organizing of plants other than textiles."

But, as the NLRB election results suggest, cracking Stevens is proving difficult. A look at the confrontation between Stevens and the union movement here in Greenville shows just how difficult.

Greenville, a bustling community of 70,000 people, likes to call itself "the textile capital." Within a 50-mile radius are clustered close to 100 textile plants, 15 of them belonging to Stevens.

The Stevens plant in a section of Greenville called Dunean has been the scene of two elections for representation by the Textile Workers Union. In the first, held last year, the union lost, but the NLRB set aside the vote on the ground the company had engaged in unfair labor practices—namely, threatening workers with reprisals if they voted for the union. A second election was held earlier this year. Once more the union was defeated—this time by a margin twice the size of the one in the previous vote; the union has asked the NLRB to overturn this vote, too.

Silence From Stevens

Though they have denied all charges of unfair labor practices, Stevens officials now refuse to discuss any aspect of the union organizing campaign or the NLRB rulings, saying their lawyers have advised them that any comments would be improper with the NLRB order to reinstate fired workers now being appealed before the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals. Encountered recently in Atlanta at the annual meeting of General Electric Co., of which he is a director, President Stevens brusquely rebuffed a reporter seeking to question him about his company's labor situation. "It would be highly improper for me to discuss J. P. Stevens affairs on another company's time," he said.

Others sympathetic to management's point of view point to the results of the elections at the Stevens plant at Dunean as conclusive proof that the workers simply don't want a union; they say that Dunean workers, like others in the textile industry, have received three 5% pay increases in the past two years and are doing fine without a union.

Union organizers insist, however, that their defeats stem from workers' fears of management retaliation for supporting unions. "Our biggest problem in getting workers to join the union is people walking around like Charlie Jenkins—they're living proof the company can fire workers for union activity and get away with it," says Harold McIver, the square-jawed IUD representative who directs organizing efforts at the Dunean plant.

Mr. Jenkins, who worked at another Greenville-area Stevens mill, the Victor plant, says he hadn't received a "write-up" (written complaint by his superior) for 35 years until the troubles that led up to his discharge began. These troubles started, he asserts, shortly after he signed up for the Textile Workers Union in the summer of 1963 and began calling on co-workers after work as a member of the employe organizing committee. In quick suc-

Federal law, of course, and there is no proof such a conspiracy exists.

A North Carolina management consultant who helps companies fight unionization says no formal agreements are needed for the blackball system to function effectively. He explains it this way: "Say I'm an employer who doesn't want a union—and no one down here does—and I'm looking at this guy's job application. I look at the date of his termination and see that he left Stevens about the same time they had all their labor trouble. I'd be some kind of an idiot to take a chance on giving this guy a job when he might try to organize my plant."

Civic leaders often prove formidable allies for employers opposing unionization. The Rev. Paul F. Beacham, a pink-cheeked, white-haired man who is president of the 230-student Holmes Theological Seminary here, acknowledges that on one occasion he wrote anti-union letters to several of his students who worked at Stevens. "Presumably you know that labor unions today are dominated by the spirit of anti-Christ and therefore a Christian cannot have anything to do with them," said the letters from Mr. Beacham, a minister of the Pentecostal Holiness Church.

Greenville Mayor David G. Traxler also opposes unions. The Greenville area has added 12,000 new jobs in the past six years, he says, but "unionization would be a deterrent to new industry—companies don't want their hands strapped down."

In some instances in the South, unions have won what seemed to be victories—only to see their support quickly melt away. Such is the case at the Albemarle, N.C., plant of Collins & Aikman Corp., a producer of automobile carpeting.

Replacing Strikers

In the spring of last year the Textile Workers Union won the right to represent some 1,000 workers at the plant. After months of haggling over a contract, workers struck Sept. 30, although union leaders say it was against their advice. Within a month, the company had hired replacements for close to half the striking workers.

The union finally signed a contract it considered totally unsatisfactory "in order to get back in and start rebuilding," says Paul Swaity, regional director of the Textile Workers Union. But it now appears likely that the company will seek decertification of the union on the ground it no longer represents most workers at the plant.

"Strikes are less successful in the South than elsewhere because companies have no problem getting an injunction limiting pickets to about four people, which means they have no big impact," says Mr. Swaity. "Too there's always an abundance of people here looking for better jobs and Southerners are not oriented against crossing picket lines as are workers elsewhere."

Here in Greenville, the anti-union sentiments of Stevens and influential citizens have so permeated the atmosphere that it's difficult to conceive of unions making much progress in the near future, no matter how critical the NLRB may be of Stevens' conduct. So strong are the pressures against unions, says Aubrey Kent, a 20-year Stevens veteran who was fired last August for "failure to obey an order," that "some of my friends won't even be seen talking to me in downtown Greenville because I was associated with the union and they are afraid they'll get in trouble at the mill."

He adds: "Deep down, most of them feel J. P. Stevens is too big down here for the Federal Government—that the little NLRB isn't going to tell big J. P. what to do in South Carolina."

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Mr. Jenkins, who worked at another Greenville-area Stevens mill, the Victor plant, says he hadn't received a "write-up" (written complaint by his superior) for 35 years until the troubles that led up to his discharge began. These troubles started, he asserts, shortly after he signed up for the Textile Workers Union in the summer of 1963 and began calling on co-workers after work as a member of the employe organizing committee. In quick succession he received three write-ups for violations such as laying a dirty wrench on cloth and failing to adjust a loom correctly.

Then, according to the NLRB report on his case, he was fired when he balked at signing a statement admitting poor loom fixing. The NLRB found that Stevens "discharged Jenkins because of his union membership, when it failed to obtain his resignation."

Organizers Thwarted

Whether Mr. Jenkins and others really were fired for union activity, as the union and the NLRB contend, or because of poor workmanship and violations of plant rules, as Stevens maintains, one thing is clear: The organizing effort at the Victor plant was effectively stymied. By the discharge of Mr. Jenkins and others, Stevens "eliminated the only known pocket of union activity in the Victor plant," an NLRB report states.

IUD organizer McIver claims the same situation prevails at the Dunean plant. "The employe organizing committee at Dunean is gone," he says. "Those who weren't fired quit on their own."

The NLRB says Stevens' anti-union activities haven't been restricted to the discharges at these two plants. NLRB examiner Horace A. Ruckel drafted a report containing broad charges that Stevens has spied on employes, intimidated some who had given statements to the NLRB, threatened to shut a plant if it was unionized and interrogated employes concerning union activities of fellow workers.

Mr. Ruckel said, however, that it was at Stevens' Watts plant, near Greenville, that "the respondent's (Stevens') efforts to drive employes out of the union, or out of Stevens' employ, perhaps reached its finest fruition. Here the respondent furnished anti-union employes the services of its typewriters and mimeograph machines and the services of an employe to reproduce withdrawal announcements which were then distributed among the employes for signing and mailing to the union."

By this means, Mr. Ruckel concluded, "the respondent procured the resignation from the union of all but two of the 46 employes . . . whose names had been sent the respondent as union members. These two employes the respondent then discharged. The union in the Watts plant was wiped out."

Other Firings Protested

NLRB proceedings are still under way in cases involving two other groups of workers formerly employed at a number of different Stevens plants. In one of these proceedings, an NLRB examiner has concluded that Stevens fired 19 workers for union activity; this case is now before the full board. In the other case, an examiner currently is taking workers' testimony on a union complaint that Stevens fired 20 employes because of union activity.

An obstacle to unionization almost as great as the loss of an employe organizing team, union leaders say, is workers' fear of the "blackball"—the branding of a worker as a union sympathizer. Albert Sanders, now 50 years old, was fired in 1963 after 16 years with Stevens; Stevens attributed the discharge to "poor loom fixing," but the NLRB decided the cause was "association with the union, which he was known to favor."

Whatever the reason, Mr. Sanders says that today "there isn't a textile mill in South Carolina that will touch me—I've tried them all. And that's the only work I know." Mr. Jenkins and most of the other workers discharged during the course of the organizing effort say they have shared Mr. Sander's experience.

A conspiracy by Stevens and other textile employers to prevent union sympathizers from finding work would be a violation of

Organizing South

SOUTHERN RWDSU BOASTS 5,000 ORGANIZED IN YEAR

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—Delegates from RWDSU Southern locals arriving in Miami Beach this month for the union's Tenth Constitutional Convention have every reason to march in proudly.

In the last year, the union has organized nearly 5,000 new members across the South, from Selma, Ala., and Griffin, Ga. to Memphis, Dallas, Jacksonville, Fla. and Suffolk, Va.

So far, in one year, the union has won elections at 29 shops employing 3,220 workers, while losing only three elections among 225 workers. Eight other campaigns among nearly 1,800 workers are now in progress.

The union has also met difficulty. Right now 300 newly-organized workers in Memphis and Dallas are on strike for first agreements, and both strikes are tough—but the union is on the move, with new contacts made regularly, new elections coming up and contracts being negotiated and signed.

Several reasons for the union's success were suggested by Ass't Southern Dir. Frank Parker.

"Organizers are doing a lot of hard work, and that is a big factor in our success," he said. "But we have worked just as hard at other times in the South with less success. Today workers in the South are less afraid to join the union then they were ten or 12 years ago. Civil rights activities in certain areas—like the Black Belt of Alabama, some areas of Georgia and more recently in Jacksonville and Hertford, N.C.—have been an important factor in reducing the workers' fears. The change in the attitude of the Nat'l Labor Relations Board has also helped. We get elections with less delay.

"We ourselves, when we talk to people about joining the union, are more confident that if they are fired for union activities, they will be reinstated to their jobs with full back pay for their losses, as the law provides."

The Selma area is a good example of the union's participation in a changing South. In March 1965, when the Freedom March to Montgomery was held, the RWDSU had no members in the area. Today it has 500, mostly Negroes, including 300 at Massengale Poultry in Greensboro, 40 miles from Selma. On the November day that the RWDSU won an overwhelming NLRB victory, Org. Henry Jenkins, in fear for his life, had to hide from Klansmen. Yet in March the boss sat down with the union committee, white and Negro, and negotiated a contract. "I think the union is best for me and for the people," he said.

"Massengale is the sweetest victory because of how far we've come," Parker said. "One time it was worth your life to go in there. Today the workers have negotiated a good two-year contract and they really have a functioning union, and a Negro is in a run-off for sheriff in that county."

RWDSU Record. (over)

Unionism Returns to 'No. 1 Heel' After 10 Years

WINCHESTER, Va.—Workers at the plant of the O'Sullivan Rubber Corp. here—the site of a classic union-busting effort under the Taft-Hartley Act in the 1950s—voted to be represented by a union for the first time in nearly a decade. (See story "You'd Have to Work Here to Believe It" on Page 10.)

The vote, in an election conducted by the Nat'l Labor Relations Board among 505 eligible employees, was 325 for the Auto Workers, 137 against, with six votes challenged.

Only a handful remained in the O'Sullivan workforce of the hundreds who struck the plant during a contract dispute 10 years ago. Others who stayed out while the labor movement conducted a nationwide boycott against the struck plant's products were not on hand to enjoy the victory.

All but 37 of the eligible workers voted. The UAW polled 64 percent of the eligible vote and 70.5 percent of the valid votes cast.

The organizing campaign was brief and vigorous. An AFL-CIO staff member, in town for a campaign at a nearby plant, passed out union leaflets at the plant gates and was contacted by workers who said they were tired of their non-union status.

Regional Dir. Oliver Singleton of the AFL-CIO's Baltimore office assigned staff members and met with a 30-member in-plant committee which reported the time was right for a union organizing campaign.

Cards were signed by a majority, a petition for an NLRB election was filed and a date set after a three-week campaign. The UAW was the only union on the ballot, the Rubber Workers having agreed not to assert their interest in their former unit.

AFL-CIO Organization Dir. William L. Kircher welcomed the O'Sullivan workers back into the labor movement and expressed his appreciation to the UAW and the URW.

The two affiliates, he said, "displayed the finest example of trade union statesmanship, fraternal cooperation, and commitment to the best interest of the workers."

Kircher stressed the claim the URW could have made because of its former status as the legal bargaining agent, its support of a lengthy and costly strike and a sustained boycott. In waiving its primary organizing rights, he said, the rubber union was "clearly motivated by a concern for the welfare of the workers which it placed above the union's legitimate claim."

The new UAW unit will draft contract proposals after the election result is certified, Staff Rep. Cecil Strickland said.

The first O'Sullivan union struck May 13, 1956, when the company refused to discuss contract terms. Originally, a directly chartered federal local, it had become an affiliate of the URW. The latter union supported the strikers and waged a nationwide boycott against O'Sullivan as "America's No. 1 Heel."

The firm hired strikebreakers and the URW eventually was decertified.

(over)

onsumer boycott voted by National Farm Workers Association and

AFL-CIO News 5/21/66

Upholsterers Set Up Fund for Organizing

Palm Beach, Fla.—The Upholsterers 35th convention here took action to move the union forward on the organizing, political and international fronts.

The delegates attacked the problem of organizing in the South by voting a monthly assessment of 25 cents for the next four years, which is expected to build a fund of some $700,000 over that period.

Responding to a call from AFL-CIO Sec.-Treas. William F. Schnitzler for renewed efforts to elect liberals to Congress this year, the convention approved the report of the convention committee on political education requiring written explanations from locals that fail to collect contributions to COPE in 1966.

UIU Pres. Sal B. Hoffmann declared during discussion of the report "that the long struggles of locals to get gains are endangered" when unfriendly congressmen are elected.

"When union members staved home and did not vote in 1946, we got Taft-Hartley," he observed. "Compared to what can happen, we may consider Taft-Hartley a good law. A hostile congress can turn locals into debating societies."

Hoffmann pointed out that wages have risen from $1.75 to as high as $3 an hour in the industry because collective bargaining is guaranteed by Section 7A of the Wagner Act.

"We live by grace of 7A," he said. "Once they take that section out of the law, we will have to strike for recognition."

COPE Drive Backed

He concluded with the appeal to "go back home and do your job" in collecting COPE dollars.

At the concluding evening session of the convention, the delegates themselves voluntarily contributed $600 to COPE.

The convention voted to double Hoffmann's salary of $10,400 a year, which was set in 1948. He said he would accept half of that amount but that future presidents should receive the total proposed increase.

The seriousness with which the need for organizing was viewed was demonstrated also at the final session of the convention when UIU First Vice Pres. Al Rota said he would urge his local to give $5,000 to aid the international's organizing effort.

Rota is also secretary and business representative of Local 13, Chicago. Several other delegates said they would also seek local contributions for organizing.

A statement on foreign policy in the report of the general executive board, approved by the convention, attacked an "alliance of pacifists of both religious and socialist inspiration, liberal isolationists, the usual small but intensely egotistical and willful band of U.S. senators, and radical extremists of right and left orchestrated by a widened variety of domestic communists."

The report charged that these groups "are concentrating on the attempt to brainwash our nation of the memory of the fatal consequence to the free world of the appeasement of Hitler by Chamberlain. . . ."

A resolution on Viet Nam said that "Pres. Johnson needs all the moral support he can get to bring the South Viet Nam conflict to a successful conclusion in stopping communism."

NEWS, WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 28, 1966

Organizing - South AFL-CIO

Civil Rights Links Credited:

Retail-Wholesale Union Cites Organizing Progress in South

By Gervase N. Love

Miami Beach, Fla.—The Retail, Wholesale & Dept. Store Union has had "amazing success" in organizing during the past year in Georgia and Alabama, Pres. Max Greenberg told some 600 delegates to the union's 10th constitutional convention.

In cooperation with civil rights forces, Greenberg said in his keynote address, the RWDSU has "succeeded in channeling the energies of Negro workers" to the point that "the example set by these most exploited and most downtrodden workers has inspired white workers as well."

"Shops with a total of 5,000 workers have been organized in the past year in such places as Selma and Greensboro, Ala., Griffin, Ga., various towns in Florida and other communities which have never before felt the impact of unionism," he said.

"The success of these efforts is a tribute to the leaders and members of our southern affiliates."

Executive Sec. Jack Paley reported that the union has 239 locals in the United States and Canada. Since the previous convention four years ago, he said, 29 new locals were chartered and 31 went out of existence, half by merger with other locals and the rest in small plants that went out of business or fled to non-union areas.

Sec. of Labor W. Willard Wirtz, making his second speech of the day to a union convention, ridiculed talk of "tired blood" in the labor movement and declared that "most of what we've gained in the last couple of years is what labor has been fighting for for years—and much of the leadership over those years has come from the labor movement."

Earlier in the day he had spoken to the Clothing Workers' convention in Atlantic City, N. J. He left the RWDSU session to fly to St. Louis to appear before the Hotel & Restaurant Employes convention. In 16 days, he said, he was traveling 27,000 miles and making nine speeches in six states and two countries.

Wirtz read to the delegates a message of greeting from Pres. Johnson, who hailed the union's contribution to the "dramatic social and economic progress" the nation has made, and to the country's high level of prosperity.

The President pointed out, however, that much remains to be done and declared he would "welcome the continued efforts" of the RWDSU to built the Great Society.

Wirtz, who said he came "to talk over some of our common problems," recounted the country's economic and social gains since the last RWDSU convention in 1962, briefly discussed "where we are" and outlined "where we're going."

In examining the legislative picture, he said flatly that "I don't like the denial of the right to vote" on repeal of Section 14(b).

"But I can't count that year entirely lost despite the failure to repeal 14(b)," he added, "because we've had solid evidence of the resurgence of the organizing spirit, especially in the areas in which this union operates."

He urged letter-writing campaigns to members of Congress in support of consumer legislation, which he said would be the equivalent of a 10 to 20 percent wage increase for those at poverty levels, and for federal unemployment compensation standards.

Wirtz was given a standing ovation when he pleaded for a rethinking of the liberal position and a "new agenda" based on today's needs instead of the "desperation" philosophy of the 1930s.

Greenberg and Wirtz touched common ground in their approach to civil rights, emphasizing the need of translating legal gains into social and economic realities for members of minority groups who have suffered from discrimination and inadequate training and education.

Dir. Al Barkan of the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education declared that in the coming congressional and gubernatorial elections the labor movement "faces a crisis of the first magnitude."

The convention COPE committee filed two reports—one for the U.S. and the other for Canada, where the union has 20,000 members. The U.S. section, headed by Vice Pres. Jack Kirkwood, outlined a detailed program for increased political action aimed at strengthening the liberal and labor forces in Congress. The Canadian section, led by Hugh Buchanan, RWDSU supervisor in Ontario, called for a still further increase of affiliations to the New Democratic Party.

Gen. Sec. Juul Paulsen of the Intl. Union of Food & Allied Workers, with which the RWDSU is affiliated, explained the functioning of the international trade secretariat, its services to members and its aid to unions in developing nations. He thanked Greenberg, a member of the IUFAW Management Committee, or executive board for his "never-failing cooperation."

Facing the delegates was an executive board recommendation that the per capita payments, unchanged since 1958, be raised from 85 cents to $1.15 per member per month. Among speakers still to be heard were Sen. Robert F. Kennedy (D-N.Y.); Pres. Claude Jodoin of the Canadian Labor Congress, Dir. Don Slaiman of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Civil Rights, Executive Dir. Jack Conway of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept., Assistant Dir. H. H. Bookbinder of the Office of Economic Opportunity and Bayard Rustin, civil rights leader.

May 1966 Textile Labor

Company's Union-Busting Cited

TWUA Raps Apologists for Stevens

TWUA has sharply rebuked and refuted four southern Congressmen who used the floor of the House of Representatives to attack the NLRB's findings that J. P. Stevens & Co. is guilty of "massive unfair labor practices" (*Textile Labor,* April).

In a letter to all members of both houses of Congress, General President William Pollock said the March 24 remarks of Representatives Landrum of Georgia and Rivers, McMillan and Dorn of South Carolina "not only indicate a regrettable lack of knowledge of the facts in the (Stevens) case but, more important, reflect a callous disregard for the interests of southern working people."

Citing NRLB's findings that Stevens conducted a conscious, carefully-calculated program to keep its workers from organizing and illegally fired 71 workers in that process, Pollock said the labor board justifiably concluded that conventional remedies were inadequate in this case.

Yet, the TWUA president noted, the NLRB declined to invoke "the one remedy that would breathe life and meaning into the law's guarantee of the right of workers to organize; that is, an order directing the company to bargain with the union at those plants where, but for the illegal practices, the union would have had a majority."

These four Congressmen, Pollock said, suggest that the fact that the NLRB imposed a new remedy, requiring Stevens to post cease-and-desist notices in all of its plants and also read such notices to its workers, somehow "amounts to setting itself up as a 'policy-making' body."

"The fact is, and the Supreme Court has so held from the earliest days of the NLRB, that questions as to what remedy will best effectuate the purposes of the labor act are best decided by the agency itself, in light of its expert knowledge of the field.

"Notice-posting has long been the typical remedy imposed. A requirement that a firm as far-flung as Stevens should also read the notice to its workers hardly is revolutionary," the TWUA president wrote members of Congress.

"Until new and effective remedies are devised, this company will go on its merry way violating the law. In fact, it has never stopped doing so since the board's proceedings against it began some two and one-half years ago. This chronic and contemptuous law-breaking, it should be noted, characterizes the behavior and history of the southern textile industry in general," Pollock said.

Far from crying out against the remedies the NLRB has directed in the Stevens case, Pollock said, Congress should regard this "shocking" situation as "a challenge and an opportunity to devise rules and remedies that will give life and meaning to what is now only a hollow promise that workers shall have the right to self-organization, free from employer intimidation."

Local 1493 negotiators and management representatives sit for their photo after signing pact for a 36.8¢ package at Gold Mills Inc.

Pine Grove Workers Gain 36¢ Package at Gold Mills

PINE GROVE, Pa.—A new three-year settlement incorporating a wage-fringe package estimated at 36.8¢ an hour has been signed between Local 1493 and Gold Mills Inc. here, according to Joseph P. Coponi, Allentown District Joint Board manager.

The wage portion of the package provides for increases of 15¢ an hour plus inequity adjustments of 3.3¢ in the first year, a raise of 8½¢ in the second year and 7¢ an hour more in the third year of the agreement.

Fringe gains include increases in Blue Cross and Blue Shield benefits together with improvements in contract language.

Joining with Coponi in contract negotiations was a committee composed of the following: Gene Griffiths, president; William S. Wessner, recording secretary; Donald Adams, vice president; Ronald Boyer, financial secretary, and Thomas Morgan, sergeant-at-arms.

Assisting the bargaining teams were Elvin Fidler, Paul Reinhart, Paul Schaeffer, Earl Knarr, Jacque White, Robert Lemke, Tom Morgan, Edwin Fritz, Lawrence Troup, Charles E. Keefer, Arlene Hoke and Gene Ferrebee (see feature Page 5).

Organizing – South

A Case History Of Union Busting...

J. P. Stevens in the South

by Rep. Frank Thompson, Jr.

On March 22, 1966, the five members of the National Labor Relations Board unanimously upheld the findings of an independent trial examiner that the J. P. Stevens Company had flagrantly violated those provisions of the National Labor Relations Act expressly designed to guarantee to all employes the rights to "self-organization."

The Labor Board found an effort by the J. P. Stevens Company "to crush the union movement in its plants with small regard for the means employed." The "flagrant unlawfulness" contained in the record includes:

1. The wholesale discharge of union members;
2. Spying on union meetings and employe attendance;
3. Reprisals to discourage union adherence;
4. Stripping employes of union insignia;
5. Posting lists of union members on the company bulletin boards and inducing those so listed to "scratch" their names.

The Labor Board ordered the company to remedy its violations by (1) reinstating all discharged employes with back pay; (2) posting a notice on its bulletin boards that it would not again violate the law; (3) sending copies of this notice to all employes at their homes; (4) reading the notice aloud in plant meetings; and (5) affording the union reasonable access to company bulletin boards.

This decision was handed down by the Labor Board at 9:30 a.m. on March 22, 1966. The company immediately appealed to the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit. In fact, the original appeal was filed at 8:30 a.m., an amended appeal at 9:03 a.m. and the finalized appeal shortly after the Labor Board announced its decision.

There was also haste on the floor of this House.

On March 24, 1966, two days after the Labor Board decision was announced, a distinguished former Labor Committee member denounced it on this floor. He claimed that the J. P. Stevens Company decision

REP. FRANK THOMPSON, JR. (D-N.J.), is a six-termer and a ranking member of the House Education and Labor Committee. He chairs a special subcommittee on labor which is considering amendments to the National Labor Relations Act. He delivered these remarks on the House floor May 24, 1966.

"creates unrest and creates a lack of confidence in the executive branch of our government." He claimed that the Board order requiring the Stevens Company to publicize the "cease and desist order" ("that they have sinned but will sin no more," as our colleague put it) "infringes upon a fundamental right of every American employer."

The gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. Dorn) joined in this denunciation and characterized the Labor Board's opinion as "an attack upon our free enterprise system." He claimed that the decision, if affirmed, "could well destroy enlightened industrial labor relations." He did not elaborate his assumptions. On May 23, 1966, Mr. Dorn again addressed himself to this subject and announced that he was sending President Johnson a telegram. Again Mr. Dorn did not elaborate.

Mr. Rivers and Mr. McMillan of South Carolina associated themselves with these remarks.

These comments, as I have indicated, came two days after the 117-page opinion was made available and the gentlemen admitted that their comments were based upon reports in the press.

On April 27, the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Tuck) joined in the attack. He described the decision as "base," "unwarranted" and "reprehensible." He claimed that "the persons responsible for this decision (presumably the five members of the Labor Board) "have undoubtedly become exposed to the methods employed by communists." He concluded that "every patriotic and thoughtful American should rally to the defense of the Stevens Company."

I find a certain irony in this charge. Just over a decade ago, the head of the J. P. Stevens Company was the target of the same inference by some members of the other body. The eventual hearings developing out of an exchange of charges were widely followed on national television.

By April 27, the gentleman from Virginia had had the opportunity to study the labor board decision. But he based his assertions instead on his "long friendship with the Honorable Robert T. Stevens," who heads what the gentleman from Virginia describes as a "fine organization." He did not elaborate this assumption either.

I share the concern of my distinguished colleagues for this decision, as an illustration of labor relations in the textile industry in our southeastern states. I have taken the time to study the decision and, frankly, my reaction is not the reaction of my colleagues who have spoken earlier on the subject.

However, since the opinion has raised such a furor, I would like to withhold my reaction until I can put the case before you in the perspective of the statutory background and the facts of record.

I. The Statutory Background

Over 30 years ago, this Congress passed the Wagner Act, the Magna Charta of labor. This Act declared and recognized that it is the "policy of the United States to encourage the practice and procedure of collective bargaining." This basic policy of the 1935 Wagner Act was reaffirmed in the 1947 Taft-Hartley amendments and again in the 1959 Landrum-Griffin amendments. It is the policy of the United States today.

In the 1935 Wagner Act, this Congress gave to all employes "the right to self-organization," the right "to form, join or assist labor organizations." This was continued in the 1947 Taft-Hartley amendments and in the 1959 Landrum-Griffin amendments and is a right promised by Congress today.

To enforce this "right to self-organization," this Congress directed the National Labor Relations Board to hold secret ballot elections wherein the employes could vote for the union of their choice or for no union. The Labor Board since 1935 has held these secret ballot elections. It was early discovered that, on occasion, fraud, bribes or other undue pressures by management or the participating unions made it impossible for the election to fairly reflect the honest views of the voters. On such occasions, the Labor Board would set aside the results of the tainted election and conduct what was known as "re-run" elections. This is an administrative practice of some 30 years standing, a practice which we have adopted through repeated re-enactment of the basic laws.

Congress in 1935 sought to guarantee the right of employe "self-organization" by making it unlawful for employers to interfere with or to retaliate because of the exercise of this right. The Labor Act of 1935, as enacted and as amended in 1947 and in 1959, makes it an unfair labor practice for the employer "to interfere with, restrain or coerce employes" in the exercise of their rights to self-organization; and further makes it unlawful for an employer to discourage membership in any labor organization by "discrimination in regards to hire or tenure of employment."

In short, for over 30 years now, the law of the land makes it unlawful for an employer to restrain or coerce his employes from joining a union or to fire them from their jobs if they do join a union.

II. The J. P. Stevens Reaction

On March 22, 1966, the five members of the National Labor Relations Board unanimously upheld the findings of a trial examiner that the J. P. Stevens Company had flagrantly violated these two basic prohibitions of the Act in an unsophisticated effort "to crush the union movement in its plants with small regard for the means employed." Seventy-one workers were discharged in a Company anti-union campaign marked, as the Labor Board described it, by "flagrant unlawfulness."

While the proceedings leading to this initial opinion were pending, the anti-union campaign continued. At a second series of hearings, the same NLRB trial examiner found that the J. P. Stevens Company had discharged not only union members but also those

employes (some of whom were not union members) who had testified under subpoena against the company in the original Labor Board proceedings. I would like to remind the Congress that, since our enactment of the Wagner Act in 1935, it has been unlawful for an employer "to discharge or otherwise discriminate against an employe because he has filed charges or given testimony under this Act."

Incredible as it may sound, while the second round of hearings was going on, the company continued its policy of discharge, and the independent General Counsel of the National Labor Relations Board has issued a third complaint charging still more violations of the basic prohibitions of our 30 year-old law. The charges in this case are presently being heard by Trial Examiner Boyd Leedom, Chairman of the NLRB during the Eisenhower Administration.

This is not a new story, but how long will it continue?

III. The General Background

I would like to discuss the organizing campaign at the J. P. Stevens Company and some of the facts of record. I think this is important if we are to assess the effectiveness of the Wagner Act, now 30 years old. I think we shall learn that the Act is not effective in the face of recalcitrant and deliberate obstruction to the congressional mandate therein expressed.

First, a bit of background. The southern textile industry is the largest open-shop industry in America. The anti-union animus of the employers certainly plays a major role in keeping the workers unorganized. Discharge of union adherents, surveillance of union organizers, the use of race-hate propaganda to associate and discredit the unions with civil rights efforts, threats of plant closing if the union comes in—these are some of the weapons in the anti-union armory. We all remember the Darlington story, typical of many others. The workers in Darlington, South Carolina, were warned that the plant would be closed if they voted for the union; and the plant was closed when they voted for the union. We may minimize the impact of this story, but the southern textile worker cannot.

The J. P. Stevens Company is a giant in this open shop industry, second only to the Burlington Industries. With headquarters in New York, it operates more than 60 mills and employs some 40,000 workers. In early 1963, the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO selected the Stevens Company as a prime target for a mass organizing drive, primarily because the plants were localized in the Carolinas and because the company could well afford to improve the pay and working conditions. The company's 1964 report to the stockholders boasted that "net income has more than doubled in the past ten years." Wages for most employes centered between $1.38 to $1.75 an hour, averaging around $62 for a 40-hour week.

The union drive was unique in several ways. Rather

than going at it on a plant by plant basis (inviting the company to close down an organized plant as at Darlington), the union tackled some 25 of the 40-odd Stevens plants in the Carolinas almost simultaneously. There was another departure from the past organizing techniques. Whereas customarily the fact of individual union membership was kept secret (to protect against discharge), the union here decided to inform the company of its membership on a current basis. The reason for this decision is found in the Labor Board requirements that company knowledge of union membership is an indispensable element in proving that discharges were based on such union membership.

IV. The Pattern of Company Resistance

The organizing campaign got under way in June 1963. Shortly thereafter, the company posted a notice on the bulletin boards in its plants that "it is our positive intention to oppose this union and by every proper means to prevent it from coming in here." Copies of this notice were mailed to all employes at their homes with a covering letter describing it as of "vital importance." It is clear from the record that the company did oppose the union, and not always with "proper means." The pattern as described to the NLRB trial examiner went something like this.

The union, despite the company's declared hostility, signed up a substantial number of employes. These were, of course, the bolder and more active spirits. With their consent, the union sent their names to the company. The company promptly posted the names on the bulletin board. Supervisors then approached and asked the individual employes if the union was telling the truth, if they in fact had joined the union. The supervisors offered to help them withdraw from the union if they so wished. If the individual decided to withdraw, he was marched to the bulletin board where he was permitted to cross out his name from the list of union members. If he refused to withdraw from the union, his work was watched carefully, fault was found and he was discharged for inefficiency, usually within a day or so of the time he was publicly named as a union member.

V. Some Individual Examples

Some individual examples will give flavor and content to this general policy of discharge outlined above:

• **Republic Plant No. 2, in the Rock Hill Area**

Arthur Wright, Idolene Steele, Charles Knight and two other employes at Republic Plant No. 2 were the first five to join the union. Their names were sent to the company and posted on the bulletin board on August 17. The next day, on August 18, Wright, Steele and Knight were discharged for inefficiency, the first ones so fired in that plant in over four years. The other two union members immediately went to the supervisor and said they wanted to get out of the union. They were told they would have to "prove" themselves, which they did by disclosing the homes where the union meetings were held and the identity of those in attendance.

• **Republic Plant No. 3**

At Republic Plant No. 3, James Walden was one of the first employes to join the union. His name was posted by the company on August 18. He was fired on August 22 for "tying doubles." There was undisputed evidence that no one in 20 years had been fired for this reason, "though doubles were continually being tied."

The next day, three co-workers of Walden went to the superintendent's office to resign from the union. They were told to "prove" themselves. They did so by disclosing the identity of other union members. When the name of one such individual was mentioned, the company official said:

"He's got six children. I don't know why in the world he would want to put his name on that thing; to start with, if he was to lose his job, he couldn't even get back on."

William Sibley was also a union member and had been employed at this plant for 21 years. He was fired shortly after he joined the union for "mixing waste." His supervisor subsequently testified that he could not recall ever before discharging a man for "mixing waste." After the discharge, a co-worker intervened and asked for reconsideration for the sake of Sibley's four children. The superintendent agreed to think it over, but did nothing after he spotted Sibley handing out union leaflets at the gate of Plant No. 3.

• **The Whitmire Plant**

There was a very unusual situation at Whitmire, where most of the 3,500 inhabitants worked at the mill. Jess Cudd and his son, Donald, were the first two employes to join the union. Jess had worked for the mill for 50 years, since he was 13. Donald, his son, came to work in 1949.

Donald, the son, was discharged for inefficiency, the first "doffer" so fired to the memory of the shift foreman. Although removed from the plant, Donald continued on in the village and was active in union organizational work. The company devised a plan to get Donald out of the community and his father, Jess, out of the plant, without discharging a man with 50 years' seniority.

The general overseer approached the father, suggested that he quit and adopt his grandchildren. This

would make him eligible for $250 a month in public relief which, with his social security, would almost equal what the company was paying him. With the children cared for by the grandfather, the son would then be free to leave town. As Jess Cudd related the conversation with the plant manager:

"He said if I'd run Donald, my son, off, and adopt them two young'uns and quit myself, it'd be all right."

Jess rejected this suggestion and was discharged for inefficiency. The plant was thus rid of the union's presence.

• **The Blackhawk Tuftin Plant and Warehouse**

James Goodwin was employed for ten years in the warehouse of the Blackhawk Mill in the Greenville area. He was one of 27 employes in the warehouse who had joined the union. Shortly after this was made known to the company, the union employes were called publicly to the management office and asked if they had any "questions." They did not and shortly after that they began to be fired, one by one, on various pretexts. Goodwin was fired because he went across to a restaurant for a sandwich (as was customary) without obtaining permission to leave the plant. Thereafter, he returned asking for his job back. The foreman called the other union warehouse employes together and told them Goodwin would have a better chance of being reemployed if they would admit that they were wrong in joining the union. He said:

"If enough of you go up there and take your name off, they will hire James Goodwin back."

• **Other Situations**

The record is replete with similar situations. At the White Horse Plant, Horace Anderson had been employed for 11 years and his work was "excellent." He joined the union on October 6 and was discharged on October 7 for spending too much time in the bathroom. Alvin Baker was employed as a sweeper and joined the union on October 10. The company was so informed on October 11. On the next working day, the assistant overseer followed him around all day, suggesting he resweep here, that he had missed some dirt there, etc. At the end of the day, his pay was reduced from $1.31 to $1.25 an hour. The next day, the assistant overseer again was at his side, even

following him to the bathroom. Baker then quit in disgust.

At the Greer Plant, Charles Plemmons was one of five men in his work area who joined the union on August 13. His name was posted on the company bulletin board as a union member and on August 24 he was fired for "horse play." A few minutes before going on duty, while waiting for the bell to ring, he swung a mop like a baseball bat and "hollered" in a loud voice, "not at nobody or nothing," "just hollering." His overseer admitted that in the 12 years he had been on the job he had not discharged any other employe for this reason.

Shirley Hobbs was employed at the Rosemary Fabrication Plant. Her job was to sort napkins into "firsts" and "seconds" and to count them into bundles of 100. On an average day, an inspector sorts and counts 8,500 napkins. She joined the union and attended an open meeting on October 3. On October 6, the general overseer of the plant recounted all her bundles, found one bundle one napkin short and discharged her for inefficiency. This was her first, and only, "write-up."

Virginia Ray was also an inspector at the Rosemary Fabrication Plant. Her job was to inspect several thousand towels (of poor quality and loosely woven) each day and separate them as "firsts" and "seconds" into bundles of 24. She joined the union and her name was sent to the company on August 27. Three days later, the assistant department overseer "spot-checked" her bundles and discharged her upon finding five "seconds" in a bundle of "firsts." The overseer admitted on examination that Virginia Ray was one of the best of the inspectors.

I believe this very limited sample of individual situations gives flavor and content to support the generalized conclusion of the trial examiner concerning the general pattern of the company anti-union practices:

"The normal pattern was a union meeting, generally on a weekend, at which a number of employes joined, the company advised the same day by letter or telegram, the name received the next working day, the names posted, and a personnel action report, or even discharge, the same day or the next. . . . The triggering act was clearly the employe's advising (the company) that he had joined the union. The write-up or discharge, or both, followed as quickly as a pretext could be found. . . . In many instances, the write-ups would be the first ever received by the employes during a long course of employment, or the first received for many years, or the first for the same alleged dereliction."

I might interpolate here that these events took place and this pattern of anti-unionism flourished in an area governed, thanks to Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, by so-called "right-to-work" laws. This history of events indicates what was repeatedly said in this chamber last summer—these laws do not give any one the right to work. A better and more accurate name for such laws, based upon the record of events in the Stevens case, might well be "right-to-be-fired" laws.

VI. The Fairness of the Trial Examiner

It might be thought that the trial examiner's decision might reflect a pro-union bias. But such a thought is dispelled by the record.

I do not believe that the trial examiner was biased in favor of the union. If anything, he leaned over backwards to favor the company.

I think two cases will suffice to prove his open-handed approach. It was charged that these two employes were discharged because they had testified under subpoena against the company in the earlier Labor Board proceedings. One, Daniel Murray, was employed at the Patterson Plant in the Roanoke Rapids area as a "sweeper," to clean 11 toilets. He was discharged for inefficiency after he testified in the Labor Board proceedings against the company. There was a great deal of conflicting testimony on how clean he kept the toilets, but the trial examiner ruled for the company on the theory that the General Counsel had failed to establish a prima facie case. So, too, in the case of Juanita Faulkenberry, a weaver with 30 years' experience employed at Republic Plant No. 1 in the Rock Hill area. She testified in the Labor Board hearing and thereafter was discharged for inefficiency. She had never before been issued a personnel action report complaining of her work, but the trial examiner ruled for the company:

"Since Faulkenberry was not associated with the union and since her testimony at the first hearing was relatively innocuous, I do not find that the General Counsel has met the burden of proof which rests upon him and I shall recommend that the complaint be dismissed as to Faulkenberry."

VII. The Problem of Remedies

To summarize the situation so far, the trial examiner went into the minutiae of the evidence concerning many employes at many of the company's plants, usually finding that the individual had been fired for union activity, sometimes not. He did, however, find a company pattern of interference, restraint and coer-

cion with the employe's statutory right to "self-organization."

The Labor Board members heard the appeal, affirmed in general, but found fault with some particulars of the individual situations.

The J. P. Stevens Company appealed to the Court of Appeals. The employes, discharged in the spring, summer and fall of 1963, must wait another year or more before the reinstatement order becomes final. Meanwhile, the union organizing drive has been blunted, if not destroyed. This raises serious questions concerning the effectiveness of the NLRB remedial orders.

The normal Labor Board remedial order is little more than a slap on the wrist. The guilty party is told to cease and desist from like future conduct and to post the cease and desist order in a conspicuous place. If employes are discharged, the Board is authorized to order their reinstatement, with or without back pay. Sums earned, or which could have been earned during the discharge period, are offset against the amount owing. These normal remedial orders were issued in the J. P. Stevens Company case.

But the J. P. Stevens Company situation was not normal. The company had notified all employes by mail of its determination to resist the union, so the Labor Board ordered the company to mail copies of the cease and desist order to each employe.

Many of the employes are illiterate, so the Labor Board ordered the company to read aloud the cease and desist order to assembled groups of employes.

The channels of public communication in the southern mill village are often closed to the union, so the Labor Board ordered the company to provide bulletin board space to the union message.

The Labor Board denied the remedy requested by the union: an order that the company bargain with the union on a "members only" basis. This request was bottomed on the theory that "but for" the company law violations, the union would have signed up a majority of the employes and the right to bargain on their behalf. To deny the union bargaining rights, at least on a "members only" basis permits the company to profit by its own misdeeds. As I said, this union request was denied by the Labor Board.

How effective is this order? Does it do any good for the Labor Board or a court to compel an employer to publicize a "cease and desist" order—two, three or four years after the event—that the employer was wrong when he interfered with, restrained and coerced the employes from exercising their statutory rights? I submit that in many cases the order is entirely ineffective. It does not unscramble the egg. The organizing drive cannot be put on ice for this period of time and is long since destroyed.

Does it do any good for the Labor Board, or a court, to order the reinstatement of employes discharged for union activity, even with back pay? Many of them have moved elsewhere and can't be found; others have found employment and can't prove financial loss; and, in any event, the back pay awards are tax deductible as a business expense. But, more important, the back pay awards in no way compensate for the anxiety and strain in making ends meet while all income is cut off.

The remedies of the Labor Board are too little and come too late. This situation, however, can be changed. I would like to discuss just a few of the current proposals on how this can be done.

a. The Section 10(j) Injunction

In 1947, this Congress recognized that the justice delayed by the due process procedures of the NLRB hearings was in fact no justice at all in many instances. Accordingly, we provided in Section 10(l) of the Taft-Hartley amendments that the Labor Board *must* seek a temporary restraining order from the lower federal courts whenever there is good cause to believe that a labor union has engaged in unlawful secondary boycott activities. In the 1959 Landrum-Griffin amendments, we extended this requirement that the Labor Board *must* seek federal court injunctions in "hot cargo" and "recognitional picketing" situations. In short, when an allegation is made against a labor union unfair labor practice, the federal courts step in with immediate relief while the merits are slowly decided by the administrative processes.

In 1947, we also *authorized* the Labor Board to seek judicial injunctive relief (pending the administrative processes) when a complaint was issued alleging other violations of the labor act by unions or by management. Section 10(j) of the Taft-Hartley amendments authorizes the Labor Board in this situation to seek "appropriate temporary relief or restraining order."

We recognized in the 1947 Taft-Hartley amendments that there may be a local or regional prejudice for or against labor unions. Accordingly, we authorized the Labor Board to seek the judicial relief under both Section 10(j) and under Section 10(e) either "within any district wherein the unfair labor practice in question is alleged to have occurred" *or* "wherein such person resides or transacts business."

I understand that the Labor Board has sought Section 10(j) injunctions when a complaint was issued alleging unlawful discharges based on union activities.

The Labor Board sought this judicial relief in the J. P. Stevens Company case. I further understand that the Labor Board has obtained temporary court orders putting the discharged employe back on the job in other sections of the country, but never in the southern textile mill states. It did not get this relief here in the J. P. Stevens case. Why has not the Labor Board sought a court injunction in the district "wherein such person resides or transacts business?" Specifically, why did not the Labor Board seek the 10(j) injunction in the federal court in New York where the J. P. Stevens Company has its headquarters? Why has not the Labor Board exhausted the possibilities

for interim judicial relief which we set out in our 1947 Taft-Hartley amendments? I wish this had been tried.

b. Section 10(e) Interim Relief

In Sections 10(j) and 10(l), we recognized the necessity for temporary judicial relief from the United States District Courts pending the administrative adjudication by the Labor Board and its trial examiners. In Section 10(e) of the Act, we recognized the necessity for temporary relief while the Labor Board decision was reviewed on appeal to the courts of appeal.

In Section 10(e), we authorized the Labor Board (pending review of its decisions by the courts of appeal) to petition such reviewing courts for "appropriate temporary relief or restraining order." We also authorized the reviewing courts "to grant such temporary relief or restraining order as it deems just and proper."

I understand this is a dead letter, that the Labor Board seldom if ever asks for "temporary relief." This means judicial delay of a year or more and compounds the damage caused by the administrative delay. Relief is in sight, but never in hand. I do not understand why the Labor Board does not utilize the congressional authorization to seek "temporary relief" from the reviewing courts, especially, as here, where the Labor Board has found unlawful discharges and the dischargees are obviously in financial straits.

Let me briefly review the situation.

The union here charged that a number of employes had been discharged because of union membership. The regional office of the NLRB investigated these charges and found reason to issue a complaint against the company. Thereafter a trial examiner heard days of evidence and, in a lengthy (117-page) opinion, found that some of the employes had been discharged because of union activity and other employes for legitimate reason. There was an appeal to the Labor Board. Five members of the Board (Republican and Democrat alike) reviewed the evidence and the findings and thereafter affirmed the trial examiner in almost all particulars.

The case now moves on to the Court of Appeals for review. In that forum, according to our statutory mandate in Section 10(e) of the Act, "the findings of the Board with respect to questions of fact, if supported by substantial evidence on the record considered as a whole, shall be conclusive." Statistically, there is very little likelihood that the reviewing court will reverse the Labor Board findings of fact concerning the reasons for the discharges.

The only real issue in this appeal concerns an entirely different question: whether the Labor Board has power to require the employer to read aloud the order which concedingly he must post upon the bulletin boards. Why must the discharged employes be denied their reinstatement pending the review of this unrelated issue? Why does not the Labor Board utilize the remedial weapons we enacted into law? I hope this is tried, if not in this case, at least soon in another.

c. Some Legislative Reforms

I have been discussing remedies presently available but untried. I do not think the successful use of these techniques will solve the problem. Something further must be done.

The J. P. Stevens Company has so far lost all the battles but has won the war. It has achieved its objective—to keep the union out. Its violations of the law, assuming the reviewing court upholds the Labor Board, will be punished by a wrist-slapping. The contest between the J. P. Stevens Company and the United States Government is unequal.

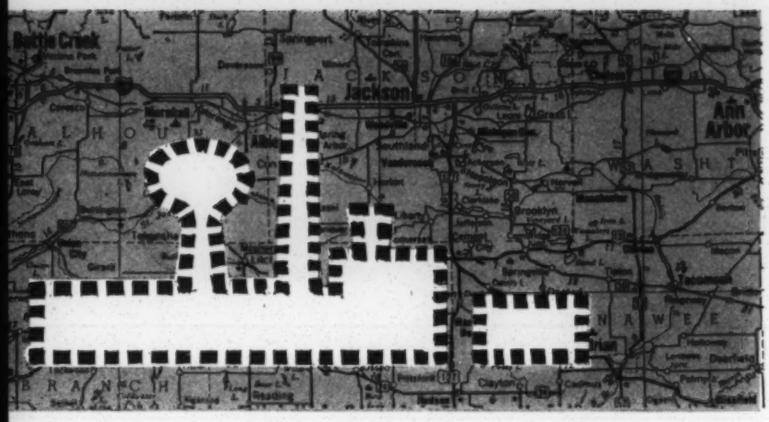
We send the Labor Board with a slingshot to enforce our laws against an armored Goliath and the days of David are over. If we want the laws we pass to be enforced, we must equip the agencies we create with power to deter the law violators. There are several necessary legislative reforms which have been proposed to my subcommitee. I would like to present a few of them here.

1. Currently, the National Labor Relations Act authorizes the Labor Board to order the reinstatement of employes discharged for union affiliation with back pay. This back pay award does not compensate the employe for his financial loss; nor does it deter the wrongdoer. The back pay award has been called "nothing more than a hunting license for union-busters." I suggest that the Labor Board have authority to assess double or treble damages against certain violators—those who have been deliberate or repeated or flagrant in their violation of our laws.

2. The law should be amended so a violation will hurt where it counts—in the pocketbook. Moreover, it does not make sense for the federal government to subsidize with lucrative contracts the individuals and companies which violate our laws. Accordingly, I propose amendments to the Davis-Bacon and Walsh-Healey Acts so as to give the contracting agencies of our government power to withhold contracts from companies which the Labor Board finds to be in open, flagrant, knowing and purposeful violation of our laws. I made a similar proposal in connection with those who violate our anti-trust laws and I think the same rationale is applicable here.

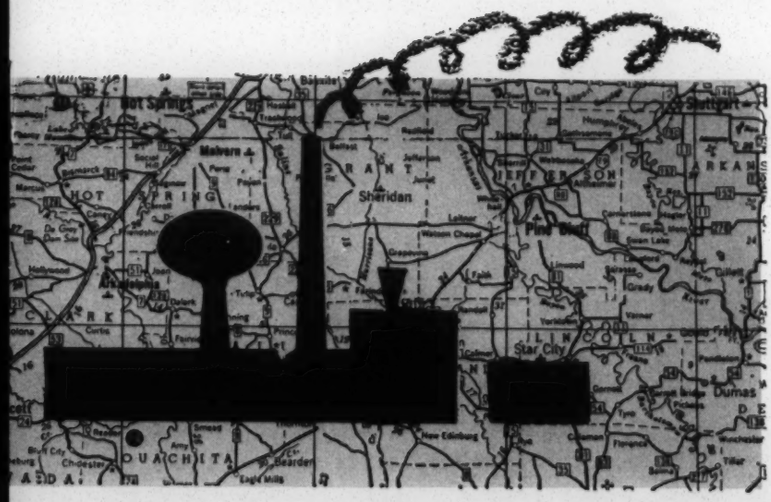
Action, I say, is urgent if we are to demonstrate that the United States Government is larger than the total of its parts.

Plant location



subsidized plant migration

by Frank L. Fernbach



In the spring of 1961, something was happening in two small American communities which, although hardly noted elsewhere, was a forewarning of a significant and dangerous trend.

In Muskegon, Michigan, the management of the Norge Division of the Borg-Warner Corporation suddenly announced plans to close down its plant. Not even the bargaining representative of the company's 1,400 plant workers—Local 404 of the Allied Industrial Workers, AFL-CIO—had been consulted in advance. Yet these workers had given 21,000 years of their lives—an average of 15 years per employe—to the production of Norge refrigerators and the earning of substantial profits for this wealthy corporation. Almost 900 of the soon-to-be-abandoned workers were over 40 years old; 235 were over 55 years of age.

During the same springtime that this disaster was overtaking Muskegon—it was already a depressed, labor-surplus area even before the shutdown announcement—a more pleasant prospect was unfolding for Greenwood, Arkansas, 700 miles away. In that small community, a brand new $7.5 million factory, financed by the proceeds from the sale of tax-free municipal bonds, was nearing completion. It was being built for, and according to the precise specifications of, the Norge Division of the Borg-Warner Corporation, the Muskegon runaway. What is more, in large measure the plant would be subsidized not only by the citizens of Greenwood but by all the taxpayers of the United States.

American workers always have had to face the grim fact that unavoidable economic circumstances—for example, the changing market for a product or a dwindling local raw material supply—sometimes make a plant closing and its relocation a necessity. In all too many cases, however, employers are lured away by a deliberate act of plant piracy. Many states and communities have spent and still spend vast sums to dramatize the attraction of their cheap non-union labor, their low-benefit, and thus low-cost, welfare laws and their special tax-avoidance schemes. These enticements—used for years as bait to pirate plants from one community to another—played their part in luring Borg-Warner from Michigan to Arkansas.

In this instance, however, a much newer and more sophisticated plant-pirating device was employed. It is known in the investment banking trade as "industrial-bond financing."

Arkansas set the stage for the use of this device in 1958 when it authorized its cities, counties or municipalities to sell tax-free public bonds and use the proceeds to build and lease publicly-subsidized plants for private use. Greenwood was not the first Arkansas community to utilize this newly legalized industry-luring scheme, but its $7.5 million bond issue in behalf of Borg-Warner was the largest approved up to

FRANK L. FERNBACH is Assistant Director of the AFL-CIO Department of Research.

NLRB Examiner 'Chickens Out' In Darlington Decision—Recommends Dismissal of Charges

Labor News - Fri Aug 19, 1966

Organizing - South

LABOR NEWS - FRIDAY Aug 9, 1966

WASHINGTON—An examiner for the National Labor Relations Board has recommended that the board close out the 10-year-old labor-management dispute over the shutdown of a Darlington, S.C., textile mill by dismissing union charges of unfair labor practices.

Examiner Lloyd Buchanan suggested also that the Supreme Court modify its 1965 decision in the case because, he said, the court had injected an aspect that had not been considered by the board or the U.S. Court of Appeals.

That aspect was whether Deering Milliken & Co. had closed its Darlington plant to discourage union activities in its other mills.

Acceptance by the board of Buchanan's recommendation for dismissal of the case could mean the end of the prolonged dispute. The examiner ruled that evidence received in a new hearing, after the supreme court sent the case back to the NLRB, did not prove the Darlington plant was closed in 1956 to discourage unionization of employes in other mills fo the company.

He also held that evidence failed to show that the Darlington closing would cause workers in other Deering Milliken mills to fear the shutdown of additional plants if they persisted in union organization activities.

In proposing that the Supreme Court reconsider its decision, Buchanan said neither the board nor the appellate court "considered the aspect of an intention to chill unionism elsewhere, but the Supreme Court directed that this be considered. . . ."

Buchanan said this element had been injected despite the belief of the NLRB general counsel, the complaining union, the trial examiner (Buchanan), the board and the court of appeals "that the issues raised by the pleadings and evidence received were sufficient and properly called for a decision based on the issues which had long before been settled."

The Darlington case stemmed from charges by the Textile Workers Union of America of unfair labor practices against the company and Roger Milliken of Spartanburg, S.C., its president.

In 1956 employes of the Darlington plant voted the union their bargaining agent. The company's board of directors then recommended liquidation of the plant. Shortly afterward its doors were closed and the plant's equipment was sold.

The union countered with its complaint of unfair labor practices and in 1962 the NLRB ruled the company in violation of the Labor Relations Act. The company appealed to the Supreme Court. The court ruled last year that a company had the right to go out of business but could not close one branch of a business to chill unionism elsewhere.

The court sent the case back to the NLRB, saying the board had failed in its 1962 decision to show that the Darlington plant was shut down to discourage unionism or that its closing had any effect on union activities in other Deerling Milliken plants.

Buchanan said he was suggesting that the Supreme Court may want to modify its decision because the court had injected the possibility of an intention on the part of the company to discourage unionism in its other plants. He said neither the board nor the U.S. Court of Appeals had considered such an aspect.

Therefore, he wrote, "it is logically, if remotely, possible that the Supreme Court may modify its holding because of the problems indicated. But that will not be done on my mere suggestion that there are problems with delineation of them."

9/18/66
RWDSU

Organizing — South

SOUTH

43 Ordered Back With Pay to May 1965

NLRB HITS SOUTHERN UNION-BUSTERS

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—The RWDSU has won two NLRB decisions that should help workers, particularly in the South, to organize and win contracts despite the intense opposition of their employer.

In the first, a trial examiner has recommended that the NLRB in Washington order the Benson Wholesale Co. of Geneva, Ala., to recognize the RWDSU without an election, to bargain with the union and reinstate three union leaders to their jobs.

The second was an order by the board in Washington that four building supply firms in New Bern, N.C., bargain in good faith with the RWDSU for a first contract and restore 43 workers to their jobs. Backing a trial examiner's decision, the board held that an employer's insistence on maintaining discriminatory wages and working conditions for Negro workers would be an unfair labor practice.

At Benson, a grocery warehouse, the RWDSU Alabama Council organized a majority of the 70 employees a year ago and asked for recognition. The company refused, fired three leaders—Leon Holland Jr., Robert J. Stewart and William J. McGowan—and threatened other union supporters.

The union filed NLRB charges against Benson and asked the board to order the company to recognize it without an election—since the company's actions had destroyed the union's majority—and bargain.

After hearings in April in Geneva, Trial Examiner Joseph I. Nachman found for the union.

"Assuming no appeal," Ass't Southern Dir. Frank Parker said, "we will request recognition and the opening of negotiations. We have been meeting regularly with the workers since October, and we have discussed contract proposals, and we are ready to submit our proposals at the appropriate time."

The union will seek union security and job security clauses, arbitration, grievance procedure, wage increases, insurance and company-paid pensions in the talks.

Orgs. John Parker and Lester Bettice are in charge of the campaign at Benson.

Would 'Freeze' Discrimination

At New Bern, 43 union members, all Negroes, walked off their jobs at four jointly-owned supply companies—General Building Supplies, Stevenson Brick, Redi-Mix Concrete and New Bern Building Supplies—May 3, 1965 after months of negotiations had gotten nowhere. Their employer refused to give the union members a wage increase, an arbitration clause or seniority. Since the effect of his refusal would have been to freeze discriminatory wages and working conditions for Negroes into a union contract, the union said that this would have made it a party to discrimination against some of its own members, an unfair labor practice.

Trial Examiner Robert E. Mullin found for the union last March, stating that the union was under an obligation to represent "equally and in good faith" the interests of all workers in the shop, whites and Negroes.

The board has now affirmed Mullin's decision, ordered the company to reinstate the 43 workers and bargain with the union, which won an NLRB election at the companies in November 1964.

The company is appealing to the Federal courts.

At the time of the strike, the company employed 59 Negro workers and 16 whites. The 16 other Negro workers also struck, but their present whereabouts are not known.

The workers ended their strike May 23, but the employer had replaced them and the union immediately filed an unfair labor practice charge.

The eventual cost to the company is likely to be in the hundreds of thousands of dollars. The board has ordered the strikers' reinstatement as of May 23, 1965, with full back pay. Some of the men have had odd jobs since then, but Reg. Dir. Irving Lebold said that others have not worked, and the company will have to make good all lost wages. The company also — ironically — paid the replacements higher wages than the strikers, so the union members are entitled to the higher rates although they have no contract.

Int'l Rep. R. W. Parker has been in charge of the RWDSU campaign, along with Lebold.

"We're going to win this case and get a contract and demonstrate that we won't walk away from a civil rights struggle," Parker said.

Unions — Organizing

9/29/66

'HE MOORE COUNTY NEWS, CARTHAGE, NORTH CAROLINA

EDITORIAL PAGE

Vote Against The Union

Nov. Tuesday, September 27, another election is going to be held at Proctor-Silex in Southern Pines to determine whether the employees want to have the International Electrical Workers Union represent them or whether they don't. This is going to be a re-run of a previous election, in which the employees voted against union representation. The reason is it being held again is because of certain citizen groups, such as the Moore County Industrial Development Committee, went to work in a concerted effort to defeat the union,-so they say.

This is the finding of the National Labor Relations Board, an organization designed to promote the cause of unionism,-another arm of the federal government, committed to the destruction of individual and collective liberties under the free enterprise system. Only under government sanction is it allowed to exist, but, like all other government regulative bodies it would seem that it has taken unto itself, responsibilities and authority, with the aid and comfort of the United States Supreme Court, that really were not intended for it in the first place.

A union organizer is allowed to come into Moore County, harass management, and disrupt traffic to dispense his scurrilous literature, but a group of local citizens who wish to fight back, is committing an unpardonable sin, and as a result the election is declared null and void. No organization is allowed to work against unionization, the board in effect is saying- Is this freedom?

There is no doubt that when the company first came to Moore County, it has organizational pains. You don't just push a button and start up a whole new industry and way of life for so many people in such a short time. Unionism feeds on discontent, and apparently the field was well scouted before an attempt was made, but, we hope,-and fervently so,-that the growing pain stage is now over. There is no place for a union in this county. The good people of this area, and this apparently includes the majority of the Proctor-Silex workers, can see through the veil of pretense that the union henchmen have cast. They contribute nothing to wages, to the taxes of the community, to the support of the local churches, nor any other charitable organization. Their only thought is to line their own pockets, and those of their bosses, to further their own cause against individual liberty and freedom.

We have seen sufficient evidence to prove that the federal government is determined to collectivize us all. Our schools are a good example. Now, another tentacle reaches out to pull us under. IT MUST BE CUT OFF. If you know any worker at the plant, let him known the danger that he and the community is facing, and urge him to vote AGAINST union representation. By so doing he will be voting FOR his own individual freedom, and a full paycheck, without union deductions.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Organizing — South

Yes Yes Yes Yes Yes

Miracle in Wilmington

By JAMES PIERCE

IUD Coordinator for the Carolinas

THE BRIGHTEST spot on the Carolina labor scene these days is Wilmington, N.C., for the working people of this coastal town have made so much progress in such a short time that it almost seems like a miracle.

For years, practically everything in and around Wilmington has been owned or controlled by a group of powerful and wealthy conservatives who called themselves the committee of 100. Members of this group were able to dictate what wages would be in the Wilmington area for they owned most of the businesses.

The were able to decide which new industries would be allowed to come to Wilmington and which would be kept away because they owned practically all of the industrial property. They controlled city and county politics to such an extent that elections only served to give the people an opportunity to vote on candidates who had already been hand-picked at the country club.

The committee of 100 seemed to think that Wilmington and all that was in it was their personal property and that the whole town should be run for their personal benefit. Members of the committee prospered and grew rich through the ruthless use of their power while the average citizen lived in a substandard house and worked for substandard pay.

It seemed that the only choice a working man had was to stay in Wilmington and work for what the committee of 100 wanted to give him or to leave and go elsewhere to earn a living.

Two years ago the situation in Wilmington seemed hopeless but since then a series of events have taken place which have completely changed the picture. It began with a union election at Ideal Cement Co. The Ideal Cement plant was one of the most modern in the country and wages and benefits were far above the average for the Wilmington area.

But the employees of Ideal were not satisfied with getting more than average, they wanted to get the same as workers in their industry were getting. After a hard-fought campaign, a majority of Ideal employees voted "yes" and then went on to negotiate a contract that left the working people of Wilmington buzzing for weeks.

Two of the items which caused the most comment were wage increases up to 35¢ per hour and guaranteed income of $105 per week in case of lay-off.

The next event which was a big factor in changing the situation in Wilmington was the union election at Timme Manufacturing, a large textile plant. The Timme election was held during the time that Ideal Cement employees were negotiating their first contract. It was won by a large majority. [Timme workers joined TWUA.]

Following the election, Timme employees were able to negotiate such a good contract that even those employees who had worked the hardest to keep the union out, quickly became members.

The next big election was at B&W Boiler Works and this was the one that really counted for B&W was the key to the whole Wilmington situation. Even though B&W plants were under contract all over the U.S., the management of the Wilmington plant was the recognized leader of the anti-union movement.

For years it had seemed just about impossible to organize B&W for this company had the reputation of firing an employee who even said "union" out loud. But then the impossible happened. B&W employees voted to organize by a big majority and went on to negotiate an excellent contract.

After their first contract was signed, the employees formed their own local union and began doing a wonderful job of handling grievances and improving working conditions.

With the organizing of Ideal Cement, Timme and B&W, the resistance was broken and the employees of Tenney Engineering, Allied Chemical and Reasor Chemical joined the parade to better wages and working conditions through union contracts. Six major industries of the Wilmington area were organized in one short period of less than two years.

As a result of this organization, the committee of 100 big shots has lost its power to dictate to the citizens of Wilmington. It has been replaced by a committee of several thousand working people.

The working people of Wilmington have done something that seemed like a hopeless dream only two years ago. They have already won their first goal, gaining an effective voice in their wages and working conditions. They are now winning their second goal which may be even a greater victory than their first.

They are changing the political setup in Wilmington and New Hanover County. They are changing from a government of "by the few and for the few" to a government of "by the people and for the people."

The victory in Wilmington was a community effort. It was made possible by people from six different plants and five different industries working together for a common goal. What they have done proves once again that the way for working people to get ahead is through teamwork and the way to build that teamwork is through unions.

SOUTH

Workers, Company Both Benefit

RWDSU Comes In . . . Production Goes Up

FT. MYERS, Fla.—Four months after the RWDSU won a contract at Yoder Brothers, a big flower grower, one union member described the changes that the union has brought to him, his 400 fellow employees and to the company.

His letter to the Ft. Myers News-Post was sent to The Record by Buck Connell, a retired Int'l Representative who lives nearby and took part in the campaign. The member prefers to be anonymous.

Some months ago [he wrote] there was considerable discussion in the Mailbag concerning the low wages being paid in this area to unskilled and semi-skilled persons and the need of a union to help correct the situation.

The people at the place where I work found a union and brought it into town, and we now have an office with a full-time representative to help us with our problems and to help others who are working for a mere existence and, in most cases, below what the Federal Government says is the poverty level.

In our first contract, with the help of experienced union representation we received a 25 cents per hour wage increase, paid holidays, paid hospitalization, increased vacation, better working conditions and many other benefits, and we are certain this would not have happened had we sat on our hind quarters and done nothing but gripe.

We were only able to do these things by sticking together, each for the other, so the company could not play one against the other. All things are possible if you are determined to fight as a group.

The employees where I work are much happier and respect each other more because we fought a battle together and won.

Our production has increased, not because the company put pressure on but because we work with one another much better, we have shared a common cause together, and the company has made an honest effort at our insistence to correct mistakes made in the past.

I am extremely glad we found our union so willing to help. We are willing to help others enjoy a better life for themselves and their families, and the Ft. Myers community will be much better off over the long haul, for the union not only helps its members but the community.

We are willing to share our good fortune with others who are willing to help themselves and the community to grow. Low wages never helped anyone and poor working conditions can only work hardships on the individual and the community can only become stagnant and complacent.

UNION MEMBER

Ala. Council Scores Big Win In Demopolis Plant Election

DEMOPOLIS, Ala. — The RWDSU Alabama Council scored a smashing 82 to 30 NLRB election victory Sept. 11 at the A. R. Taylor Veneer Co. The election is expected to lead to other wins by the union in Demopolis, which is in the heart of Alabama's Black Belt.

"This victory opens the door for us," said Org. Henry Jenkins, who led the drive at Taylor, a plywood producer.

The new Taylor members will meet Monday, Oct. 17, to draw up contract proposals. They will ask for union security, seniority, a dues check-off, big wage increases, holidays and vacation, and company-paid health and welfare benefits.

At present a few workers earn $1.35 and $1.40 an hour, but most get only $1.25, the Federal minimum. There are no fringes at all—no holidays, no vacations, no health coverage.

The big Taylor win climaxed a campaign that began in late July when Jenkins, working on another campaign in the area, started talking to a workman, who turned out to be a Taylor employee. Several days later, Jenkins was invited to a meeting of the workers, and organized a majority in short order.

Willie Pond served as the union's observer at the election.

Unusual Aspects

The campaign had its unusual aspects. A number of employees helped build the Taylor plant 18 years ago and have worked there since.

Another unusual aspect is that although Demopolis is in the heart of anti-union country, the workers had no fear of organizing or attending union meetings.

"We held our meetings six blocks from the plant and we would always have good attendance," Jenkins said. "The workers didn't care about the company seeing them at union meetings. They had no fear."

This is in contrast to the experiences of many other Negro workers in the Black Belt, who have faced threats and intimidation for supporting the RWDSU in an organizing drive, and just a year ago, Jenkins himself was threatened by marauding whites in nearby Greensboro. But it's a lot different in Demopolis.

With the atmosphere favorable and the Taylor success, the union expects to win among the 50 workers at the Griffith Packing plant here when the board orders an election.

Industrial Towel Strike Ends

DALLAS, Tex.—The five-month strike of 161 workers against Industrial Uniform and Towel Service, which began April 26, has been settled under terms worked out with the help of the NLRB.

The settlement calls for all strikers to be returned to work by Oct. 15, and at The Record's presstime, Oct. 12, all except two—Mrs. Victor Marie Templeton, shop chairman, and Betty Davis, a committee member—were back on the job.

As soon as they are back, the union will ask the company to renew talks for a first contract.

"We're very hopeful of winning an agreement," Int'l Rep. Jake Stewart, who was in charge of the strike, said.

He said that the strikers had held up very well during the long walkout. "We have some of the best union people I've seen in my career in the labor movement," he said.

'Oh, No–Not You Again!'

Would You Believe — First Vacations?

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—Local 19 won wage increases of ten to 14 cents an hour and a $1.50 an hour minimum for 125 members in a wage re-opener with the Buckeye Oil Co., a subsidiary of Proctor and Gamble Co.

Local Pres. Earl H. Fisher also reports the union has won a first contract for eight truck drivers employed by Kelly & Jamison. The three-year agreement calls for wage increases of 35 cents an hour; one week's vacation after one year, two after five and three after 15; and six paid holidays.

These are the first vacations and holidays the workers, all of whom are Negroes, have had.

Fisher headed the bargaining committee.

Police Harass Coke Pickets

DALLAS, Tex.—The strike of 300 members of the RWDSU at Coca-Cola Bottling Co. for a first contract continued with no sign of a settlement at The Record's presstime.

The walk-out began in July, after months of talks with Coke failed to get the company to bargain on a dues check-off, seniority and grievance procedure.

Picketlines at Coke are up from five in the morning until 11 at night, and the company's business has been sharply cut.

The union helped many strikers find temporary work, and the Int'l Union Strike Fund is also assisting the strikers.

Morale of the RWDSU members remains high although there is harassment of the strikers.

"The police are picking persons up off the street at random for 'investigation,' and they have a list of every striker at Coke," said Int'l Rep. Jake Stewart, in charge of the strike. "They check over the list, say 'yes, you're a Coke striker,' throw him in jail overnight and turn him loose in the morning."

Stewart is also being harassed. He has received a number of parking tickets without cause, his phone calls are sometimes disconnected in the middle, and he is being followed by men believed to be off-duty police.

"They follow me from the picketline to the office, to meetings, wherever I'm going," Stewart said. "They must find it a pretty dull assignment, because I don't go much of anywhere."

He was, however, forced to leave the motel where he lived for three years before the strike started. Threatening phone calls scared workers at the motel, and Stewart moved.

"There's a hot Senate race on, and we can't get any politician to do anything about the police," Stewart said. "Nobody wants to rock the boat."

Company Fires 5, RWDSU Finds Jobs

DALLAS, Tex.—The RWDSU has organized all 16 employees of the H. B. Meyers & Sons chemical warehouse, a division of Huntington Laboratories, and filed an NLRB petition for an election.

The company responded by firing the five members of the in-shop committee, and the union filed unfair labor practice charges with the board against Meyers.

The five discharged employees have been placed in RWDSU and IUE shops.

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December 30, 1966

Mr. Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

I'm sorry about the delay in responding to your letter earlier this month asking for some data about organizing gains.

The news items to which you referred were based upon some comments made by Director of Organization Bill Kircher to the AFL-CIO General Board meeting in mid November.

Attached is a copy of the summary he used when he was making his report.

Bill did not read this to the Board, but extracted the statistics from this summary.

Sincerely,

Alan

Alan Kistler

opeiu # 2
afl-cio

Enclosure

Union Organizing

Organizing — South

NLRB COMMENTS 11/16/66

The National Labor Relations Board has not yet released its official report for fiscal 1966.

Analysis of the monthly reports published by NLRB for the 12 months included in fiscal 1966 gives an approximate statistical picture, however.

That picture confirms the earlier observation that unions are enjoying improved organizing success.

AFL-CIO unions took part in 5,461 collective bargaining elections conducted by NLRB, in fiscal 1966. This is the highest number for the last 13 years.

AFL-CIO unions won 3,159 of those elections -- also the highest number for the past 13 years.

The percentage victory figure is 57.8% -- highest in the last 7 years.

Through these election victories, AFL-CIO unions were certified as the bargaining agents for 243,994 workers -- the highest such number in the past 11 years.

Making this performance even more noteworthy is the fact that in fiscal 1965, the previous year, AFL-CIO unions had achieved record-breaking results in every one of the above categories -- the number of elections, number won, percentage won, and number of people covered.

And the year before that, fiscal 1964, AFL-CIO unions had established a post-merger record of people certified in NLRB elections and had compiled the second best score for number of elections in which they had participated and the number they ahad won.

So there is a three year running demonstration that AFL-CIO unions are organizing more, are organizing more effectively.

Examination of the election results this calendar year also bear out the improved picture, especially when a comparison is made, month by month, with the last several years.

NLRB monthly figures are available thru August. Comparing the eight-month totals with similar period for the last four years (the period for which NLRB monthly figures are available) we see that there has been an uninterrupted three year improvement in the number of elections, the number won, and the number of people covered by certification. The numerical improvement in the last named category -- the number of people in units certified has been continuous over the four year stretch. In addition the year by year increase has been greater in each of the last three years over the previous year.

Organizer for the

MACHINIST PHOTO

Naval Air Station contract covers 4,500

The first pact between IAM Lodge 39 and the Naval Air Station, Norfolk, Va., was signed recently, William J. Barnes, lodge president, reports. The agreement covers nearly 4,500 blue-collar employees who won the IAM as their union in an election last year.

The agreement was negotiated under terms of Executive Order 10988 which guarantees Federal employees the right to bargain collectively. Most employees covered by the two-year pact are employed in the Overhaul and Repair Department at the Naval Air Station.

The new contract provides for apprentice training, proper distribution of overtime, and sets up a grievance procedure with arbitration. Other provisions include vacation selection, and promotions.

On hand as Captain A. H. Sallenger signed the contract were, l to r, Walter Savelle, recording secretary; John Hinnant, chief steward; Barnes; George Griffin, vice president; Jack Dollar, financial secretary; Tom King, chief steward; Robert C. Spillane, president elect; George Duncan, chief steward; Willie Bowser, chief steward. The pact was negotiated with the assistance of Grande Lodge Rep. Dalford D. Smith.

save for E.W. at Const 3/9/67

Georgia's Labor Organizers Have a Hard Row to Hoe

Organizing South

By JIM MONTGOMERY
Constitution Business Editor

Life is a bed of roses for labor organizers in Georgia and other Southern states. Very thorny roses.

Item: The Textile Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO, last month urged the AFL-CIO executive council to declare war on "a South-wide anti-union conspiracy," and called for Congressional investigation of and sanctions against "illegal interference by major Southern textile employers with the right of their workers to organize."

Item: Although the TWUA in January won by 1,139 to 917 a representation election at the Lindale, Ga., mill of West Point-Pepperell, Inc., industry sources say only six of Georgia's 175 textile mills now are in the union fold even after many years of organizational activity.

Item: The entire union movement couldn't muster enough political influence last year to knock the legal props out from under the "right-to-work" laws that restrain union power in 20 (mostly Southern) states.

Item: Even organizing organizers can be hazardous, a case in point being the pending trial in Atlanta of the International Association of Machinists & Aerospace Workers, AFL-CIO, as an employer, on National Labor Relations Board charges of unfair labor practices in dealing with an independent union of IAM employes.

All but the last of these events reflect the laboriously difficult and frustrating task that still confronts labor organizers in the South despite the region's continued rapid industrial expansion and below-average wage rates.

And nowhere is the sheer frustration of organizing Dixie more eloquently expressed than in the TWUA's despairing allegation that unions are being blockaded by a regional conspiracy.

A new survey by The Constitution shows that during the past seven years union membership gains in the South were far exceeded by the region's growth in both blue-collar and white-collar employment, indicating that the relative strength of organized labor in Dixie is even less now than in 1960.

Contrast employment trends with the results of representation elections conducted by the NLRB, and you get a reasonably valid idea of the status of unions in the South inasmuch as most union elections are processed through the federal ballot machinery.

Since 1960, nine Southern states have increased their total nonfarm employment by nearly 2.2 million persons, including some 650,000 new manufacturing workers.

From mid-1959 through mid-1966, the NLRB conducted 6,252 of 252 elections involving 27,063 employes. Comparable?

The seven-year record in Georgia is 460 union wins, or 56 per cent of the 827 elections that involved 65,933 workers. During roughly the same period, Georgia registered increases of 83,600 in manufacturing employment and 294,000 in total nonfarm employment. But some of these were in construction

(Seven-year union victory ratios in the other states are 57 per cent in Louisiana, 56 per cent in Alabama, 55 per cent in Arkansas and Tennessee, and 53 per cent in Florida.)

Somewhat more current figures on NLRB elections in Georgia, as complied by Associated Industries of Georgia for the 12 months ended Dec. 31, 1966, credit unions with 88 victories out of 144 elections involving 15,135 workers, a ratio of 61 per cent.

According to the AIG report, 37 different unions were engaged in organizational activity in the state last year. In terms of election results, the Teamsters led with 22 wins in 30 elections, followed by the Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen with seven out of 10, and the Communication Workers of America with five out of eight. The United Mine Workers engaged in 12 contests, but won only three.

Throughout the South, organized labor has repeatedly sought in vain to make significant inroads, banking on regional wage-rate comparisons (among other bones of contention) to induce a growing wave of enlistements. They cite Bureau of Labor Stastics reports such as the one showing that weekly earnings of factory workers this past December averaged $114.68 nationally, but only $88.40 in the Southeast and $87.95 in Georgia.

Ask why unions remain relatively impotent in the South, and businessmen and the chambers of commerce that represent them stress the Southern worker's "independent frame of mind' and moral compulsion to perform "a day's work for a day's pay.'

Labor organizers tell a rather different story, charging Southern employers generally with financial intimidation of their employes and with physical intimidation — allegedly applied by local police and sheriffs, especially in towns dominated by one or two industries—of labor organizers.

And unions curse the predominantly Southern devices known as "right-to-work" laws, which prohibit union-shop and certain other union-strengthening practices that are legal in 30 of the 50 states. The South preserved these laws by leading last year's successful battle against organized labor's drive for Congressional repeal of section 14b of the Taft-Hartley law.

The backwash of bitterness from that episode was evident in last month's denunciation by the textile workers' union of "the unbridled arrogance and growing intensity of this (South-wide anti-union) conspiracy."

But mainly it reflected unended decades of accumulated disappointment for all organized labor in the South.

Reserve Bank Sees Building Loans Easing

Economists at the Atlanta Federal Reserve Bank say large banks in the Fed's Sixth District are encouraging construction loans after withdrawing from this type of lending for many months. The Sixth District includes, Georgia, Alabama, Florida and parts of Louisiana, Tennessee and Mississippi.

The bank's Monthly Review reports "business watchers" in the district taking a close look at building plans and activity this month.

"An easing in the demand for funds in the private non-construction sections of the economy, coupled with consumers' shift toward saving, returned money to the mortgage market faster than was anticipated," the report stated.

80% CONVENTIONAL HOME

in both blue-collar and white-collar employment, indicating that the relative strength of organized labor in Dixie is even less now than in 1960.

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Since 1960, nine Southern states have increased their total nonfarm employment by nearly 2.2 million persons, including some 650,000 new manufacturing workers.

From mid-1959 through mid-1966, the NLRB conducted 6,252 elections in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee. They involved 546,875 employes. But the unions won only slightly over half (54 per cent) of the elections, or 3,378.

The ratio of union victories was somewhat greater in 1966 than in 1960 in all but two of the states, Arkansas and Florida, where there were slight declines. But in North Carolina and South Carolina, the nation's two largest textile states, unions have carried less than half (46 per cent) of all the elections conducted by the NLRB over the past seven years. And in 1966 they batted only .430 in South Carolina and .400 in North Carolina.

Paradoxically, organized labor has persistently posted its best record in the least industrialized of these states, Mississippi, where it carried 62 per cent of the seven-year elections total. But the numbers are very small—156 union wins out

Louisiana, Tennessee and Mississippi.

The bank's Monthly Review reports "business watchers" in the district taking a close look at building plans and activity this month.

"An easing in the demand for funds in the private non-construction sections of the econmy, coupled with consumers' shift toward saving, returned money to the mortgage market faster than was anticipated," the report stated.

wide anti-union) conspiracy."

But mainly it reflected unended decades of accumulated disappointment for all organized labor in the South.

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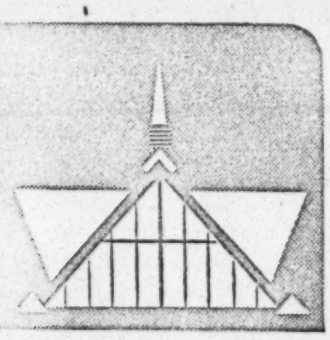
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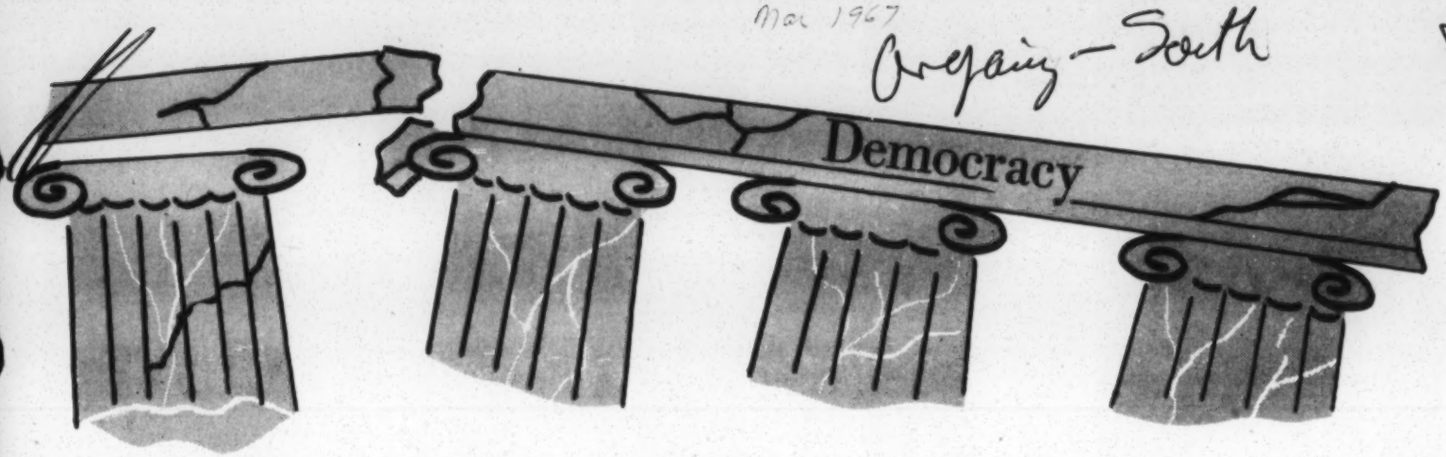
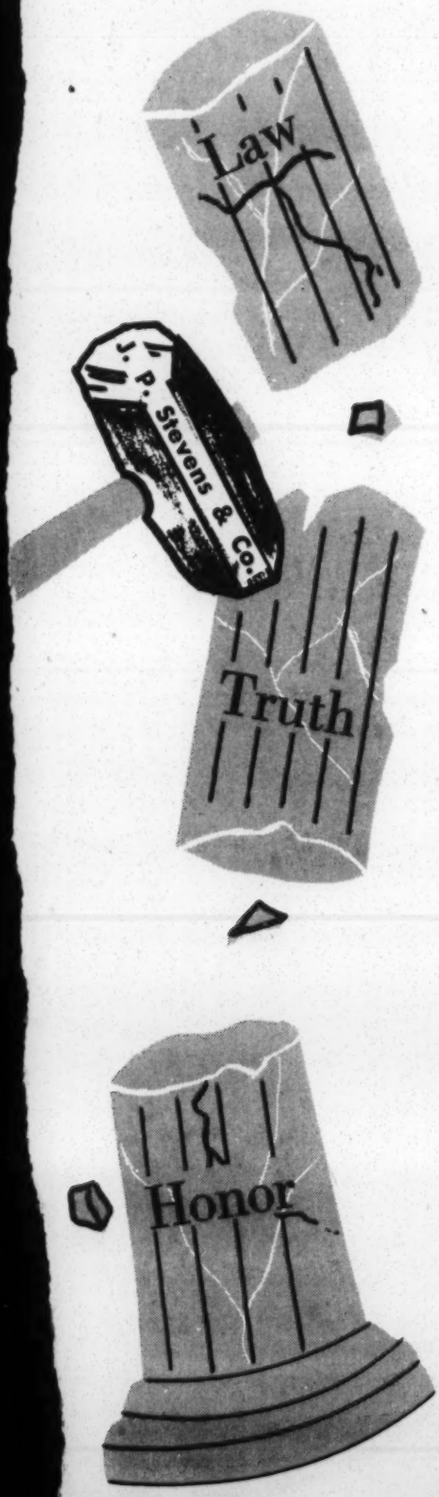




'Out of Tune...

with honor, justice, decent treatment'

FOR the third time an NLRB trial examiner has found J. P. Stevens & Co. guilty of massive and deliberate violations of the labor law (Page 24).

The findings in this third round that the company acted with cruelty and lack of morality in dealing with its workers comes with special force since the trial examiner was Boyd Leedom —board chairman under the Eisenhower administration and a man described as a "responsible conservative."

Shocking as his findings were, they came as no surprise to the men and women employed in the Stevens' empire in the Carolinas. These workers have had every-day, first-hand experience of the company's gross violations of their rights under the laws of the land.

Leedom's findings that there is an anti-union conspiracy in the southern textile industry—which deprives "thousands of employees" and "wide geographic areas" of the benefits of the labor law—came as no startling news to TWUA. For years, the union has been alerting Congress and the public at large to this state of affairs.

But Leedom's decision did underscore what TWUA has long maintained. The Stevens case is not a matter that concerns only textile workers and their union. It concerns every American, no matter what his position in life, no matter whether he believes in unions or not. It concerns every American because it involves the fundamental structure of American law and society. The case is no longer simply a matter of labor law—it involves the laws of morality, decency and democracy too.

Reviewing the testimony of numerous officials at the hearing, Leedom bluntly charges them with lying under oath "without compunction" in the conviction that lying on the witness stand is the right and accepted thing to do because of company policy.

"I have the inescapable but independently-reached conviction . . ." Leedom says, "from having heard innumerable witnesses at the trial, and having carefully digested and reviewed their testimony from the typewritten transcript that many of the witnesses called by respondent (Stevens) testified as they did pursuant to a policy made at a

Justice Labor

higher level of management than theirs, to defeat this union's organizational effort at the cost, if necessary, of committing unfair labor practices and then denying the unlawful act in the process."

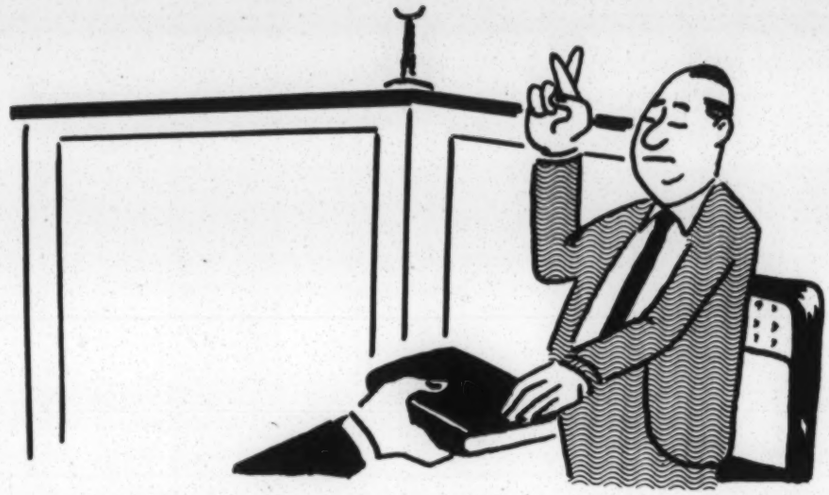
Why did these company officials, whom Leedom called "good and decent citizens" otherwise, blithely violate the biblical injunction not to bear false witness against thy neighbor?

Leedom, himself, answers the question. The anti-union policy directed by "one man or a few men at the top" is of such a nature that any action against unions is justified even if it involves "dual standard" morality and a "flagrant breach by many of the promise made under oath to tell the truth."

The trial examiner went on to express "the faint hope that something here written might produce a new appraisal in some quarters of the methods used in opposing employees' right to organize.

"For if, as I believe and find," Leedom states, "that there has been a deliberate intention on the part of some to bring about a result in this case not based on the truth, such persons will not only add substantially to the measure of human misery if they succeed, but more importantly, perhaps, they have added their very considerable weight to the persistent and persuasive disregard of the rule of law that now afflicts our society."

This hearing and the two preceding it in the Stevens case, Leedom noted, "could serve as an incentive for a sober reappraisal of the importance of the simple principle that those who take



an oath to tell the truth should do so."

The damage done to human beings by violations of the labor act and the "related problem" of finding a "remedy commensurate with the offense" was illustrated by an incident at the hearing:

While the hearing was in progress, Leedom wrote, an employee was seized with an illness. He had a "background of long service in the industry in which he was skilled. He too was unlawfully discharged.

"If an employer will offend to the extent of unlawfully discharging an employee thereby depriving him of the means of livelihood under circumstances making other employment most difficult," said Leedom, and then will "compound such wrong in a forum of law by misrepresenting the facts," then such an employer "would hardly hesitate to commit the other wrongs" of denying decent pay, suitable working conditions and adequate fringe benefits.

Such additional wrongs, he said, if heaped on the unlawful discharge, create a situation "so out of tune with a humane civilized approach in industrial relations" that "they should shock even those least sensitive to honor, justice and decent treatment."

Such employer attitude, he added, "suggests retrogression to the unbelieveable practices involving child labor 100 years ago."

A signal from top management, Leedom writes, would not only correct the offenses committed against the workers but would relieve personnel in the lower levels of management of the "obviously distasteful duty" of participating in an "active program of perversion of justice."

As for remedies, Leedom recommended that the NLRB issue a "cease and desist order" directing the Stevens chain to halt its illegal conduct, including threats, intimidation and interference with the rights of its workers to self-organization and an order restoring 13 fired workers to their jobs, with back pay for time lost.

But he expressed doubt that any legal remedy devised within the framework of the labor act "will right the wrongs" done to the workers.

"Other arms of the government, with a different approach may have to take action," he concluded, if workers are to be protected in the right supposedly guaranteed them by federal law—the right to organize and bargain collectively.

Organizing South

Stevens Tagged Law-Breaker In Third Round of Hearings

TEXTILE LABOR

WASHINGTON—"Clear and unqualified confirmation" of TWUA's long-standing charges that "a vicious anti-union conspiracy exists throughout the southern textile industry" are embodied in the latest findings of a trial examiner following the third round of hearings on unfair labor practices against J. P. Stevens & Co., according to General President William Pollock.

Pollock made this comment after the report of Boyd Leedom was released by the National Labor Relations Board here last month. Pollock also called for a Congressional investigation of this situation and an end to the award of government contracts to J. P. Stevens as long as it violates federal labor law.

Among steps recommended by Leedom to curb the violations of the nation's second largest textile combine was the reinstatement with back pay plus 6% interest of 13 more Stevens workers discharged for union activity. Pollock said this brings to a total of 103 the number of Stevens workers recommended for reinstatement by NLRB trial examiners so far.

"Mr. Leedom's findings are truly significant, inasmuch as they come from a man who, as chairman of the NLRB during the Eisenhower Adminis-

(Continued on Page 21)

Joint Labor Action Urged To Curb Anti-Union Plotters

BAL HARBOUR, Fla. — Joint action by organized labor to counter a South-wide, anti-union conspiracy was urged by TWUA upon the AFL-CIO Executive Council at its meeting here last month.

TWUA's Executive Council also called for a Congressional investigation of "illegal interference by major southern textile employers with the right of their workers to organize."

The TWUA council's call was prompted by several new developments which "point up the unbridled arrogance and growing intensity of this conspiracy." It listed them as:

▸ The latest National Labor Relations Board findings against J. P. Stevens & Co., No. 2 textile combine in the U.S., in which Trial Examiner Boyd Leedom "confirms the existence of this conspiracy and adds another shocking chapter to the long list of labor law violations committed by this company" (story this page).

▸ Showdowns with Cone Mills Corp., Erwin Mills, Burlington Industries subsidiary; Chatham Manufacturing Co. and GARCO's Raybestos-Manhattan division, employing between them a total of nearly 12,000 North and South Carolina workers. Tensions in these plants are the direct result of numerous and continuing unfair labor practices and refusal to bargain in good faith on the part of the various managements, the TWUA statement charged.

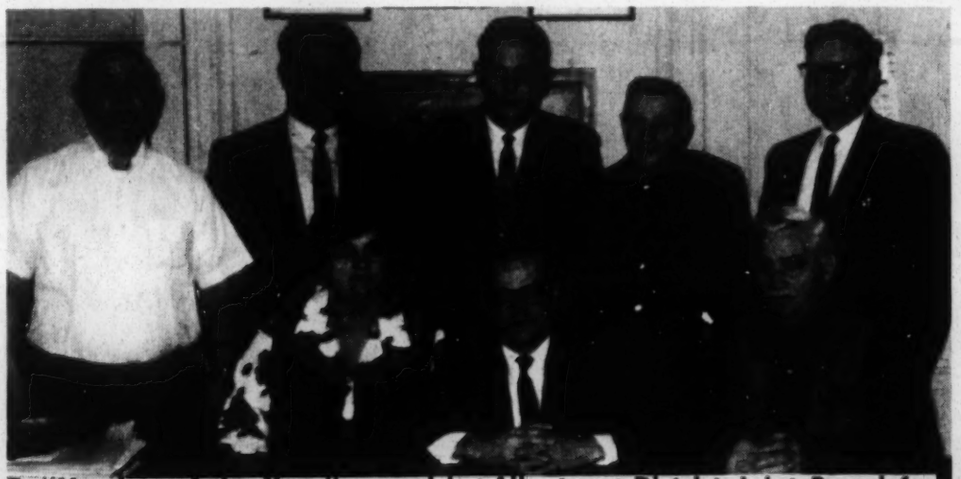
The Erwin Mills showdown was forced upon 1,400 workers by management's demands for 57 changes in the current contract which union members had offered to extend, without any change whatever (see cover).

General President William Pollock said that the latest NLRB report on J. P. Stevens & Co. brings to a total of 103 the number of workers found to have been illegally discharged.

"The shameful inadequacy of federal labor law and its administration is reflected by the fact that, although reinstatement of the first group of these illegally discharged workers was recommended as long ago as July 1965 and confirmed by the full NLRB in March

(Continued on Page 18)

COVER PHOTO: As is the custom among southern locals, this picketline strike meeting of Erwin (N.C.) Mills workers begins with a prayer. The Rev. James D. Tart, himself a striker, leads the prayer (Photo credit: Luci Uvvle).



"Member of the Year" award by Allentown District Joint Board for "devotion to TWUA" went to Harold Thompson (seated, center). Joint board members who honored him were (seated) Becky Krick and Neil McCauley and standing (l. to r.) Anthony Borrelli, Joseph P. Coponi, manager; Thomas Richards, Francis Halleman and Martin Bukovina.

Organizing - South

Government Must Take Lead

Assure Jobs for All, Council Urges

The federal government "must take the lead" in assuring training and "a job for everyone willing and able to work," according to TWUA's Executive Council.

A council resolution noted that the need for such action is underscored by the fact that there are no jobs for nearly three million workers and that an additional 1.5 million breadwinners must take part-time jobs because full-time employment is not available.

"As a backdrop and final reservoir of jobs," the resolution added, the federal government must stand ready to provide productive work for all who are unable to find gainful employment.

One of the techniques proposed by the council for carrying out this public service employment concept was the coordination of all present national, state and local manpower agencies.

Under this setup, local agencies would examine their job needs and propose a set of priorities for filling them. Each community's proposal would then be integrated into an overall, omnibus state plant which, in turn, would be reviewed at the federal level.

Such a review, the resolution said, "would assure conformance with agreed-upon standards."

Upon approval, these plans would become eligible for federal financial assistance. The federal agency would also extend help in planning the job programs so that these would provide for progress toward the social goals still unfulfilled and make the greatest possible use of the unemployed.

Local and state plans should include job testing, placement training, job development, recruitment and on-the-job experience, the resolution said.

Along with, and as "an essential part" of this effort, there must be a national program of education and training designed to equip the unemployed with the skills they need to be self-sufficient, dignified members of the work-force.

Participants in these programs should be paid at a rate not less than equivalent employment in the private sector, but in no case less than the federal minimum wage, the resolution stated.

Stevens Tagged Law-Breaker

(Continued from Page 24)

tration, has never been accused of having a pro-union bias," Pollock said.

"Like his fellow trial examiners, Mr. Leedom has found widespread, cynical and deliberate violations at Stevens. Moreover, he flatly accuses company supervisors of lying under oath and, in his words, 'adding substantially to the measure of human misery' which is generated by 'persistent and pervasive disregard for the rule of law'," Pollock said.

"Nearly four years have elapsed since the proceedings against J. P. Stevens began. Not one of the 103 discharged workers has yet been reinstated. Trial Examiner Leedom has now found that a conspiracy exists in the southern textile industry that has 'denied thousands of employees . . . of such economic benefits as may flow from the Labor-Management Relations Act.'

"Like the trial examiner in the first two rounds of Stevens hearings, Mr. Leedom calls for new remedies to overcome the scandalous inadequacies of current labor law. This is a matter to which the 90th Congress should turn its immediate attention," the TWUA president said.

"The fact that Stevens, while cynically indulging itself in mass violations of federal labor law, continues to fatten itself on millions of dollars of federal contracts is a matter for the Johnson Administration's immediate attention.

"There is no justification whatever for rewarding lawbreakers with federal contracts," Pollock maintained.

NLRB Complaint Names Chatham

ELKIN, N. C.—A complaint charging Chatham Manufacturing Co. here with unfair labor practices has been issued by the NLRB's regional office at Winston-Salem.

Issued by Reed Johnson, regional director, the complaint alleges that the company refused to bargain in good faith with TWUA.

A hearing on the charges was scheduled to get under way at presstime.

The 10th annual installation party of the Northeastern Massachusetts Joint Board brings together (l. to r.) the Rev. Vincent A. McQuade, Alton M. Hodgman, manager; Daniel P. Kiley, Mayor of Lawrence, and Henry Wormald, president.

A - CIO News Organizing - South

New Ruling Hits Firings By Stevens

4/1/67

A trial examiner for the National Labor Relations Board ruled that three more employes of J. P. Stevens & Co. were fired on flimsy grounds in a continuing union-busting campaign by the big textile chain.

The finding, by Examiner Thomas A. Ricci, was the fourth in a row upholding charges filed by the Textile Workers Union of America and the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept. alleging illegal actions to stop union organizing.

Ricci recommended that the Stevens firm—a U.S. government contractor — be ordered to reinstate three union supporters fired last August, with backpay for lost time.

He advised also that management be required to post notices of its willingness to comply with the law in all the chain's North and South Carolina plants, send a notice to all Carolina employes, and give the union access to its bulletin boards for a year and the names and addresses of all employes in the Carolina plants.

"This is an extraordinary case," Ricci said in reviewing the charges. "The unfair labor practices found up to this writing have been 'massive and deliberate.' An unbroken pattern runs through them."

Campaign Charged

On one of the three discharges at issue, the examiner said the "widespread and flagrant nature" of management's "disregard, even contempt, of employe rights" under the law dictates a finding that the worker was "chosen for discharge in furtherance of the overall companywide campaign to weed out every last supporter of the union."

In recent cases involving Stevens, the NLRB has upheld trial examiners' findings that 93 union supporters were unlawfully fired from early 1963 to early 1965. Findings for later periods of 1965 and 1966 await board review.

In the two cases already passed on, the NLRB ruled that management squelched all union sentiment by firing TWUA supporters on various pretexts.

In a third case, Examiner Boyd Leedom, former NLRB chairman in Republican days, concluded that most law violations at Stevens plants "must stem from the decision of one man or a very few men at the top of the management structure." A signal "from the top" would correct such decisions, said Leedom in finding management guilty of wrongfully firing 13 union sympathizers.

Shortly afterward the AFL-CIO

(Continued on Page 2)

...lent fees" paid to

4th NLRB ... Blasts Stev...

(Continued from Page 1)

Executive Council, at its February meeting, announced it would urge Pres. Johnson to issue an executive order barring government contracts to companies that persist in illegal anti-union conduct. Stevens is such a company, AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany declared.

The latest examiner's finding was that Stevens' supervisors fired three veteran employes last year, allegedly for incompetence but actually to discourage union support. Ricci called for the rehiring of:

- James Griggs, discharged after 12 years of service at the company's Dunean plant in Greenville, S. C., allegedly for placing the wrong gear on a machine. No one ever had been disciplined for such an error and management proof was flimsy, Ricci reported. Griggs was a "particular irritant to the company" because he had switched from being an instigator of the firm's anti-union drive to being an "outspoken recruiter" of union supporters, the examiner found.
- Mrs. Ollie Vernadore, who worked as a weaver at Plant 3 in Rock Hill, S. C., from 1951 without once being criticized for the quality of her work until August 1966. She was then fired because an error of mixed colors appeared in the cloth from one of her 25 looms. No one else ever had been fired for that reason in her time at Rock Hill, she testified.

Mrs. Vernadore was the last of her family to be fired by Stevens, the examiner said. The same supervisor who fired her had previously discharged her husband and his brother—wrongfully, according to Ricci.

- Norman A. Shearin, a finishing inspector in a Stevens plant near

...of un-
lawful conduct and has asked the U.S. Court of Appeals to set aside two board orders against it.

300 Get Aid Under Auto Trade Pact

About 300 employes of the Lyon Division of the Rockwell-Standard Corp in Adrian, Mich., have been ruled eligible for benefits under the Automotive Products Trade Act of 1965 because the bulk of the firm's operations is being transferred to Windsor, Ont.

The certification was made by the Automotive Agreement Adjustment Assistance Board on the basis of a petition by the Machinists in which the Metal Polishers cooperated. The plant has been making auto wheel covers and hubcaps.

Under the act, which eliminates tariffs on motor vehicles and parts between the United States and Canada, workers who lose their jobs as a result are eligible for readjustment allowances of $70 weekly for up to 52 weeks, counseling and training, and relocation allowances.

Emory:

Unions — organizing

Thought you might be interested in this attached

LABOR DEVELOPMENTS

66. Survey rates management techniques in resisting unions

What are the most effective methods an employer can use when trying to influence his employees to vote "no union" during an organizing campaign? Here are some answers provided by employees themselves in a survey conducted by San Fernando Valley State College in California.

Rated "most influential" were speeches by top company executives at captive audience meetings arranged by the companies.

Rated second were talks to small groups of employees by foremen or other supervisors.

(Both pro- and anti-union employees agreed that face-to-face contact was the most important and effective element used by both employers and unions during organizing campaigns.)

Rated less effective were letters by management to employees addressed to their homes.

The survey also indicated that employers are correct in putting a lot of emphasis in their propaganda on the distastefulness of joining an alien organization and having to pay union dues. These were listed first among the factors that the employees surveyed believe are most likely to influence a no-union vote. The opinion that a union isn't necessary was listed as the next most important factor by employees who had voted against unions.

The survey, based on interviews with 500 employees who voted in representation elections within the last two years, was sponsored by an AFL-CIO organizing committee in Los Angeles and Orange Counties. It is receiving considerable attention from top echelons of the federation, and was written up in the March, 1969 edition of *The American Federationist*.

When asked which organizing tactics used by *unions* were most effective, employees gave the highest rating to talks by union officials at union meetings. Next came talks with fellow employees who were serving on union committees. Union leaflets were rated third most effective, with organizers' visits to employees' homes for individual talks rated least effective. This latter finding provides a considerable surprise. Union organizers have generally put great stock in home visits.

Other findings:

- Although a considerable number of employees make up their minds whether to vote for or against a union as soon as it arrives on the scene, an equally large group does not. This indicates that the campaigns waged by employers and unions for employees' allegiance are well worth-while.
- It cannot be presumed that younger employees, those under 25, are inclined to oppose unions. Union supporters among them come within 4% of the proportion of pro-union employees in the survey group as a whole.
- Among employees on the job less than a year, more will vote for a union than will vote against it.
- Employees with between one and five years' service tend to vote against the union.
- Contrary to opinion, women appear to be more favorably inclined toward unions than men. The proportion of women in the survey group who had voted pro-union was 14% larger than the comparable proportion of men.

Collective Bargaining

GE Strike: An End to Boulwarism?

By DAVID GUMPERT

NEW YORK — Paul Jennings is relaxed and almost stoical as he sits in his hotel room, arms folded and feet propped up on the nearby bed.

"General Electric makes militants out of gentle people," he says with little trace of emotion. "We have young people who come into the union and think that you should always be able to reason things out objectively. Are they surprised!"

Across the street at General Electric Co. headquarters, the bargaining rooms are empty. Mr. Jennings' International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) and 12 other unions that had been negotiating with GE for more than two months on a new national contract have been on strike since midnight Sunday. During the final days of the talks, Mr. Jennings considered the whole process so pointless that except for the last-minute sessions, he did not even stop in to observe how things were going. So now about 147,000 workers, or about 95% of GE's production and maintenance work force, are tightening their belts for what could be a long strike. (GE's total work force numbers more than 300,000.)

The unions, some of them bitter enemies in the past, have formed a united front in a bid to force GE to change its approach to collective bargaining, which they call Boulwarism, and in the end to gain monetary concessions. They are convinced that only a strike will change GE. "It's going to be a rough and big strike and they'll be dragged screaming into the 20th century," says Mr. Jennings, sounding more like a breaker of new ground instead of a union president conducting an ordinary strike against the nation's largest manufacturer of electrical products.

A 23-Year Policy

If the unions do force GE to change its attitude toward collective bargaining, however, not only will they be breaking new ground, they'll be breaking a 23-year GE policy. That policy was established in 1947 by Lemuel Boulware, then a GE vice president for employe relations and now retired. Mr. Boulware was called in to deal with the unions after a successful nine-week strike against the company in 1946 by the United Electrical Workers (UE).

Mr. Boulware's philosophy toward union negotiations has become GE's philosophy. tens to union demands as negotiations begin, and on the basis of its past research and consideration of the union's requests, presents its offer.

At this point, negotiations in the usual sense of the word are over. GE says it will explain its offer and make modifications within the framework of the offer, but will add nothing more unless the unions present new information. Says John Baldwin, GE's chief negotiator, "The important point is that we do not modify solely for the charade of last-minute concessions. Once you become known for playing that game, all credibility is lost for future negotiations, and strikes become part of the game to squeeze out extra concessions."

The company's position is also that, while obligated to negotiate with the union, it has no obligation whatsoever to forgo communication with its own employes. Says its management publication, "Relations Reviews": "Contrary to the impression in some quarters, Mr. Boulware emphasized *employe* relations rather than union relations. Ironically, his name became associated largely with the union part, which always was—and still is—only a subsidiary aspect of General Electric's total employe relations."

The GE policy has worked on one important level: There hasn't been a successful national strike against GE since 1946. In 1960, the IUE went on strike for three weeks, but in the end accepted GE's basic offer when some of its members broke the strike and went back to work. GE says its close and constant communication with employes allowed them to make up their own minds and to see that the GE offer was worth accepting.

But Mr. Jennings feels that in 1960 GE was able to exploit division within the union and the absence of a labor coalition. Now, he notes, the members of all the unions have overwhelmingly endorsed a strike instead of a slim majority of only the IUE, which represents about 60% of GE's production and maintenance employes.

The fact that the various national unions with GE contracts have been able to unite is in itself an indication of their strong anti-Boulwarism positions. The IUE and UE have been bitter enemies since the late 1940s when the UE was expelled from the old CIO for having Communist leanings and the IUE replaced it as the leading electrical workers from its Boulwarism philosophy and gave the unions more than they had originally offered —a more flexible cost of living increase.

GE has traditionally avoided any kind of outside interference in union disputes, however. Unlike most other companies, GE does not even allow arbitration on local union grievances, and is willing instead to face a strike. In the current situation, GE says it does not want a repetition of 1966, but rather wants Boulwarism to win out.

The unions see Boulwarism not only as demeaning the importance of the union, but as making "true" negotiations impossible. They argue that GE, by saying only it knows what is best for its workers, is infringing on the unions' role as representatives of the workers and partners in the negotiating process. "What GE really stands for is 'God Endorsed'," jokes Mr. Jennings. More seriously, he charges that "GE goes around the unions. They are continuously trying to discredit the unions."

Offering an example, he criticizes the way in which this year's company offer was presented to the unions. The unions had asked GE for a 72-hour news blackout between the time the offer was presented to the unions and the time it was made public to allow the unions time to study the offer and explain it to their members.

'Battle for the Minds'

Instead, GE told the unions one morning earlier this month that it was ready to make its offer, and as the unions caucused to decide on their procedure, messengers delivered copies of the proposal to the hotel where the union representatives were staying. A few hours later company leaflets explaining the offer had been distributed to workers in plants around the country. Mr. Jennings considers this an effort by GE to "engage in a battle for the minds of the workers."

What happens at the negotiating table, maintains the IUE's chief negotiator, John Shambow, is that "there's no real give-and-take. We're explaining our proposals and they're saying, 'Our proposal is on the table.' It's like shoveling smoke. You're working and working and nothing gets done."

The charge that GE stands over the unions as an authority figure is denied by GE negotiator Edward Kneeland: "I don't think it makes you an authority figure to say our offer is right and why it's right. What we're

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Mr. Boulware's philosophy toward union negotiations has become GE's philosophy. Most companies, like the auto makers and the steel producers, deal with their unions by presenting an offer, listening to the union's counteroffer, and then working toward a point somewhere in between, sometimes with the weapon of a strike. GE, however, first does heavy research on, for instance, what other companies are offering, political pressures on the unions, the state of the economy, employe attitudes, and anything else considered relevant to coming up with a fair offer.

This research, says GE, is more extensive than that done by companies that engage in ordinary collective bargaining. GE then lis-

"Contrary to the impression in some quarters, Mr. Boulware emphasized *employe* relations rather than union relations. Ironically, his name became associated largely with the union part, which always was—and still is—only a subsidiary aspect of General Electric's total employe relations."

The GE policy has worked on one important level: There hasn't been a successful national strike against GE since 1946. In 1960, the IUE went on strike for three weeks, but in the end accepted GE's basic offer when some of its members broke the strike and went back to work. GE says its close and constant communication with employes allowed them to make up their own minds and to see that the GE offer was worth accepting.

But Mr. Jennings feels that in 1960 GE was able to exploit division within the union and the absence of a labor coalition. Now, he notes, the members of all the unions have overwhelmingly endorsed a strike instead of a slim majority of only the IUE, which represents about 60% of GE's production and maintenance employes.

The fact that the various national unions with GE contracts have been able to unite is in itself an indication of their strong anti-Boulwarism positions. The IUE and UE have been bitter enemies since the late 1940s when the UE was expelled from the old CIO for having Communist leanings and the IUE replaced it as the leading electrical workers union. And the Teamsters and the United Auto Workers, with small numbers of GE employes, usually take pleasure in asserting their independence of the AFL-CIO, which the IUE represents.

In 1966, the first year of the coalition, the unions had called a strike, but then-President Johnson intervened. He called on GE and the unions to negotiate two weeks beyond the contract's expiration because he considered GE's production vital to the Vietnam war effort. Under the pressure of government mediators, GE deviated slightly

Offering an example, he criticizes the way in which this year's company offer was presented to the unions. The unions had asked GE for a 72-hour news blackout between the time the offer was presented to the unions and the time it was made public to allow the unions time to study the offer and explain it to their members.

'Battle for the Minds'

Instead, GE told the unions one morning earlier this month that it was ready to make its offer, and as the unions caucused to decide on their procedure, messengers delivered copies of the proposal to the hotel where the union representatives were staying. A few hours later company leaflets explaining the offer had been distributed to workers in plants around the country. Mr. Jennings considers this an effort by GE to "engage in a battle for the minds of the workers."

What happens at the negotiating table, maintains the IUE's chief negotiator, John Shambow, is that "there's no real give-and-take. We're explaining our proposals and they're saying, 'Our proposal is on the table.' It's like shoveling smoke. You're working and working and nothing gets done."

The charge that GE stands over the unions as an authority figure is denied by GE negotiator Edward Kneeland: "I don't think it makes you an authority figure to say our offer is right and why it's right. What we're offering very nicely matches what else is being offered." But he adds that his concept of the union's role is "that they come to us with proposals and argue them and if they can convince us, fine."

The union demands and GE's contract offer are far apart, but no farther than many other demands and offers in other industries. The unions have demanded a 30-month contract calling for a 35-cent hourly pay increase the first year, a 30-cent increase the second year and a 25-cent increase during the final six months. They also want an additional 50-cent hourly supplement for highly skilled workers, and a cost of living clause.

GE has offered a 3-year contract covering benefits and specifying an immediate 20-cent-an-hour wage increase for all production and maintenance employes, with skilled employes getting an extra five cents to 25 cents hourly. The company has tacked on a wage reopener clause that would allow wage negotiations during the second and third years of the contract and give the unions the right to strike.

State of the Economy

The union and company arguments about their respective offers are tied in with the current unpredictable state of the economy. With the threat of a slowdown, the unions say they want wages for the entire length of the contract agreed upon beforehand. The possibility of continued inflation spurs their demand for automatic cost-of-living increases. GE argues that the uncertain state of the economy makes it necessary to reopen negotiations a year later rather than agreeing on wages for that period now.

The possibility of government interference still exists, but is remote. The unions, though, are suspicious of President Nixon. They view his recent speech calling for voluntary economic restraints as, in part, directed against them. They feel Mr. Nixon might still try to impose the Taft-Hartley law in GE's defense-related production and in this way try to break the strike.

Both sides insist they are ready for long strikes. Says a GE employe bulletin, in part, "How long will the strike last? Until Thanksgiving? . . . Until Christmas? . . . Until next spring? . . . It will end when union members want it to end. The coalitionists seem to be planning for a long one. We don't feel employes want a long strike and sooner or later will say so."

Mr. Jennings argues that GE has misjudged the mood of its workers. "We'll hold out as long as we have to to get what we deserve," he says. "What we'll get is an acceptance of unions and an end to Boulwarism."

Much more than a strike over dollars and cents, the GE strike is a strike over principle. If the unions sign for the same basic offer as GE has proposed, Boulwarism will have won out again. But says Mr. Jennings, still quietly, "They're going to have to improve that offer and the minute they do that they've killed Boulwarism."

UNION BRAWL LAST WEEK

Southern Organizing

100 Riot Policemen Guard Miami Construction Site

MIAMI (AP) — More than 100 riot-trained policemen stood guard at a downtown construction site yesterday against an anticipated battle between rival unions.

But the expected showdown between members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the International Union of Operating Engineers fizzled when they learned they had no job to fight about.

ABOUT 1,500 electrical workers — some from as far away as Tampa, Daytona Beach and St. Petersburg — gathered before dawn at the local union hall.

They donned hard hats, armed themselves with clubs, wrenches and screwdrivers, and used spray cans to paint a large blue "X" on their shirts for easy identification in a fight.

But no operating engineers showed up at the construction site where about 150 members of the two unions staged a bloody brawl last Monday, and the electricians union sent its men back to their jobs.

THE CONTRACTOR, Harbert Construction Co., which was laying cable for Florida Power and Light Co., suspended the job indefinitely.

The dispute is over which union will do the non-electrical work. The operating engineers, who run the heavy equipment, have been paying the electricians a "permit fee" of 3 per cent of each man's gross salary.

Union Organizing

AFL-CIO Unions Extend Three-Year Organizing Gains

AFL-CIO unions broke all recent yearly records for organizing success in fiscal 1966.

For the year ended last June 30, affiliated unions won 3,159 representation elections conducted by the National Labor Relations Board—the highest number in 13 years—and took part in 5,461 elections, also the greatest number for the period.

The percentage of wins was 57.8, highest since fiscal 1956. As a result, AFL-CIO unions were certified as bargaining agents for 243,994 workers—the highest such number in seven years.

The fiscal 1966 figures were assembled from monthly NLRB reports by the AFL-CIO Dept. of Organization, which noted that they followed sharp gains in 1965 and 1964 in every category—the number of elections, number won, percentage of elections won, and number of persons covered. In fiscal 1964, affiliated unions had established a post-merger record for the number of persons newly represented, and compiled the second best score for the number of elections participated in and the number won, the analysis showed.

Department Dir. William L. Kircher said the record constituted "a three-year demonstration that AFL-CIO unions are organizing more, and are organizing more effectively."

Published Weekly Vol. 26, No. 31 DURHAM

NEW NLRB ACTIONS URGED TO CURB EMPLOYER'S CAMPAIGN OF VIOLENCE

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Examiner Paul E. Weil ruled that the Marlene Industries Corp., which has plants in Tennessee, Alabama and South Carolina, violated the National Labor Relations Act by "instigating, encouraging, causing and permitting employes" and supervisors to smash organizing attempts by the Ladies' Garment Workers in 1965.

The unlawful actions, Weil said, included smashing the headlights of union organizers' cars, kicking and banging car bodies, destroying a car radio aerial, seizing union pamphlets, squirting ink on ILGWU handbill crews and trying to run a union car off the road after chasing it out of town.

Marlene Industries makes women's clothing in plants at Frisco City, Ala., Aynor and Loris, S.C., and Decatursville, Hartsville and Westmoreland, Tenn. Company-incited mobs attacked organizers in Hartsville and Decatursville, and women employes organized by a woman supervisor squirted ink from water-pistols on union men and women at two Marlene plants in Loris, the examiner reported.

He listed numerous other law violations in management's anti-union campaign—firing 17 employes who signed union cards or attended union meetings; changing working conditions discriminatorily; spying on and photographing union supporters; threatening plant closings to thwart the union; enforcing unlawful rules against union membership soliciting or handbilling.

The examiner recommended that Marlene Industries be ordered to rehire the discharged workers with full backpay for time lost, and to stop interfering with the access of employes to union organizers during non-working time on plant approaches or parking lots.

Because so many employes live in outlying areas and are "insulated" from ordinary contact with union sources by unlawful management tactics, the examiner directed also, subject to board approval, that:

- Marlene Industries grant the union "reasonable access for a reasonable time" to its bulletin boards.
- The company make available to the union on request, at a mutually agreeable time within three months, suitable facilities for a one-hour meeting on company time at which union representatives may speak to the assembled employes.
- Management at its own expense publish the NLRB's official notice in newspapers in each plant community—the newspapers to be selected by the NLRB regional director and the notices to be published at least once in each of three consecutive weeks.

The examiner also directed that the firm instruct its employes, including supervisors, that "physical assault or threats of physical violence directed at any labor organization will not be permitted on plant premises at any time."

Goldner Tells Of Union's Election Bid

Organizing

St. Petersburg -- Feb. - 1966 (?)

Mayor Herman Goldner revealed yesterday he had received three telegrams this week from a representative of the Amalgamated Transit Union — the union that is trying to organize the city's bus drivers.

Goldner brought the matter up during a council meeting recess.

The reaction of the councilmen, the city's administration and City Attorney Harry Young was the same as last month: No deal and no negotiations.

WHILE THE CITY officials talked in the mayor's office, the union's representative, Dan V. Maroney, was down the hall in the press room.

Maroney said the city officials had refused to meet with him to discuss holding elections among the city transit workers. He said the union has 93 applications from the city's 112 bus drivers.

But state law makes it illegal for a city employe to belong to a union that asserts the right to strike, and it is St. Petersburg's position that Amalgamated Transit is such a union.

MARONEY'S first telegram to Goldner this week was on Tuesday. It asked the city to conduct or supervise an election among the bus drivers on the question of union membership.

City Attorney Harry Young answered this telegram Tuesday with a telegram, saying that the City Council did not have the authority to conduct an election.

Maroney fired back a telegram — it was still Tuesday — noting the 93 applications from city drivers and asking that Amalgamated Transit be recognized as representatives of the drivers.

THIS TELEGRAM was not answered.

Wednesday, Maroney sent the city another telegram. He said Richard Youngman, director of the Florida State Mediation and Conciliation Serivce, had agreed to conduct an election, if both the city and the union requested it.

"I would suggest we not answer any of this fellow's telegrams," City Manager Lynn Andrews said yesterday in the mayor's office.

AND THAT'S where the matter stands.

Maroney hinted the case might end up in court, but said it would be up to the union's lawyers in Washington.

He said the union — although it has a strike clause in its contract — was willing to sign a no-strike agreement with the city.

Organizing – South

White Collar, Southern Trend Cited:

Bargaining Grows As Unions Expand

Cleveland, O.—"The future of collective bargaining is a bright one" and especially so in the South and the white collar fields, two areas formerly "off limits" for union organizers, Member Sam Zagoria of the National Labor Relations Board said here.

Currently the South is the "hottest" union organizing area, Zagoria told the Federal Bar Association at a labor-management relations institute. But unions are attracting white collar workers in other areas too—teachers, nurses, salesmen, engineers and government employes.

The best years for collective bargaining "still lie ahead," he declared.

Because of "booming" union efforts in southern states, the NLRB has had to dispatch emergency help to its regional offices—attorneys, field examiners and law clerks on temporary assignment to cope with the flood of board business, Zagoria revealed. He added:

"Some of these have been on a fireman basis—one or two at a time for brief periods; some in teams, on assignments running from 30 days to five and six months" during the last fiscal year.

Zagoria cited these figures:

- The NLRB held 2,236 elections in fiscal 1966 in the 17 southern and border states—an increase of more than 100 percent in 10 years—and 114,959 workers voted for union representation—another increase of more than 100 percent.
- Sharp increases in union strength were recorded for Alabama, with 143 elections and 7,533 pro-union votes; Mississippi, where elections nearly tripled in number and pro-union votes were five times as large as those 10 years ago; Georgia and Texas, where both the number of elections and votes for unions were almost doubled.
- By way of contrast, Ohio had an increase of more than one-third in NLRB elections over the decade but votes for unions rose less than 10 percent; New Jersey elections were about one-third more numerous but the union share of the vote "decreased substantially," Zagoria reported.

Tracing recent labor history from the days of the sweatshop and the 84-hour week, the NLRB's newest member recalled that when workers tried to organize, "they frequently found the full might of company and community arrayed against them." In the 1930s, "armed guards, armed policemen, even armed

(Continued on Page 3)

Warner Pictures, Walsh, and Pres. Jack Valenti of the Motion Picture Association of America.

Board Member Cites Union Trend in South

(Continued from Page 1)

soldiers faced the demonstrators." The result was "bloodshed, violence and bitterness."

Since Congress enacted the Wagner Act of 1935, the concept of collective bargaining has won acceptance as a "peaceful and orderly way" to settle industrial arguments, he declared, to the end that "hundreds of thousands of labor-management contracts are testimony to the law and order" now existing.

Non-Unionists Benefit

"The impact of collective bargaining has not been limited to the organized," he declared. "It has forced major improvements in working conditions for the unorganized as well" by firms seeking to remain unorganized, and by labor's legislative efforts in putting floors under wages and getting safety standards into law.

As conditions of employment improved, some workers began to question the need for joining a union and thus made unions "the victims of their own success." But recent union gains indicate a turn in the road, Zagoria said.

AFL-CIO Organizing Dir. William L. Kircher reported recently that affiliated unions in fiscal 1966 won 57.8 percent of the elections they took part in, the best mark in a decade. Unions took part in 5,461 representation elections and won 3,159—the highest number in 13 years for both categories.

Zagoria said the AFL-CIO victories won bargaining rights for 243,994 workers, the greatest number in seven years.

He predicted that collective bargaining will grow as unions attract more white collar workers. Arbitration of grievances, now required in 9 of every 10 contracts, will continue to gain in popularity, he said.

As to compulsory arbitration, he noted that a Gallup Poll showed a 54 percent segment of those polled suporting it. But "those who earn their daily bread and butter in industrial relations—lawyers for unions and managements—voted 2 to 1 against it in a recent American Bar Association discussions," Zagoria said.

Organized South

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Organizing South

SOUTH

Second Big Walkout in Texas City

300 Strike Coca-Cola Plant in Dallas

DALLAS, Tex.—A second bitter strike is under way in Dallas, this one at the big Coca-Cola plant with more than 300 workers out. The strike at Industrial Towel and Uniform Service, involving 161 workers, is now in its 17th week, while the one at the city's Coca-Cola Bottling Company began on Tuesday, July 27.

At Industrial, the union filed unfair labor practice charges with the NLRB under Sections 8-a-1 and 8-a-5 of the Nat'l Labor Relations Act. In the first instance, the union charged the company with intimidation and coercion, and under Section 8-a-5 with failure to bargain in good faith. The board has scheduled a hearing for Sept. 1.

The Coke strike was called after more than seven months of fruitless meetings during which the company consistently refused to grant a checkoff, seniority rights or grievance procedures, the very issues on which the union had placed the highest priority.

Int'l Rep. Jake Stewart, in charge of both strikes, reports that Coca-Cola has hired a great number of scabs, mostly from nearby college campuses. At best, these scabs can only work for a short time, or until their colleges reopen for the fall semester.

The morale of the strikers remains high, and the pickets at Industrial have not had a single defection in the 17 weeks since their lines were formed. They, as well as the Coke strikers, are receiving help from the RWDSU, other local unions, civil rights organizations and hundreds of townspeople.

Regardless of how long it takes, Stewart said, "These strikes will be won, and the right of workers to live and work decently and securely will once again be assured."

Committee that bargained for 80 Local 589 members at Mullis was headed by Pres. Erskine Hepburn (seated, third from left).

Negro Women Stand Fast To Win Jacksonville Strike

JACKSONVILLE, Fla.—A militant one-day strike brought the 80 members of newly-chartered Local 589—all Negroes and mostly women—their first contract with the Mullis Poultry Co.

The one-year agreement provides seniority and arbitration; a ten-cent an hour wage boost, raising the minimum in the plant to $1.35 an hour; five paid holidays; one week's vacation after one year of service and two after eight—the first holidays and vacations the Mullis workers have ever had—and rest periods each day.

The contract expires Aug. 4, 1967.

argaining for the local were Pres. ne Hepburn, Earlie Mae Cuthbert, e Hunter, Charlie Mae Brooks, Washington, Hattie Mae Jackson bell Cotton.

ep. Harry Bush assisted the mittee throughout the organ- the plant and the negotia- t'l Exec. Vice-Pres. Arthur RWDSU's Southern area vided overall guidance for

egan at 5:15 in the morn- Aug. 5, an hour and a he work day starts at ll the workers walked out and set up picketlines. The company tried to bring armed scabs through the lines, but the union members stood their ground and turned the scabs around.

Picketing continued for the rest of the day with the plant shut tight. Durin the day Hepburn and Mrs. Hunter were detained by the police, but were released after several hours.

The next day the state conciliation service arranged a meeting between the company and the union, and at the meeting the strike-ending settlement was reached.

The local began organizing at Mullis in the spring, and won an NLRB election by an overwhelming 58-19 vote in May. Negotiations began the next month, but the company's final offer, made July 29, was unacceptable, and the workers walked out the next week. Federal mediator Nat Kazin took part in the contract talks.

Selma Drive Enrolls 200 More in 3 Shops

SELMA, Ala.—The organizing pace set by the RWDSU in Alabama's Black Belt is continuing without a let-up, with three new campaigns resulting in an overwhelming majority of more than 200 workers in these plants joining the union. Petitions for elections at each of the plants were filed Aug. 5.

The latest successes bring to more than 1,500 the number of workers organized during June and July, and to 2,000 the total organized in this section of Alabama by the RWDSU since a campaign began there 13 months ago.

Alabama Council Org. Henry Jenkins, in charge of the drives, has signed up 90 percent of the 115 employees of the A.R. Taylor Veneer Co. of Demopolis, dealers in plywood and related lumber products. A majority of the workers are Negroes, engaged in production or as truck drivers.

Jenkins held two membership meetings prior to filing the petition, and the attendance each time was large and enthusiastic.

The second plant is the Griffith Packing Co., also of Demopolis, packers of meat products. The company employs about 50 workers, mostly Negro, and more than 40 have joined the union.

State Trooper Comes Calling

Shortly after Jenkins notified the owners that he intended to file for an election, they made an appointment to discuss the situation. When Jenkins arrived to keep the appointment, a secretary told him the date was canceled. Coincidentally, he saw a state trooper's car in the company's parking lot. Later that day he observed the same car with the trooper inside parked on a road leading out of Demopolis.

Speaking of the incident, Jenkins said, "Nothing can stop us from winning. No bosses, and no state troopers; our people want the union."

The third newly-organized shop is the Centrala Farmers' Co-op in Forkland. The company is a fertilizer dealer, and employs some 35 workers, mostly Negro. A substantial majority have signed up. The union is making an extra special effort to win this election because last March it lost an election at the company's Selma plant, and is determined that the Forkland story will be different.

Angelina Janusa Retires; '503' Charter Member

NEW ORLEANS, La. — Local 503 has extended its congratulations to Angelina Janusa, a charter member of the local, on her retirement from the Blue Plate Division of Hunt's Foods after 22 years of service.

"Our sincere wishes for health and happiness, with the hope that it's just the start of a whole new life filled with joy and contentment," Catherine Stortz, secretary-treasurer, said.

NLRB Sets Memphis Vote

MEMPHIS, Tenn. — The NLRB has set a bargaining election among 18 delivery drivers and warehousemen employed by the S. C. Toof office supply and furniture company here for Sept. 14.

"We have every confidence that we'll win the election," Local 19 Pres. Earl H. Fisher said. "Nearly 75 per cent of the workers h

Organizing — South

Mississippi AFL-CIO Votes Organizing Drive

Jackson, Miss.—A concerted organizing drive aimed at broadening the base of trade unionism in Mississippi was unanimously approved by delegates to the State AFL-CIO convention here.

Preliminary plans were laid at an all-day post-convention session at which AFL-CIO Assistant Organizing Dir. Alan Kistler met with state labor leaders. Representatives of several unions undertook to secure aid from their internationals, and another meeting was set for Oct. 29 and 30 in Jackson.

Pres. Claude Ramsay and Sec.-Treas. Thomas Knight were reelected by acclamation and for the first time the convention elected a Negro member of the executive board—Robert Woodson, assistant business agent of Carpenters Local 3031, Jackson, an industrial local with the membership about equally divided between whites and Negroes.

In other actions the convention condemned extremism of both right and left; endorsed AFL-CIO convention policy resolutions on the National Labor Relations Act, including repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act; supported the Johnson Administration's course in Viet Nam, and backed the anti-poverty program and truth-in-packaging and truth-in-lending legislation.

Speakers included E. T. Kehrer, southern representative of the AFL-CIO Dept. of Civil Rights; Hodding Carter III, chairman of the biracial Mississippi Young Democrats; State Treas. William Winter, who is regarded as a potential Democratic candidate for governor, and State Superintendent of Education J. M. Tubb.

Organizing South

SOUTH

ALABAMA ORGANIZING GAINS HAILED

GADSDEN, Ala.—The tremendous organizing successes of the RWDSU in this state were highlighted at an all-day meeting of the Alabama Council at the union hall here Sunday, June 26.

In the past year, more than 1,000 workers, many of them Negro workers in the state's Black Belt, have been organized in Alabama.

"The Alabama Council has made tremendous progress in the last year," Ass't Southern Dir. Frank Parker said, "and the reports on our future possibilities are even more impressive."

The 175 delegates of the 5,000-member council voted a 50-cent monthly per capita dues increase and named Gloria Lavoy of Birmingham as financial officer of the council. She replaces Nona Bell of the Whitfield Pickle Co. in Montgomery, who resigned to go into business.

The council and the Birmingham RWDSU building fund committee presented a water cooler to the Gadsden union hall, which was opened March 13 after ten years of work by the locals for their own building.

The RWDSU locals in Gadsden, Locals 453, 506 and 645, were the hosts for the meeting.

"They were very hospitable and really made the delegates welcome," Parker said.

After the council met, the Alabama RWDSU Dairy Conference, which represents 2,000 members in the dairy industry in Alabama, also held a meeting.

COOL, CLEAR WATER: Margaret Robbins and Org. John Parker (right), present water cooler for new Gadsden union hall to J. O. Parker, chairman of Gadsden building fund committee.

COUNCIL LEADERS: Among leaders of dairy workers at council meeting are (seated, left to right) C. A. Brock, Org. C. T. Daniel, president of Dairy Workers Conference; Hiram Robertson, Arlie Yarbrough, and (standing) Billy Joe Walker, Henry Provencher, Rep. Lester Bettice, Bob Hawkins, Ed Maske and Howard Carter.

RWDSU

Organizing - South

SOUTH

Total for South in 14 Months: 6,500

Two More Plants Organized in Georgia Drive

ATLANTA, Ga.—Continuing its progress through Georgia, the RWDSU's Southern organizing drive has swept two more plants, Castleberry Foods in Augusta, which employs 75 people, and the Burton-Dixie Corp. plant in Atlanta, which employs 40 workers. Since May 1, 1965, the RDWSU has signed up more than 6,500 workers in the South. At Castleberry, where the union has signed up nearly two-thirds of the workers, an NLRB election has been set for Aug. 5.

The RWDSU began organizing at the plant early this yaer, but held the drive back so as not to interfere with the organizing campaign at the big Murray Biscuit plant. The 500 Murray workers will be voting in an NLRB election Aug. 11.

Reps. Dock Dickinson and Arthur Hullam have been heading up the Castleberry drive.

Castleberry prepares barbequed meats and barbeque sauce.

At Burton-Dixie in Atlanta, the union is on the verge of signing a substantial majority of the workers.

An odd chance played a part in the campaign, which began when Int'l Rep. Guy Dickinson, in his car, followed one of the workers home from the plant. Dickinson drove into the man's driveway, introduced himself and asked if the man were interested in helping to organize his shop. The man was —as a matter of fact, he had spoken to a neighbor who belongs to the RWDSU, had gotten Dickinson's name and intended to call him.

Employees Meet, Sign

The employee soon got a group of 12 workers together, and Dickinson met with them Monday, July 11, and signed all of them up.

"We hope to get a majority very soon," Dickinson said.

The RWDSU represents 85 workers at the Burton-Dixie plant in Dallas, and is now seeking a first contract for them.

Organizing Dept
Published Weekly Vol. 26, No. 14 DURHA

Facts Don't Support Anti-Union Boasts That Southern Employes Don't Want Unions

How valid are the claims of Southern employers that their employes do not want unions? Spokesmen for the J. P. Stevens Co. have said repeatedly that the wishes of their employes have been clearly stated in numerous NLRB-conducted elections where the union has been defeated every time.

Yes, the unions have been "defeated" at J. P. Stevens Co. and at other Southern textile and manufacturing plants, and the unions have filed unfair labor practice charges on behalf of the workers against the companies. They have been time and again sustained by the NLRB trial examiners and the National Board.

Does it do any good for the Labor Board or a court to compel an employer to publicize a "cease and desist" order—two, three, or four years after the event—stating that the employer was wrong when he interfered with, restrained and coerced the employes from exercising their statutory rights? In far too many cases the order is entirely ineffective: Organizing drives cannot be put on ice for such long periods, and employes' attempts to self-organization completely destroyed.

Rep. Frank Thompson Jr., (D., N.J.) spoke in the House of his deep concern about the lack of effective remedies under the present law, and suggested some legislative reforms of the Natl. Labor Relations Act. He criticized the infamous record of the J. P. Stevens Co. in thwarting the will of its workers for union representation, declaring that "the J. P. Stevens Co. has so far lost all the battles but has won the war. It has achieved its objective—to keep the union out. Its violation of the law, assuming the reviewing court upholds the Labor Board, will be punished by a wrist-slapping. The contest between the J. P. Stevens Co. and the United States Government is unequal.

"We send the Labor Board with a slingshot to enforce our laws against an armored Goliath, and the days of David are over. If we want the laws we pass to be enforced, we must equip the agencies we create with power to deter the law violators," Rep. Thompson said.

He pointed out that the Special Subcommittee on Labor, of which he is chairman, is considering a number of legislative reforms which certainly deserve prompt action.

"1. Currently, the National Labor Relations Act authorizes the Labor Board to order the reinstatement of employes discharged for union affiliation with back pay. This back pay award does not compensate the employe for his financial loss, nor does it deter the wrongdoer. The back pay award has been called 'nothing more than a hunting license for union-busters.'

"I suggest that we give the Labor Board authority to assess double or treble damages against certain violators — those who have been deliberate or repeated or flagrant in their violation of our laws," the Congressman said.

"2. The laws should be amended so a violation will hurt where it counts—in the pocketbook. Moreover, it does not make sense for the federal government to subsidize with lucrative contracts the individuals and companies which violate our laws.

"Accordingly, I propose amendments to the Davis-Bacon and Walsh-Healy Acts so as to give the contracting agencies of our government power to withhold contracts from companies which the Labor Board finds to be in open, flagrant, knowing and purposeful violation of our laws. I made a similar proposal in connection with those who violate our antitrust laws, and I think the same rationale is applicable here."

Rep. Thompson concluded by calling for immediate action, "if we are to demonstrate that the United States Government is larger than the total of its parts."

Are Southern workers unresponsive to the need for unions as many of their employers would like to have the public believe? The answer is an emphatic "no." When workers have an opportunity to make a choice, free from fear or reprisals, they do choose bargaining representatives.

This is amply demonstrated by workers in the public sector—municipal, county and state and most dramatically federal employes. Executive Order 10988, issued in 1962, states in the preamble:

"Whereas participation of employes in the formulation and implementation of personnel policies affecting them contributes to effective conduct of public business." . . . has been the key factor in the upsurge of union organizing among government workers.

Despite a number of shortcomings, Executive Order 10988 is a positive mechanism that permits employes to make an intelligent, free choice as to whether or not they want a union.

An example of the workers' attitude was demonstrated recently at the Warner-Robins Air Force Base near Macon, Ga. The American Federation of Government Employes had requested, after months of organizing, an election to determine union representation for the entire civilian workforce. It won big.

Despite adverse weather conditions and a last-minute effort by a small independent union to discourage voting, over 8,000 votes were cast. Among these only 725 voted no union, less than 10 percent.

The AFGE has grown phenomenally in the last three years, gaining most in the southeastern part of the United tSates, where, according to employers, the workers don't want unions.

Union Organizing South

UNION ORGANIZING RESULTS IN TEXAS

January 1962-February 1964

FLOYD S. BRANDT
TERRY D. KAHN
GARY C. RAFFAELE

Bureau of Business Research
The University of Texas

File: Research Project, White Collar Unionism

October 15, 1963

To: Emory Via

From: Irving Brotslaw

Subject: Questionnaire, study of retail workers attitudes towards unionism

Enclosed are several copies of a questionnaire which I've put together for possible use in the study of retail store employee attitudes towards unions and collective bargaining. As you undoubtedly know, I am not an expert in "questionnaire draftsmenship." The enclosed questionnaire is simply a starting point. I think that it asks the kinds of questions which need answering. But I'm far from convinced that this is the most effective form for the questionnaire to take.

I think you can get a pretty good idea of the kinds of questions which this study should attempt to answer. Perhaps Sharp and/or other members of our staff can think of additional variables which ought to be included in the questionnaire. I'm open to suggestions.

You will notice that the questionnaire does not ask: "How did you vote?" I think this question entails a number of potential problems. There are several ways of getting around this problem:

a) Don't ask the question at all. I think that the overall responses, in particular those to the section headed "General attitudes towards unions and collective bargaining," will provide us with this answer.

b) Use some device, such as a secret ballot which the respondent will mark and put into an envelope, which would at least obviate the necessity of asking the question point blank. We would still need to match up the ballot and the questionnaire, but if no names are used, this may be a way of avoiding the problems inherent in asking the question directly.

I'm sure there will be lots of other problems which I haven't even considered. You may want to distribute the questionnaire to the staff, and get their reactions. The next step, I think, is to meet with Mr. Sharp to get his reactions.

Let me know what your feelings are in this matter. If we are going to go ahead with the study, it should be put into motion quickly. From my own standpoint, "have questionnaire, will interview and tabulate."

The University of Wisconsin

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION DIVISION
432 NORTH LAKE STREET
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

SCHOOL FOR WORKERS

October 16, 1963

MEMO

It is our hope to keep the total cost of these surveys to a minimum; if it is not necessary to use special funds for work performed by Survey Research Laboratory, it would suit us fine. It has been suggested that the Division might match funds used from the School for Workers I.U.L.E.C. account. This is acceptable to us. However, since we would like to use these funds, and to a degree this project, to stimulate further research funds, we would not want them depleted unnecessarily.

Gary F. Vest

RESEARCH PROPOSAL

Attitudes of Retail Store Employees Towards Unions

~~INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT~~. Although collective bargaining has long been accepted and its use recognized ~~too~~ by law as public policy in the United States, relatively little is known about an essential key in the establishment of bargaining relations. That key is simply the decision by employees to join or not to join Unions. Even less is known about ~~the important~~ white collar employees and the decision ~~to join~~ regarding a Union.

For a number of years it has been the public policy of the United States to not only recognize the function of collective bargaining but to encourage it. Collective bargaining occurs where employees have made a decision to join together to secure an organizational representative to gain economic strength and a common voice. ~~Briefly, The forming of a union is crucial to beginning the bargaining relationship. Why and how white collar workers decide to either join or not join a union -- to become a part of the collective bargaining process -- is of great inherent interest and all too poorly understood. The projects proposed here ~~are~~ is a beginning efforts towards developing reliable insights and information in this important area.~~

In recent years, a number of studies have demonstrated that trade unions have failed to make significant progress towards organizing white collar workers. Other studies dealing with the characteristics of the labor force show that the number of blue collar jobs in manufacturing, mining, transportation and construction industries - areas in which the American labor movement has achieved its greatest organizing successes - is shrinking, while the number of white collar jobs in government, services and retail trade is increasing.

As a result of a shift between blue collar, production jobs to white collar, non-production jobs, the relative proportion of the nonagricultural work force which is organized by trade unions has declined slightly. Although the trade unions have been able to maintain a total membership which is slightly in excess of 17 million, union membership probably represents a smaller percentage of the "organizable"

work force than it did 10 years ago.[1]

One of the areas in which the trade unions have achieved a relatively small degree of success in organizing is the retailing industry. As of January 1963 over 6 million workers were employed in retail trade, exclusive of restaurants and other eating places.[2] Although several unions have been active in this industry for a number of years, it is estimated that only between 10 percent and 15 percent of the total work force in retail trade is organized into trade unions.

This represents an interesting paradox, since retail trade is a relatively low wage industry. As of January 1963, average hourly earnings in this industry were $1.79, including overtime. Wage rates within the various branches of the industry ranged from $1.21 in limited price variety stores to $1.89 in grocery, meat and vegetable stores.[3] Given the relatively low wage status of workers in the retailing industry, the lack of success enjoyed by the unions which have attempted to organize retail store employees seems to demonstrate that income is not the sole criterion by which workers accept or reject unionism and collective bargaining.

STATEMENT OF THE PROPOSED RESEARCH PROJECT. The city of Milwaukee offers a good opportunity to study the factors which influence the behavior of retail workers in union representation elections, and their attitudes towards union organization. The city has a large number of

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1. John W. Livingston, Employment Data for Organizing Policy, A report to the meeting of the AFL-CIO General Board, October 9, 1961.

2. U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Monthly Labor Review, April, 1963, p. 454.

3. Ibid., p. 470.

retail establishments; a relatively large local union of the Retail Clerks International Association, the major union in the retail industry, conducts numerous organizing campaigns among workers in the Milwaukee retail industry. Its efforts have met with mixed success. The Union has indicated a willingness to co-operate with the University in projects designed to study the attitude of retail store employees towards unionism. One of the handicaps in pursuing the kind of research interest expressed here has been the inaccessibility of appropriate situations. In this instance we have some assurance, through the union's cooperation, that we will have access to the essential facts surrounding the election situation and an opportunity to reach the persons who participated in the election. Such access is indispensible to the success of the project.

Since the union conducts numerous organizing campaigns which often involve a relatively small number of workers, an excellent opportunity exists to study the relationship between such variables as age, education, sex, occupation, income and marital status and attitudes towards union membership. Initially as a pilot project, we propose to study ~~one~~ two or ~~more~~ three recently concluded representation elections in order to determine the relationship between the variables listed above and workers' responses to organizing campaigns in the retailing industry.

The particular sites for other surveys have not been selected. But we are looking for other accesible situations which will provide appropriate contrasting and supportive information to the first survey. We would expect to survey at least two other situations in this first exploratory phase of the project for which funds are now requested. The other situations would likely include one in which the union had

been successful in its bid to become the bargaining representative. A third situation, if adequate access is possible, might well be a survey of white collar employees where no organizational activities had been undertaken nor anticipated. Subsequent surveys would not necessarily be limited to the Milwaukee area.

METHODOLOGY. It is proposed that the initial research project consist of an examination of the factors which contribute to employee rejection of unionism in the retailing industry:

1. Selection of the group to be studied. This will be done ~~after consulting~~ with the Retail Clerks International Association to determine ~~what elections have been conducted in the very recent past~~. ~~The group to be selected for the initial survey will be relatively small~~ (probably under 100), and will have voted ~~against representation by the Retail Clerks~~ union in a ~~representation election conducted by the National Labor Relations Board.~~

4a

2. Questionnaire design. ~~The questionnaire to be used in the survey will be designed after consultation with the union, the University of Wisconsin Research Survey Center and staff members of the School for Workers, University of Wisconsin.~~ ~~It will be~~ The questionnaire is designed to obtain information relating to the respondents' attitudes toward ~~the~~ union and ~~reactions to the organizing techniques used by the union, as well as to the methods used by the company to discourage union organization among its employees.~~ ~~The questionnaire will also solicit~~

~~information pertaining to the age, education~~, income and ~~marital status of the respondents, and as to whether or not the respondent or members of his immediate family have been union members at any time~~.

(5) ~~7~~. Interviewing and tabulation. The actual interviewing of employees involved in a recent representation election will be conducted by interviewers from ~~members of~~ the Research Survey Laboratory ~~Center~~, the University of Wisconsin. ~~Wherever possible~~, Responses ~~solicited to the interviewers by the questionnaire and interview~~ will be key punched and tabulated.

~~8~~. Analysis of results. Following the completion of the interviews, the results will be studied and analyzed by a staff member of the School for Workers. It is ~~hoped~~ that the results will be of sufficient interest to warrant publication. On the basis of the results of the initial survey, a decision will be made as to whether further studies of this type are warranted, and whether comparative studies dealing with elections presenting other variables ~~which have been won by the union~~ should be undertaken.

(6) COST. It is expected that the cost of the initial surveys will be approximately $3000. The major expense will be the cost of interviewing and of tabulating the results of the interviews. The Research Survey Laboratory ~~Center~~ estimates that the cost of each interview will be $6.00. Some funds will be needed for clerical costs, purchase of necessary materials, ~~any~~ necessary travel and other miscellaneous expenses.

If money is needed for this project beyond the services normally available through SRL the School for Workers will be happy to match other ~~Extension funds~~ funds from the Extension Division out of its funds in the I.U.L.E.C. account. It is ~~not~~ our intention, however, to use the I.U.L.E.C. funds as seed money for the stimulation of further faculty research in the hope of procuring further outside funds. We would, therefore, not wish to deplete this source for any one project.

— Some changes;

~~The literature relating to white collar workers~~

(3)

A survey ~~will be~~ is being made of the existing literature relevant to both white collar employees and to the decision to become a part of a collective bargaining agency. A rough bench mark or profile of white collar employees will be established against which the findings of the survey proposed below may be measured..

~~The proposal made here is the beginning first part of a larger study.~~

~~This proposal is the beginning of an envisioned larger study~~
~~the proposed project~~
~~This proposal to some degree will be a pilot~~

(1a)

What is porposed here will serve as a pilot project for a larger study seeking to uncover salient characteristics, relevant to collective bargaining, of ~~specialized portions of~~ selected segments of the work force specified ~~which are relevant to collective bargaining.~~

This research will contribute to our understanding of subject areas in which we teach and in which new insights and factual information are needed and expected. Our departmnet ~~had~~ ~~had a long time~~ has a continuing and necessary interest in collective bargaing, ~~and~~ the changing character of the work force makes it imperative that we expand our interest in white collar employees.

(4)

The Proposal

Selection of Groups

The School for Workers will undertake locating suitable survey situations, ~~for surveying.~~ Suitability, here, means primarily recency of a a bragaining agency election and access to the participants in the ~~s~~election. The first three surveys will be, ~~be~~ in all probability, ~~be~~ of situations in the retail trades where the unit is of such size as to make it possible to survey all its members. ~~of it.~~ The first survey, and perhaps all three, will be made in the Milwaukee area. In each case it is our intention to select the survey group prior to the conduct of the actual electon. A survey situation will be rejected however if the election results are such as to prevent the securing of data that will allow for sufficient comparison. In other words we would not want all three survey situations ~~b~~ to have resulted in either union victories or union losses. ~~union win or loss~~

Access to the Participants

Arrangements have already been made with the leading union in the retail field to notify us of impending elections; the union will provide us with ~~the~~ names and addresses for survey purposes. This cooperation provides the degree of access which is essential to the project. However, the union knows that the research is the undertaking of University staff and is subject to the general rules of objectivity, anonymity of individuals and establishments, ~~anonimity,~~ and that the results ~~are~~ will be publish~~able~~ed if ~~found~~ found suitable by the reserachers. The union also understands that it will have no special access to the survey material.

The Survey Instrument

A questionnaire is attached to this proposal. It has been developed by Irving Brotslaw, the chief investigator for the project, in cooperation with other members of the School for Workers staff and informally with a member of the University's sociology department. The questionnaire has been in the hands of the Survey Research Laboratory ~~ofr~~ for some time; SRL made some suggestions and we have asked that this instrutment be scanned critically and readied for a pre-test.

(4a — insert

Oct. 17, 1963

Irv:

I will summarize roughly some of the comments that have been made re your questionnaire. You will need to look them over and rationalize them as best you can. I will not be much help to you on this score because of other pressures. It may well be that we should consult with other professionals over here as well as Sharp. Also a group meeting of our staff might be ehelpful — there has been no attempt to reconcile points of view.

Jim: Would ask they how voted; use as one index of validation, if it correlates with reality, but not too serious if it does not.

In which department does employee work(did he work)

What influence from foremen and supervisors; were employees treated differently in different departments(I would add: anytime information can be reliably obtained from the union rather than through questionnaire it would be wise to get it that way.

Emory: Are you still employed? What Kind of work does spouse do?
p1, q.5 add: less han 6 months, six months to year(at time of vote, or in way so that this can be calculated.)

q.6,7 what hours or what shift

p.3, q.2 sharpen, present alternatives

q3 In what ways did they feel the union might have harmed them.

Jack: p. 1. get at job classification, more precise. Possibly use store or the most specifically relevant term rather than "company"

how many hours were they working at time of election
p2 q.3, What was not convincing or persuaded you not to vote

q. 3,4,5, What do you rembere, or what sticks in your mind, most; use questioning that reflects the critical incident and which also avoids their attempt to evaluate and perhaps makes less pointed in terms of making them defenseive.

p3, 1. leave out"was also interested"; phrase this question and its mate re union the same way and as neutrally as possible.

don't use "devices" and again what do you remember technique.

2. no good purpose served as stated; could ask whcih they rember and

how they rember

p3, q.3 question too critical to ask this way; perhaps: How did fellow workers react; or a semantic dif erential test — range of words or phrases reflecting a continuum of the key concepts.

Check other questionnaries used in similar instances: UAW has surveyed some of its drives; the Oil workers had U.Of Chicago do a study

This questionnaire probably does not get at the subtleties of workers image of the union.

Some of the people with whom we might meet here are Burt Fisher(soc.), Bob Alfurd(soc.) Percy Tannenbaum(mass comm.)

Pardon the jumble but you will get the essence of the comments this way and this is by all odds the quickest way to get it back to you.

I am enclsoing a copy of Norris' comments on copy of your questionnaire.

I hope that you will be able to keep right after this and that you will soon have the interviews rolling.

Emory

AGENDA FOR FIELD MEETING
Wisconsin Center

November 4 - 5

Monday - November 4, 1963

10:00a.m. - Dean Adolfson

Noon - Lunch (as you will)

1:30p.m. - Donald R. McNeil
Assistant to U.W. President
"University Adult Education"

4:30p.m. - Adjourn until Tuesday

Tuesday - November 5, 1963

9:00a.m. - John Kellesvig, Director
High School Relations, U.W.

10:00a.m. - LeRoy Luberg, Dean
or Public Services, U.W.

11:00a.m. - Education classes

Noon - Lunch (as you will)

1:30p.m. - Arthur Hove, Editor
The Wisconsin Alumnus

2:00p.m. - Miscellaneous

3:00p.m. - Adjourn

bjw
10-30-63

UW-M DOWNTOWN CAMPUS
600 W. KILBOURN AVENUE
MILWAUKEE 3, WISCONSIN

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
University Extension Division

November 12, 1963

Professor Harry P. Sharp
Wisconsin Survey Research Laboratory
905 University Avenue, Room 401
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Professor Sharp:

Enclosed are two copies of the revised questionnaire which we plan to use in connection with our survey of retail store employees' attitudes towards union organization. I'm sure there are numerous ways in which the questionnaire is deficient. Please make any changes, additions or deletions which you think are necessary. If you have any questions about what I'm trying to do via the questionnaire, please let me know. My extension at the University is 575.

Also enclosed is a list of the names and addresses (and telephone numbers, in some cases) of the employees at the U-Tel Corporation, who are the subject of the present investigation. The full name and address of the store in question is as follows:

The U-Tel Corporation
5321 South 108th Street
Hales Corners, Wisconsin

Emory Via has told me that the financial arrangements for underwriting the cost of the survey have been taken care of, and that you will contact the employer to inform him that his employees will be the subject of a survey. The name of the man to contact is Peter Karides, at the above address. I'm sorry, but I couldn't find out what his exact title is.

I have arranged for a room in which the interviewers can meet on the evening of November 25. I will write to Mrs. Hockstad, and give her the pertinent information. I will also send her a draft of a letter explaining the nature and purpose of the study which you indicated would be sent to each of the respondents.

Thank you for your interest and cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Irving Brotslaw, Lecturer
Labor Education

IB/rj

cc. Mrs. Hockstad
Emory Via

COPY

Stoneny of white collar employees –

UW-M DOWNTOWN CAMPUS
600 W. KILBOURN AVENUE
MILWAUKEE 3, WISCONSIN

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
University Extension Division

November 13, 1963

Mrs. Nina C. Hockstad
Project Associate
Wisconsin Survey Research Laboratory
905 University Avenue, Room 401
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Mrs. Hockstad:

I have arranged for a room in which the interview team can meet on the evening of November 25 to discuss the details of our survey of retail store employees' attitudes towards union organization. We will use the conference room, which is Room 118 in the South Building of the downtown campus, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 600 West Kilbourn Avenue.

The room is on the first floor of the South Building, and can be reached most easily from the Kilbourn Avenue entrance. It is a very pleasant room, but will be slightly cramped for 18 persons. I will try to arrange for parking privileges for the interviewers. Mr. Trover, who has jurisdiction over these matters, is out of town today. It seems likely, however, that we can make satisfactory arrangements.

Enclosed is a copy of a letter which you can use to inform the respondents of their participation in the forthcoming survey. Please make any revisions you think are necessary.

I look forward to meeting with you and the interviewers on November 25.

Sincerely yours,

Irving Brotslaw, Lecturer
Labor Education

IB/rj

Enclosure

cc. Harry P. Sharp
√Emory Via

COPY

Draft

November 13, 1963

Dear Sir or Madam:

The Survey Research Laboratory of the University of Wisconsin conducts various public opinion surveys in the State of Wisconsin in order to find out how people feel about various topics. The surveys are a part of the research program of the University of Wisconsin.

One of the topics of interest to researchers in the University is how employees feel about their jobs and how they react to attempts by trade unions to organize the places at which they work. In connection with this interest, the Survey Research Laboratory will be talking to various groups of employees, including yourself and your fellow employees.

These interviews are completely confidential. This is a statistical study and no names will be used in any report. The company at which you work and the union which recently tried to organize you and your fellow employees know about the survey, but they are not sponsoring it. Copies of the report which the university prepares will be available to all interested persons, but that individual responses to the various questions which our interviewers will ask will not be identified.

An interviewer from the Wisconsin Survey Research Laboratory will be calling on you within a week or so. Let me emphasize that this interviewer is an employee of the University of Wisconsin, and is <u>not</u> a salesman for any product or service. In order to conduct the interview on the most efficient basis, we would like to talk with you alone. On the basis of past experience, I think I can safely say that you will enjoy the interview. We look forward to meeting with you, and to an interesting interview.

Sincerely yours,

Harry Sharp
Director

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
UNIVERSITY EXTENSION DIVISION

FROM: T.S. DATE: 11/22/63

TO: (Route as checked)

✓ ~~Adolfson~~

___ Dick

___ Duwe

___ Grogan

___ Hanley

✓ ~~Montana~~

___ Olson

___ Schoenfeld

___ Shannon

___ Wedemeyer

✓ E. Vie

___ _____

___ _____

For Your Information ✓ Action _____ Forward ✓

Return to Sender _____ Destroy _____ File _____

RECEIVED
NOV 29 1963
INFORMAL INSTR. SERVICES

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
MADISON 6

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Nov. 25, 1963

Wanted:

One of my interviewers sent me this. As you know, it has been decided not to interview there.

Regards,

Bud

RECEIVED
NOV 27 1963
Associate Dean
Extension

NLRB Upholds Unfair Charges Filed by Clerks at U-Tell Corp.

RUSH

The national labor relations board has upheld unfair labor practice charges against the U-Tell Corp. and has ordered a new election to be held in the near future.

The charges were filed by Retail Clerks Local 444, which charged the firm with a number of unfair practices leading to the union's loss in a representation election last month. Retail Clerks Local 444 Business Manager Edward Stadelmann hailed the board decision as complete vindication of the union's position and said his organization would redouble its efforts to bring long overdue union benefits to the U-Tell employes. He said the first goal of the union, if successful in the new election, would be to bring U-Tell employe wage rates up to those being paid in other unionized stores of similar nature.

Attorney Jerry Goldberg of the law firm Goldberg, Previant and Uelmen said that among the charges the board found U-Tell guilty of were the following:

The employer threatened employes with economic retaliation and loss of benefits.

The employer made unlawful promises of benefits to employes and promised them better working hours and higher wages if the union didn't win the election.

The employer interrogated threatened and coerced employes.

The employer promised employes better wages and working conditions in the event that the union lost the election, and threatened employes with loss of benefits in the event the union won the election.

The board found that the employer paid employes to attend a meeting at which time the employer had anti-union campaigning.

Accordingly the board has held that there will be a new election for the employes to vote.

Page 5 — AFL-CIO Milwaukee Labor Press, Thursday, November 21, 1963

Survey Research Laboratory
905 University Avenue, Room 401
Madison 15, Wisconsin

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

February 4, 1964

Prof. Emory F. Via
825 Extension Building
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

We had better talk personally about any work you plan to have for the Survey Research Laboratory in the near future. Because of some unforseen delays, our field operations could be pretty well committed for the remainder of this fiscal year. At the moment I'm not even sure myself just what we will be doing and when. These problems must be resolved one way or the other by Friday, February 7. Would you contact me then, or shortly after that date? I do feel that some pre-test of your interview schedule will be necessary before it can go into production interviewing.

This letter should not at all imply that WSRL is reluctant to work with you on your research. Our problems at the moment relate to the over-committment of our field staff.

Sincerely,

Harry Sharp
Director

HS/ch

February 19, 1964

COPY

Professor Harry P. Sharp, Director
Wisconsin Survey Research Laboratory
905 University Avenue
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Professor Sharp:

Emory Via told me that you wanted about 10 names and addresses of persons involved in recent representation elections conducted by the Retail Clerks Union for a pre-test of our opinion questionnaire. These are enclosed.

The Union tells me that they are conducting an election which involves approximately 150 persons on February 28. If possible, I'd like to use this election for the first part of our study. If we can get the questionnaire in shape relatively soon, and field staff is available, we can get the names and addresses of the persons voting in the election in quick order.

Sincerely yours,

Irving Brotslaw, Lecturer
Labor Education

IB/sk

Enc.

cc: Emory Via

12:15-

Survey Research Laboratory
905 University Avenue, Room 401
Madison 15, Wisconsin

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

6 April 1964

Mr. Morris Katz
More-Way Stores, Inc.
10130 West Appleton
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. Katz:

Professor George Strother of the Extension Department of the University of Wisconsin telephoned the Laboratory in regard to the call he had from you a day or so ago.

I am enclosing a thermo-fax copy of a letter which was mailed to Mr. Silberman on March 12th explaining the purpose of the research project. This copy was made from the original which was submitted to the Laboratory by the faculty participant and we made a few minor changes in wording. In essence, however, it is the letter which was sent to Mr. Silberman. The second enclosure is a copy of the letter which was mailed to each employee of More-Way.

You will notice the emphasis which is placed on the confidentiality of all information collected. The interviews were taken by staff interviewers of the Wisconsin Survey Research Laboratory who are carefully trained to record all responses verbatim and without bias.

When the questionnaires have been coded and the data analyzed, we feel that we will be making a substantial contribution to the body of information which is being compiled by researchers interested in employee attitudes towards unionization.

I hope this will reassure you as to the legitimacy of the research being done.

Please get in touch with us if you have any further questions.

Sincerely,

Mina C. Hockstad, Head
Field Section

Enc. 2
cc: Professor George Strother

From Katz

Our stores have been accused unfair L.P. by NLRB —

NLRB power should be investigated ~~up~~ by A-W —

If any individual would like to meet to draw a research project — or about —

Pres. Dome Enterprise, Inc.

from Mr. Harbstad —

5/8/64

13 May 1964

Mr. Morris Katz, President
Dome Enterprise, Inc.
Moreway - North
Domestic Department
10130 W. Appleton Avenue
Milwaukee 21, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. Katz:

The Survey Research Laboratory never initiates any research projects. We are actually a "service" organization with facilities available to University faculty members who want to gather information which will increase their knowledge in particular areas.

I have, however, sent copies of your letter of May 5th to several professors on the Madison campus whose research interests might include a study along the lines you suggested.

I hope if such a survey is made that I shall have an opportunity to meet you personally.

As Professor Strother told you, your name will certainly be included in the list of persons receiving results of the recent Moreway study.

Sincerely,

Mina C. Hockstad, Head
Field Section

MCH:jgb

DOME ENTERPRISE, INC.

May 5

HO 4-1000

REPLY TO:

☒ MOREWAY — NORTH
DOMESTIC DEPT.
10130 W. Appleton Ave.
Milwaukee 18, Wis.

☐ MOREWAY — SOUTH
DOMESTIC DEPT.
801 W. Layton Ave.
Milwaukee 21, Wis.

Dear Mrs. Hochstadt:

Thank you for your letter of April 6. Just a note to let you know that our stores have just been accused of unfair labor practices by the NLRB. This would certainly be an area to investigate (NLRB power) by some university group. It is a lamentable fact that a situation exists whereby because of union loss an election overwhelmingly, it must resort to unbelievable <u>insistence</u> to get a re-election.

If any particular individual would like to meet to discuss this I personally feel it would make a most noticeable research project & would be glad to do so at any time.

In the interim, would it be asking too much for a copy of the results of your survey. I believe I infer from letter this would be the case when the results are tabulated.

Sincerely
Morris Katz, Pres.

Survey Research Laboratory
905 University Avenue, Room 401
Madison 15, Wisconsin

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

November 20, 1964

Professors Emery Via and Irving Brotslaw
The University of Wisconsin
825 Extension Building
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emery and Irv:

In processing your research (W.S.R.L. Project 161), The Wisconsin Survey Research Laboratory has incurred costs of $1,987.49. An itemized statement of these charges is attached.

A formal billing will be sent to you shortly by Extension Division. If you have any questions regarding the procedure for reimbursement, please contact Gordon Behling (Director, Records and Finance, Extension Division) and discuss the matter with him.

Sincerely,

Harry Sharp
Director

HS/bw
CC: Gordon Behling

Survey Research Laboratory
905 University Avenue, Room 401
Madison 15, Wisconsin

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

COPY

BILLING REQUEST

DATE OF REQUEST: November 20, 1964

TO: Extension Division Business Office

PLEASE BILL: Professors Emery Via and Irving Brotslaw
The School of Social Work
825 Extension Building
Madison, Wisconsin

FOR SERVICES RENDERED: Research costs incurred by W.S.R.L. for your Project 161, "Attitudes of Retail Workers Toward Labor Union Organization"

ITEM	AMOUNT
Administration: Salaries, Wages	$ 181.58
Sampling: Salaries, Wages	9.00
Field: Salaries, Wages	1016.59
Field: Travel	237.15
Coding: Salaries, Wages	411.82
Key Punching: Salaries, Wages	2.00
Tabulation: Salaries, Wages	43.66
Tabulation: IBM Rental	11.13
Duplicating, Mimeographing, Verifax	27.52
Postage, Shipping	6.40
Telephone, Telegraph	27.14
Supplies, Equipment	13.50

TOTAL AMOUNT REQUESTED: $1,987.49

DATES COVERED: July 1, 1964 - September 30, 1964

Requested by HS
Harry Sharp, Director

Jim

How identify the
"middle man" then
(persuadable)
Correlate what he
thought was good or
bad in approach —

Survey of related
Studies —

Organizing
Unit attitudes
toward Negro &
Co

Profile of White
people
follow Wales from
existing literature
against which to
"test" our findings —

1st Stage of bigger

Shortcomings
Bench Marks
from other
Studies

Profiles of Retail
clerks — as people

Raphael project

Via

go ahead with
survey —
advance

inform —

Statement summarizes

1st stage of
bigger

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
UNIVERSITY EXTENSION DIVISION

FROM: _____ DATE: _____

TO: (Route as checked) Hold to talk to Lia and Sharp

___ Adolfson

___ Dick

___ Duwe

___ Grogan

___ Hanley

___ Montross

___ Olson

___ Schoenfeld

___ Shannon

___ Wedemeyer

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For Your Information _____ Action _____ Forward _____

Return to Sender _____ Destroy _____ File _____

RESEARCH PROPOSAL

Attitudes of Retail Store Employees Towards Unions

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT. For a number of years it has been the public policy of the United States to not only recognize the function of collective bargaining but to encourage it. Collective bargaining occurs where employees have made a decision to join together to secure an organizational representative to gain economic strength and a common voice. Briefly, the forming of a union is crucial to beginning the bargaining relationship. Why and how workers decide to either join or not join a union -- to become a part of the collective bargaining process -- is of great inherent interest and all too poorly understood. The projects proposed here are beginning efforts towards developing reliable insights and information in this important area.

In recent years, a number of studies have demonstrated that trade unions have failed to make significant progress towards organizing white collar workers. Other studies dealing with the characteristics of the labor force show that the number of blue collar jobs in manufacturing, mining, transportation and construction industries - areas in which the American labor movement has achieved its greatest organizing successes - is shrinking, while the number of white collar jobs in government, services and retail trade is increasing.

As a result of a shift between blue collar, production jobs to white collar, non-production jobs, the relative proportion of the nonagricultural work force which is organized by trade unions has declined slightly. Although the trade unions have been able to maintain a total membership which is slightly in excess of 17 million, union membership probably represents a smaller percentage of the "organizable"

work force than it did 10 years ago.[1]

One of the areas in which the trade unions have achieved a relatively small degree of success in organizing is the retailing industry. As of January 1963 over 6 million workers were employed in retail trade, exclusive of restaurants and other eating places.[2] Although several unions have been active in this industry for a number of years, it is estimated that only between 10 percent and 15 percent of the total work force in retail trade is organized into trade unions.

This represents an interesting paradox, since retail trade is a relatively low wage industry. As of January 1963, average hourly earnings in this industry were $1.79, including overtime. Wage rates within the various branches of the industry ranged from $1.21 in limited price variety stores to $1.89 in grocery, meat and vegetable stores.[3] Given the relatively low wage status of workers in the retailing industry, the lack of success enjoyed by the unions which have attempted to organize retail store employees seems to demonstrate that income is not the sole criterion by which workers accept or reject unionism and collective bargaining.

STATEMENT OF THE PROPOSED RESEARCH PROJECT. The city of Milwaukee offers a good opportunity to study the factors which influence the behavior of retail workers in union representation elections, and their attitudes towards union organization. The city has a large number of

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1. John W. Livingston, Employment Data for Organizing Policy, A report to the meeting of the AFL-CIO General Board, October 9, 1961.

2. U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Monthly Labor Review, April, 1963, p. 454.

3. Ibid., p. 470.

retail establishments; a relatively large local union of the Retail Clerks International Association, the major union in the retail industry, conducts numerous organizing campaigns among workers in the Milwaukee retail industry. Its efforts have met with mixed success. The Union has indicated a willingness to co-operate with the University in projects designed to study the attitude of retail store employees towards unionism. One of the handicaps in pursuing the kind of research interest expressed here has been the inaccessibility of appropriate situations. In this instance we have some assurance, through the union's cooperation, that we will have access to the essential facts surrounding the election situation and an opportunity to reach the persons who participated in the election. Such assess is indispensible to the success of the project.

Since the union conducts numerous organizing campaigns which often involve a relatively small number of workers, an excellent opportunity exists to study the relationship between such variables as age, education, sex, occupation, income and marital status and attitudes towards union membership. Initially as a pilot project, we propose to study one or more recently concluded representation elections in order to determine the relationship between the variables listed above and workers' responses to organizing campaigns in the retailing industry.

The particular sites for other surveys have not been selected. But we are looking for other accesible situations which will provide appropriate contrasting and supportive information to the first survey. We would expect to survey at least two other situations in this first exploratory phase of the project for which funds are now requested. The other situations would likely include one in which the union had

been successful in its bid to become the bargaining representative. A third situation, if adequate access is possible, might well be a survey of white collar employees where no organizational activities had been undertaken nor anticipated. Subsequent surveys would not necessarily be limited to the Milwaukee area.

METHODOLOGY. It is proposed that the initial research project consist of an examination of the factors which contribute to employee rejection of unionism in the retailing industry:

1. Selection of the group to be studied. This will be done after consulting with the Retail Clerks International Association to determine what elections have been conducted in the very recent past. The group to be selected for the initial survey will be relatively small (probably under 100), and will have voted against representation by the Retail Clerks union in a representation election conducted by the National Labor Relations Board.

2. Questionnaire design. The questionnaire to be used in the survey will be designed after consultation with the union, the University of Wisconsin Research Survey Center and staff members of the School for Workers, University of Wisconsin. It will be designed to obtain information relating to the respondents' attitude toward the union and reactions to the organizing techniques used by the union, as well as to the methods used by the company to discourage union organization among its employees. The questionnaire will also solicit

information pertaining to the age, education, income and marital status of the respondents, and as to whether or not the respondent or members of his immediate family have been union members at any time.

3. Interviewing and tabulation. The actual interviewing of employees involved in a recent representation election will be conducted by members of the Research Survey Center, the University of Wisconsin. Wherever possible, responses solicited by the questionnaire and interview will be key punched and tabulated.

4. Analysis of results. Following the completion of the interviews, the results will be studied and analyzed by a staff member of the School for Workers. It is hoped that the results will be of sufficient interest to warrant publication. On the basis of the results of the initial survey, a decision will be made as to whether further studies of this type are warranted, and whether comparative studies dealing with elections which have been won by the union should be undertaken.

COST. It is expected that the cost of the initial surveys will be approximately $3000. The major expense will be the cost of interviewing and of tabulating the results of the interviews. The Research Survey Center estimates that the cost of each interview will be $6.00. Some funds will be needed for clerical costs, purchase of necessary materials, any necessary travel and other miscellaneous expenses.

RESEARCH PROPOSAL

Attitudes of Retail Store Employees Towards Unions

What is proposed here will serve as a pilot project for a larger study seeking to uncover salient characteristics relevant to collective bargaining of selected segments of the work force. This research will contribute to our understanding of subject areas in which we teach and in which new insights and factual information are needed and expected. Our department has a continuing and necessary interest in collective bargaining; the changing character of the work force makes it imperative that we expand our interest in white collar employees.

Although collective bargaining has long been accepted and its use recognized by law as public policy in the United States, relatively little is known about an essential key in the establishment of bargaining relations. That key is simply the decision by employees to join or not to join unions. Even less is known about white collar employees and their decisions regarding unions.

A survey is being made of the existing literature relevant to both white collar employees and to the decision to become a part of a collective bargaining agency. A rough bench mark or profile of white collar employees will be established against which the findings of the survey proposed below may be measured.

The Proposal

Selection of Groups

The School for Workers will undertake locating suitable survey situations. Suitability, here, primarily means recency of a bargaining

agency election and access to the participants in the election. The first three surveys will be, in all probability, of situations in the retail trades where the unit is of such size as to make it possible to survey all its members. The first survey, and perhaps all three, will be made in the Milwaukee area. In each case it is our intention to select the survey group prior to the conduct of the actual election. A survey situation will be rejected however if the election results are such as to prevent the securing of data that will allow for sufficient comparison. In other words we would not want all three survey situations to have resulted in either union victories or union losses.

Access to the Participants

Arrangements have already been made with the leading union in the retail field to notify us of impending elections; the union will provide us with names and addresses for survey purposes. This cooperation provides the degree of access which is essential to the project. However, the union knows that the research is the undertaking of University staff and is subject to the general rules of objectivity, anonymity of individuals and establishments, and that the results will be published if found suitable by the researchers. The union also understands that it will have no special access to the survey material.

The Survey Instrument

A questionnaire is attached to this proposal. It has been developed by Irving Brotslaw, the chief investigator for the project, in cooperation with other members of the School for Workers staff and informally with a member of The University's sociology department. The questionnaire

has been in the hands of the Survey Research Laboratory for some time; SRL made some suggestions and we have asked that this instrument be scanned critically and readied for a pre-test. The questionnaire is designed to obtain information relating to the respondents' attitudes toward union and management practices during the time of the organizing campaign, attitudes towards unions in general, attitude toward their jobs, and pertinent biographical and job data.

Interviewing and tabulation.

The actual interviewing of employees involved in a recent representation election will be conducted by interviewers from the Research Survey Laboratory, the University of Wisconsin. Responses to the interviews will be key punched and tabulated.

Analysis of results.

Following the completion of the interviews, the results will be studied and analyzed by a staff member of the School for Workers. It is hoped that the results will be of sufficient interest to warrant publication. On the basis of the results of the initial survey, a decision will be made as to whether further studies of this type are warranted, and whether comparative studies dealing with elections presenting other variables should be undertaken.

Cost.

It is expected that the cost of the initial surveys will be approximately $3000. The major expense will be the cost of interviewing and of tabulating the results of the interviews. The Research Survey Laboratory estimates that the cost of each interview will be $6.00. Some funds will be needed for clerical costs, purchase of necessary materials, necessary travel and other miscellaneous expenses.

If money is needed for this project beyond the services normally available through SRL, the School for Workers will be happy to match other funds from the Extension Division out of its funds in the I.U.L.E.C. account. It is our intention, however, to use the I.U.L.E.C. funds as seed money for the stimulation of further faculty research in the hope of procurring further outside research money; we would, therefore, not wish to deplete this source for any one project.

RESEARCH PROPOSAL

Attitudes of Retail Store Employees Towards Unions

Insert (1)

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT. In recent years, a number of studies have demonstrated that trade unions have failed to make significant progress towards organizing white collar workers. Other studies dealing with the characteristics of the labor force show that the number of blue collar jobs in manufacturing, mining, transportation and construction industries - areas in which the American labor movement has achieved its greatest organizing successes - ~~are~~ is shrinking, while the number of white collar jobs in government, services and retail trade is increasing.

As a result of a shift between blue collar, production jobs to white collar, non-production jobs, the relative proportion of the nonagricultural work force which is organized by trade unions has declined slightly. Although the trade unions have been able to maintain a total membership which is slightly in excess of 17 million, union membership probably represents a smaller percentage of the "organizable" work force than it did 10 years ago.1/

One of the areas in which the trade unions have achieved a relatively small degree of success in organizing is the retailing industry. As of January, 1963 over 6 million workers were employed in retail trade, exclusive of restaurants and other eating places.2/ Although several unions have been active in this industry for a number of years, it is estimated that only between 10 percent and 15 percent

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2/ U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Monthly Labor Review, April, 1963, p. 454.

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This represents an interesting paradox, since retail trade is a relatively low wage industry. As of January, 1963, average hourly earnings in this industry were $1.79, including overtime. Wage rates within the various branches of the industry ranged from $1.21 in limited price variety stores to $1.89 in grocery, meat and vegetable stores.[1] Given the relatively low wage status of workers in the retailing industry, the lack of success enjoyed by the unions which have attempted to organize retail store employees seems to demonstrate that income is not the sole criterion by which workers accept or reject unionism and collective bargaining.

STATEMENT OF THE PROPOSED RESEARCH PROJECT. The city of Milwaukee offers a good opportunity to study the factors which influence the behavior of retail workers in union representation elections, and their attitudes towards union organization. The city has a large number of retail establishments; ~~and~~ a relatively large local union of the Retail Clerks International Association, the major union in the retail industry, conducts numerous organizing campaigns among workers in the Milwaukee retail industry. Its efforts have met with mixed success. ~~Although the union has made some progress in organizing within its jurisdiction, it frankly admits that it is puzzled by its lack of success in organizing retail store employees.~~ The Union ~~It~~ has indicated a willingness ~~that it is willing~~ to co-operate with the University in ~~terms of any research~~ projects designed to study the attitude of retail store employees towards unionism.

1/ Monthly Labor Review, op cit, p. 470.

Insert (2)

Research project, retail store employees (continued).

Since the union conducts numerous organizing campaigns which often involve a relatively small number of workers, an excellent opportunity exists to study the attitudes of retail workers towards union organization, and to study the relationship between such variables as age, education, sex, ~~income,~~ occupation, income and marital status and attitudes towards union membership. Initially As a pilot project, we propose to study one or more recently concluded representation elections in order to determine the relationship between the variables listed above and workers' responses to organizing campaigns in the retailing industry.

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METHODOLOGY. It is proposed that the initial research project consist of an examination of the factors which contribute to employee rejection of unionism in the retailing industry:

1. Selection of the group to be studied. This will be done after consulting with the Retail Clerks International Association to determine what elections have been conducted in the very recent past. The group to be selected for the initial survey will be relatively small (probably under 100), and will have voted against representation by the Retail Clerks union in a representation election conducted by the National Labor Relations Board.

2. Questionnaire design. The questionnaire to be used in the survey will be designed after consultation with the union, the University of Wisconsin Research Survey Center and staff members of the School for Workers, University of Wisconsin.

It will be designed to obtain information relating to the respondents' attitude toward the union and reactions to the organizing techniques used by the union, as well as to the methods used by the company to discourage union organization among its employees. The questionnaire will also solicit information pertaining to the age, education, income and marital status of the respondents, and as to whether or not the respondent or members of his immediate family have been union members at any time.

3. Interviewing and tabulation. The actual interviewing of employees involved in a recent representation election will be conducted by members of the Research Survey Center, University of Wisconsin. Wherever possible, responses solicited by the questionnaire and interview will be key punched and tabulated.

4. Analysis of results. Following the completion of the interviews, the results will be studied and analyzed by a staff member of the School for Workers. It is hoped that the results will be of sufficient interest to warrant publication. On the basis of the results of the initial survey, a decision will be made as to whether further studies of this type are warranted, and whether comparative studies dealing with elections which have been won by the union should be undertaken.

[Note: Jagen — there is a 5th page on costs — and see for it.

Inserts

(1) p.1. For a number of years it has been the public policy of the United States to not only recognize the function of collective bargaining but to encourage it. Collective bargaining only occurs where employees have made a decision to join together to secure an organizational representative to gain economic strength and a common voice. Briefly, the forming of a union is crucial to beginning the bargaining relationship. Why and how workers decide to either join or not join a union — to become a part of the collective bargaining process — is of great inherent interest and all too poorly understood. The projects proposed here are beginning efforts towards developing reliable insights and information in this important area.

(2) p.2 One of the handicaps in pursuing the kind of research interest expressed here has been the inaccessibilty of appropriate situations. In this instance we have some assurance, through the union's cooperation , that we will have access to the essential facts surrounding the election situation and an opportunity to reach the persons who participated in the election. Such access is indispensible to the success of the project.

(3) p.3 The particular sites for other surveys have not been selected. But we are looking for other accesible situations which will provide appropriate contrasting and supportive information to the first survey. We would expect to survey at least two other situations in this first exploratory phase of the project for which funds are now requested. The other situations would likely include one in which the union had been succesful in its bid to become the bargaining representative. A third situation, if adequate access is possible, might well be a survey of white collar employees where no organizational activities had been undertaken nor anticipated. Subsequent surveys would not necessarily be limited to the Milwaukee area.

Research project, retail store employees (continued).

COST. It is expected that the cost of the initial surveys will be approximately ~~$750.~~ $3000. The major expense will be the cost of interviewing and of tabulating the results of the interviews. The Research Survey Center estimates that the cost of each interview will be $6. Thus, ~~if 100 interviews are conducted, the total cost of the interviews and the tabulation of the results will be $600.~~ ~~The remaining $150~~ Some funds will be ~~allocated~~ needed for ~~to~~ clerical costs, ~~including typing,~~ purchase of necessary materials, any necessary travel and other miscellaneous expenses.

Separate Memorandum

~~Note from Emory Via~~:

It is our hope ~~we would like~~ to keep the total cost of these surveys to a minimum; if it is not necessary to use special funds for work performed by Survey Research Laboratory, it would suit us fine. It ~~was~~ has been suggested that the Division might ~~make~~ match funds used from the School for Workers I.U.L.E.C. account. This is acceptable to us. However, since we would like to use these funds, and to a degree this project, to as ~~"seed money" to~~ stimulate further research funds, we would not want them depleted unnecessarily.

QUESTIONNAIRE

Attitude of Retail Workers Towards Union Organization

You were recently involved in a campaign conducted by the_____ Union to organize workers at_____Company. The University of Wisconsin is conducting this study in order to learn about individual reactions to organizing campaigns conducted by unions in the retailing industry.

Your fellow workers will also be interviewed during this study. All of your answers will be treated in strict confidence. They will not be made known to the union or your employer, or anyone else.

Information relating to the respondent.

1) Sex: Male ☐ Female ☐

2) Marital status: Married ☐ Single ☐ Divorced ☐ Widow(er) ☐

3) Age: ☐ Under 19 ☐ 19-25 ☐ 26-35 ☐ 36-45 ☐ 46-55 ☐ 56-65 ☐ Over 65

4) Education: Indicate below the highest grade completed:
   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 grade school 1 2 3 4 high school 1 2 3 4 college

5) Are you still employed by the_____Company? Yes ☐ No ☐

6) In what department do you work?_____

7) What is your job in the store?_____

8) How long have you been employed at the store?

   ☐ Under 6 months ☐ 6 months to 1 yr. ☐ 1-3 yrs ☐ 4-5 yrs ☐ 6-10 yrs. ☐ Over 10 years

9) At the time of the election, approximately how many hours per week were you working?_____

10) What are your regular hours now? From____to____

11) Does your husband (wife) work? Yes ☐ No ☐

12) What kind of work does your husband (wife) do?_____

_____

13) Is your husband (wife) a union member? Yes ☐ No ☐

If yes, which one?_____

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14) Is anyone else in your family (besides husband or wife) a union member?
Yes ☐ No ☐

If yes, please indicate who_____

15) Do you have any close friends who are union members? Yes ☐ No ☐

16) Do you plan to continue working as a retail store employee on a permanent basis? Yes ☐ No ☐

17) If you are working temporarily, would you please indicate the main reason why you are working:

☐ To support myself

☐ To finance my own education

☐ To save for down payment on a house, or help with mortgage payments

☐ To pay medical bills

☐ Because I want to do something with my spare time

☐ To buy things our family could not otherwise afford (car, clothes, appliances, etc.)

☐ Other (please specify) _____

_____

_____

18) What are your present earnings?

$____ per hour)
) If you earn commissions in addition to your basic
$____ per week) hourly, weekly or monthly rate, how much more do
) you earn? $____ per_____.
$____ per month)

19) Do you have another job? Yes ☐ No ☐

20) If yes, where?_____

21) Have you ever belonged to a union? Yes ☐ No ☐

If yes, which one?_____

Response to the organizing campaign

1) Unions often use various methods to win support in representation elections. Do you recall whether the union used any of the following methods to get

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your support? (If you recall that the union used a particular method, indicate whether it was very effective, effective or not very effective in terms of influencing the way you voted).

Method	Recall	Can't Recall	If you recall, was the method very effective	effective	not very effective
Handbills	____	_____	_____	____	_____
Letters (or other literature)	____	_____	_____	____	_____
Meetings	____	_____	_____	____	_____
Visits to your home	____	_____	_____	____	_____
Phone Calls	____	_____	_____	____	_____

2) Were you personally contacted by the union while the organizing drive was in progress? Yes ☐ No ☐

3) Which of the following statements do you think is most nearly correct?

☐ The organizing methods used by the union were very convincing

☐ I wasn't affected one way or the other by the union's organizing campaign

☐ The union's organizing campaign was not very convincing

☐ The union's organizing methods were very poor, and did not influence me at all

4) Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Agree	Disagree
a) During the organizing campaign, the union organizers showed real interest in the problems which face me and my fellow employees	____	_____
b) The union did a very poor job of convincing employees at our store to join the union	____	_____
c) The union did everything it coult to convince me and my fellow employees to join the union	____	_____

5) Do you recall whether the company used any of the following methods to influence the way you voted? (If you recall that the company used a particular method, indicate whether it was very effective, effective or not very effective in terms of influencing the way you voted).

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Method	Recall	Can't recall	If you recall, Was the method very effective	effective	not very effective
Letters (or other literature)	____	____	____	____	____
Group meetings of employees	____	____	____	____	____
Meetings with individual employees	____	____	____	____	____
Promises of higher wages or other benefits if the union lost	____	____	____	____	____
Visits to your home	____	____	____	____	____
Phone calls	____	____	____	____	____
Radio/TV	____	____	____	____	____

6) Which of the following statements is most nearly correct?

- ☐ The methods used by the company were very convincing
- ☐ I wasn't influenced one way or the other by the methods used by the company
- ☐ The methods used by the company were not very convincing
- ☐ The methods used by the company were very ineffective, and did not influence me at all

7) Do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

	Agree	Disagree
a) The company showed a great deal of interest in how the election turned out	____	____
b) The company didn't seem to care whether we voted for or against the union	____	____
c) The company was fair about allowing employees to make up their own minds with regard to voting	____	____
d) The company tried to convince employees to vote against union representation	____	____

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Participation in the election itself

1) Were the issues involved in the organizing campaign made clear to you?
Yes ☐ No ☐

2) (If no), what was there about the organizing campaign which you did not understand? (Please specify) _____

_____

_____

3) Did you vote in the representation election? Yes ☐ No ☐

4) (If no), why did you not vote in the election? _____

_____

_____

5) How did you get from your department to the place where the election was held?

☐ We were allowed to vote whenever we wanted to

☐ A supervisor took whole departments to the polling place at the same time

☐ We were called (or went) to the polling place alphabetically

☐ Other (please specify) _____

_____

6) Which of the following statements are correct?

☐ Nobody tried to influence the way I voted when I went to the polling place

☐ The union tried to influence the way I voted as I was going to the polling place

☐ The company tried to influence the way I voted as I was going to the polling place

General attitudes towards unions and collective bargaining

1) Indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:

	Agree	Disagree
a) It didn't matter one way or the other whether the union won or lost the election	____	_____
b) Employees at our store need a union	____	_____
c) There is no need for a union in our kind of store	____	_____

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2) If the union had won the election,

☐ we would have been better off.

☐ we would have been worse off.

3) Why do you think you would be better (worse) off if the union had won the election? _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

4) Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:

	Agree	Disagree
a) Unions help workers to achieve a higher standard of living	____	____
b) Organized labor is becoming too strong	____	____
c) Unions may be okay in factories, but they can't do much to help retail store employees	____	____
d) Unions don't accomplish anything for their members	____	____
e) Unions give workers a chance to be on an equal basis with their employers	____	____
f) Unions are run by the leaders, and the average member has nothing to say about how they are run	____	____
g) Unions contribute a great deal to the community	____	____
h) Union leaders use the organization to further their own personal ends and don't care about the members	____	____
i) There are too many Communists in the unions	____	____
j) We already get top wages and benefits, the union could not get anymore for us	____	____
k) Unions help the working man	____	____
l) Unions have not done a good job of publicising their objectives and their activities	____	____

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	Agree	Disagree
m) Strikes are a bad thing, and should be prohibited by law	____	____
n) Wage demands made by unions hurt business and raise prices	____	____

5) In the recent representation election, did you vote

☐ For union representation

☐ Against union representation

COPY

(62)

G

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS SECTION
Princeton, N. J.

Selected reference: FOREMEN GRIEVANCE PROCEDURES
April 10, 1945.

American Management Association. Research Report Number 6. The unionization of foremen. New York. 1945. "Communication from foremen to higher management (formal grievance procedure)." pp. 26-29.
The nature of such procedures and arguments for and against them.

Industrial Relations, February, 1945. "Should special machinery be set up for foremen's grievances?" pp. 8-10. (Dartnell Corporation, Chicago)

National Association of Manufacturers. Supervisory management; a study of methods and techniques to build sound management-supervisory relations and improved supervision. New York. 1944. See especially pp. 22-23.

United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. Bulletin No. 745. Union membership and collective bargaining by foremen. Washington. Government Printing Office. 1943. 11 pp.
Gives a list of established unions which include foremen based on analysis of union constitutions.

United States National War Labor Board. Report and findings of a panel of the National War Labor Board in certain disputes involving supervisors. Washington. 1945. 175 pp. mimeo.

Mimeographed August 5, 1947 by
Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations
University of Illinois.

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PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS SECTION
Princeton, N.J.

W

Selected bibliography: UNIONIZATION OF WHITE COLLAR WORKERS
October 21, 1946

American Business (4660 Ravenswood Ave., Chicago 40), April, 1944. "White collars--the unions' next goal." pp. 13, 34, 36, 38.

---October, 1945. "Strikes and white-collar salaries." pp. 8-9, 50-51.

American Federationist (A.F. of L. Building, Washington 1, D.C.), November, 1931. "The trade union and office workers." By Morris Rabinovitch. pp. 1382-1387.

---January, 1938. "Growth and significance of the white-collar class." By Alba M. Edwards. pp. 32-37.

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---Office Management Series No. 111. Operating the unionized office. 1945. 28 pp.

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Michigan
List No. 133

March 1956

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University of Michigan

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Illinois
List No. 61

June, 1960

University of Illinois
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Champaign, Illinois

UNIONIZATION OF ENGINEERS; 1955-1960

Advanced Management, September 1959. pp. 18-20: "Unionization of salaried engineers." by J. F. Culley.

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Review of objectives of Technical Engineers Federation. R. M. Stephens.

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President of Technical Engineers Federation states his case for unionization.

AFL-CIO News, November 16, 1957. p. 3: "See U.S. science progress jolted by employers' anti-union tactics."

Opposition of employers to unionization, low wages, and government security program blamed for insecure status of engineers and scientists.

Aviation Week, February 18, 1957. pp. 28-29: U.A.W. creates unit to organize engineers.

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Business Week, May 5, 1956. pp. 176-8: "Engineers snub AFL-CIO ties."

Engineers and Scientists of America turned down offers to affiliate with AFL-CIO and also with American Federation of Technical Engineers. Members to convention agreed that ESA should be strengthened but opposed to any move that might reduce high professional standing of Union's general membership.

____, January 5, 1957. p. 121: "Engineers trend to unionize refutes idea that they're pampered.

____, February 2, 1957. pp. 117: "UAW's bid to engineers wins response from Honeywell union.

____, April 20, 1957. pp. 153-4: "UAW's quiet transformation."

Newly adopted program of UAW makes it industrial headquarters for collection of unions for engineers, scientists, skilled workers, and white collar workers. Article discusses background leading to this development, loyalty shown to W. Reuther at most recent convention.

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Business Week, May 18, 1957. pp. 159-60: "Engineers hand UAW a rebuff."

Engineers and skilled workers at Minneapolis-Honeywell Regulator Co. overwhelmingly defeated UAW's important bid to set up professional division. Discusses effectiveness of carefully planned company campaign, blow to UAW's organizing activities.

_____, June 29, 1957. pp. 152-3: "Stalled drives."

Office Employees International Union and Engineers and Scientists of America both frustrated in their union organizing activities. While organization of white collar workers has progressed slowly, ESA has been losing members. Both unions blame recent labor scandals for organizing failures although article indicates basic causes may go deeper.

_____, October 25, 1958. p. 139: "Engineers' stand on 'right to work' may throw monkey wrench in union plans."

Seattle Professional Engineering Employees Assn. and Engineers and Scientists of America have stated that they "are organized to make use of features of national labor laws useful to us but are not part of labor movement" indicating a basic attitude difficult for AFL-CIO to overcome in plans for unionizing them.

_____, May 30, 1959. p. 86: "Unionization draws a scowl."

Survey shows that 4 out of 5 engineers and scientists doubt that organization is their best means for improving salary and status.

Chemical and Engineering News, March 12, 1956. pp. 1196: "Unions for engineers?"

_____, January 7, 1957. p. 82: "Unionism among engineers."

_____, June 10, 1957. pp. 40-41: "Engineers want union?"

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_____, March 28, 1959. pp. 78-79: "Unions for scientists (and engineers).

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Results based on attitudes of white collar workers towards unions; background of office unionization prior to Wagner Act; and history of Office and Professional Workers of America, Office Employees International Union, and the Engineers and Salaried Employees Union. Submitted to New York University by F. E. Budish.

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Engineering News-Record, November 17, 1955. p. 104: "Engineers; high on labor's list of prospects."

_____, April 5, 1956. p. 156: NLRB examiner rules in favor of ESA (Engineers and Scientists of America).

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_____, December 20, 1956. p. 74: "UAW will bid for engineers."

_____, May 23, 1957. p. 118: "Engineers say no to union ties; Minneapolis-Honeywell group rejects ESA and UAW."

_____, June 20, 1957. p. 153: "Spin-off from ESA."

Engineering employees are forming new union; Engineers and Scientists Guild.

_____, October 17, 1957. p. 71: "Professional unity," by J. W. Barker.

_____, October 24, 1957. "Engineers map union."

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_____, June 19, 1958. p. 228: "Engineers; ten per cent are in unions."

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_____, December 25, 1958. p. 133: "Engineers' unions seek unity."

_____, March 5, 1959. p. 91: "Pre-hire fought; NSPE is against this part of Kennedy-Ervin bill."

_____, March 26, 1959. p. 100: "Engineers split on union issue."

_____, April 23, 1959. pp. 30-31: "Engineering unionism faces a time for decision; special report."

_____, May 7, 1959. p. 103: "New start proposed for ESG (Engineers and Scientists Guild).

_____, July 9, 1959. p. 126: "ESA (Engineers and Scientists Guild) start delayed."

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Engineers and Scientists Guild tries for image of "true professionalism" meets in luxurious setting in organizing drive at Lockheed Aircraft Corporation. Organizing techniques described.

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January, 1961

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Ithaca, New York

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Write Chitty

SOUTH

'26' Health Plan Votes Boost in Hospital Benefit

SUFFOLK, Va.—Meeting Jan. 25, the trustees of the Local 26 Health and Welfare Plan voted to increase the plan's private room hospital benefit and tentatively agreed to raise the maternity benefit.

Because of over-crowding at Louise Obici Hospital in Suffolk, where most of the plan members are hospitalized, workers occasionally have been put in private rooms although they asked for semi-private. The welfare plan paid either for semi-private accommodations ($22, $23 and $25 a day) or $10 toward the cost of a private room ($28 and $29 a day)—leaving patients in private rooms to pay $18 or $19 a day out of their own pocket.

The change will raise the private room allowance from $10 a day to the semi-private rate, with the patient paying $7 a day at most.

The trustees also tentatively agreed to increase the maternity benefit from $100 to $150. About 50 members would gain from this change each year.

The trustees also discussed increasing surgical benefits and making benefit payments directly to workers covered by the plan but no longer employed in '26' shops.

Present at the meeting were W. D. Shaw, Ted LoCascio, Archie Boykin and R. P. Gardner, employer trustees, and Reg. Dir. Irving Lebold, Local Pres. Lock Parker, Alfred Bailey and plan administrator Etta Mae Willie, union trustees.

The plan, established in 1952, covers 2,000 workers at Planters Peanut Co., Lummis & Co., another peanut processor, and Progressive Cleaners, all in Suffolk, and Hiden Storage in Newport News.

'Best Pact' in Citrus Industry Signed by '43' and Pasco Co.

DADE CITY, Fla.—The best contract in the Florida citrus industry this year was negotiated by RWDSU Local 43 for the 825 employees of the Pasco Packing Co., the largest processor of citrus concentrates in the country.

The two-year renewal agreement—retroactive to Dec. 18 and expiring Dec. 17, 1968—calls for a wage increase of 12½ cents an hour immediately, and an increase of 17½ cents as of Dec. 18, 1967. Wage adjustments will result in pay boosts up to 25 cents an hour for some workers, and up to 59 cents an hour for truck drivers, for whom the union won recognition after a long delay.

With the signing of the new agreement, the minimum starting wage will be $1.52 an hour this year, and will go to $1.69½ next year. The top classification will range from $2.64½ an hour this year to $2.82 next year.

At Pasco, overtime rates apply after 40 hours work a week all year round though most Florida plants use a Federal citrus-industry exemption permitting them to work 50 hours a week for two ten-week periods before paying overtime.

Int'l Rep. Harry Bush said that the improvements in the agreement resulted chiefly from the increased strength of the union in the Pasco plant. The local's membership there has risen to well above 500 workers, and should hit the 600 mark in the not too distant future. The union gained a substantial number of previously unaffiliated workers through an educational campaign against "free-loading," and the campaign will continue indefinitely, Bush said.

Negotiations with the company started late in October, and a final settlement was worked out Dec. 12.

The committee was headed by Local 43's Pres. L. C. Chitty, and included Roy Stanley, John Hinson, John Hicks, T. W. Anderson, L.C. Rozier, Elton Gay, W. K. Houseman, Hubert Bullington, A. Kardee, Martha Chastin, J. S. Williams and R. L. Lewis. Bush assisted the committee throughout the negotiations, and Ass't Southern Dir. Frank Parker was present at the final session and helped to effect the settlement.

Bargainers at Pasco include Local 43 Pres. L. C. Chitty (right) and T. W. Anderson. The union won the best settlement in the citrus industry this year at Pasco, the largest processor of citrus concentrates in the country.

Big Ala. Drive Gaining at 2 Plants

LEEDS, Ala.—The RWDSU Alabama Council is making real headway in an organizing campaign among more than 600 employees of the Mira-Flex Co., manufacturers of watch bands and assemblies.

C. T. Daniel, Alabama Council organizer who is heading the drive, said that the response by the workers has been exceptionally encouraging in spite of interference by District 50 of the United Mine Workers.

The company operates another Southern plant in Gadsden, and this plant, with a work force of 350 employees, is also well on its way to being organized by the union.

Mira-Flex is a subsidiary of the I. B. Precision Co. of Jamaica, N.Y., whose plant is under contract to RWDSU Local 147.

Daniel said that one reason for the fine response from the Leeds workers is the fact that the company has one plant in the RWDSU fold and a second on the verge of joining up.

"It is natural," he said, "that all of a company's workers, doing the same type of work, become members of one international union rather than two or three different ones."

Talks Reach Impasse At Taylor Veneer Co.

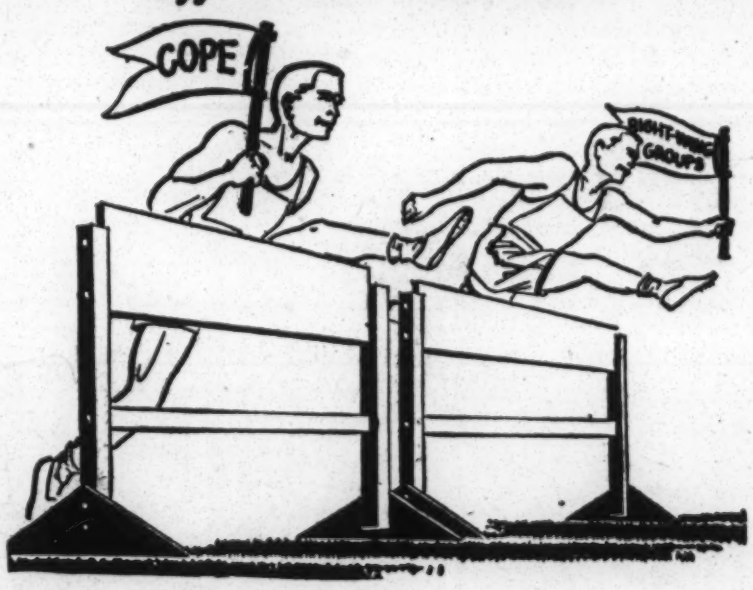
DEMOPOLIS, Ala. — Negotiations between the RWDSU Alabama Council and the A. R. Taylor Veneer Co., where the union won an NLRB election Oct. 11, have stalled on the issues of holidays and vacations, it was reported by Org. C. T. Daniel.

The union and the company have reached agreement on a number of points including wages, but the company has so far refused to grant the workers any paid holidays and has set a maximum of only one week's paid vacation regardless of the length of service of any employee.

Negotiations are continuing, but the union is concerned at the company's stand.

The Alabama Council won a decisive victory, by a vote of 82 to 30, at Taylor.

"Off To The 1968 Races"



$6-$12.50 at Piggly-Wiggly

GADSDEN, Ala.—The RWDSU Alabama Council has negotiated a one-year renewal agreement covering 15 employees of the Piggly-Wiggly grocery store in town. The new contract, effective as of Feb. 10, calls for a wage increase of $6-$12.50 a week and improvements in contract language.

N. C. Paper Hits at Low-Wage Industrial Firms

ASHEVILLE, N.C.—Does a community always gain when big business decides to build a factory in its area?

Not always, says the Asheville Citizen.

Not, the paper believes, if the plant pays starvation wages, provides few jobs for men and practically none for Negroes.

If this happens, the Citizen says, the community becomes a "wasteyard" and pleads that the time to stop such practices is now.

The Asheville Citizen editorial, entitled "Low-Wage Industries Stifle State Promise," follows:

It's a thrilling thing in a small community when a big industrial firm decides to build a multi-million dollar plant on the outskirts of town.

This means new jobs, a broadened tax base, a promise of prosperity. State industry-hunters exult, area newspapers hail the development, and editors praise it as a potential for economic emergence.

But is it?

Not always. In truth, seldom.

North Carolina's average industrial wage is the lowest in the nation. A recent study by the N.C. Fund indicates it's likely to remain that way.

Between 1960 and 1965, the NCF investigators found, more than two-thirds of the new jobs created by incoming industries paid less than the already pitiful average.

New money was pumped into the community pocketbook, but it was money seeking a cut-rate bargain.

There were, of course, exceptions. A fourth of the new industrial enterprises paid as much, or more, than the prevailing wage rates. But three out of four paid less.

The majority of the new jobs went to women; few to men; practically none to Negroes.

Most of the jobs were in the wearing apparel, sewing trades industries. The better paying operations went elsewhere.

That is a question the leaders of North Carolina must examine and answer.

Have we become, as a low wage state, a dumping ground for low wage opportunists?

Do we welcome newcomers on the basis of investment, without assessing their potential worth in terms of economic improvement?

Are we courting the industrial scum?

Theoretically, the acquisition of any industry —whatever its wage scale—does enhance the economic stability of a community—at least temporarily. But a labor supply dried up by the low wage operations will hardly induce more proiftable investors.

North Carolina, and especially western North Carolina, is admirably suited to development by the smaller, more sophisticated, better paying enterprises in such fields as electronics, chemicals, technological research. It's high time state industry hunters started to concentrate on quality instead of mere quantity.

This is valuable earth in Tarheelia; it ought not to become a wasteyard for the nation's garment factories. The time to stop it is now. Or maybe yesterday.

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

White Collar-Unions

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS RESEARCH INSTITUTE

White-Collar Unionism in the United States

by Everett M. Kassalow

Reprinted from:
White-Collar Trade Unions,
Contemporary Developments in Industrialized Societies,
University of Illinois Press, Urbana and London, 1966.

reprint series no. 77

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Reproduced May 21, 1963 by
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New York Times 5/21/69

Blue collar

69

A Black Policeman Deplores His Lot

By GERALD FRASER
Special to The New York Times

NEWARK, May 20—Detective George Thomas Jr., paunchy and graying at his temples, pointed to the street through the second-story squad and apartment buildings seen room window of Newark's Fourth Precinct station and said: "I've been on the force 14 years and it's a bitch out there."

Detective Thomas who is the president of the Batons, a statewide organization of black law-enforcement personnel, described the task of a Negro policeman in a big city as fraught with conflict and fear.

He spoke in an interview the day after the fatal shooting here of a 17-year-old black youth by a black policeman. The shooting touched off looting in the Negro community.

"It's bad enough to be a policeman now, but to be a black policeman is twice as bad," Detective Thomas said.

"all of these people are rapping the Establishment. In all of my days I've been trying to get into the Establishment.

"Now — you wonder — am I doing the right thing?"

The 43-year-old detective said he had grown up on the city's Rutgers Street, where, he said, it was a "terrific thing" to come away from without a criminal record.

"Three of us on the force did," he said. "As a kid, I saw as much action on Rutgers Street as I later saw in World War II."

Accepted Without Diploma

Fourteen years ago Detective Thomas was in the last group of Newark policemen to be accepted without a high school diploma or an equivalency certificate.

"I'm here and I'm going to have to stay here because everybody wants trained men now," Mr. Thomas said. "But the black officers, the young ones, they are quitting as fast as they come on the force."

He added, "I don't blame them. You go out on the street —two years ago, three of us in one car—all black. Wen went into the riot area and jumped out of the car. 'Hey, brother,' we said.

"And clunk, a brick, then some shots. I said 'Damn, somebody is cold taking care of business.'

"We fired back up at the projects. What else could we do?

"Sure, we were scared. Everybody's scared on the street." He described the rapid mental process a policeman goes through in a crisis.

"I don't know what happened to [Patrolman Charles] Knox [the policeman who fatally shot the youth yesterday]. I wasn't there.

"But, what's there to say? We have a matter of moments to make a decision. I'd like to live to be 100. A guy is going after me in an alley with a bottle or a knife or anything.

"You can't be shooting him in the leg or the ankle. You have to defend yourself."

Main Trouble Source

Detective Thomas, farther of three children, said teen-agers were the principal source of trouble in the Negro community.

"You talk to these kids, I know many of them, and everything is okay," he said. "You turn your back and they'll get into something. Then you see them downstairs [at the booking desk] and they'll say, "I didn't mean to do nothing, I just got high."

The teen-agers, Mr. Thomas explained, will often just look at a policeman and tell him to "go to hell."

Te estimated that there were no more than 200 black policemen on the 1,480-man Newark force.

Practically all of the Negro policemen belong to either the Batons or the Bronze Shield. The Batons, Mr. Thomas said, is a 16-year-old organization, "mostly social and fraternal."

The Bronze Shield, younger and more militant, is composed of black policemen in the city who regard themselves as Young Turks, Mr. Thomas said.

Was Forced to Move

To stay close to the community in which he works, the detective said, he had lived "out there, about five or six blocks away."

However, he said, a series of burglaries in his apartment forced him to move. "They must have known they were going intoa policeman's house," he said, "but they didn't give a damn."

He said, however, that many black policemen did "give a damn."

"They give youths money—quarters and half dollars," he said. "Sometimes the kids come in and ask the lieutenant for carfare. What do you do? You know they ain't going nowhere."

The policeman believes, he said, that the little gifts of money may prevent someone from being hit in the head for the change.

The only satisfaction on the job, he said, comes from seeing a youth who comes in and says he is working in a "program" getting $2 an hour.

"It seldom happens," he said, "but sometimes someone will come in and say, 'I'm glad you did what you did for me.'

"My daughter is getting out of college in June. And she asked me if she should take some of the great job offers outside of Newark—in Bergen County where she would be the only black schoolteacher.

"I tell her, you have to make up your own mind, but why don't you stay here and give it a try?

"I tell her, and I feel the same way, these people need her and I think they need the black policeman."

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Worries of the Blue-Collar Urban Voter

* * *

By MONROE W. KARMIN

WASHINGTON — "People are sick and tired of politicians and intellectuals. They want an average workingman from the community to represent them, and that's me."

Charles S. Stenvig, sworn in yesterday as mayor of Minneapolis, also happens to be a police detective on leave from the force. But, in his view, his upset victory (62% of the vote) as an independent candidate to succeed retiring Mayor Arthur Naftalin, a liberal intellectual, stems less from his 13 years of police service than from his 41 years of "average guy" living.

"People feel left out. They need somebody to identify with. They're tired of other people telling them how to feel and act instead of listening to them. I earn $11,000 a year. I live in a workingman's neighborhood. I have a wife and four kids and go to church. I know these people, and they know me."

The "people" Mr. Stenvig refers to, of course, are just like him, lower-middle-income white city-dwellers. The mayor's political analysis is especially pertinent now, when a growing number of mayors, many of them white liberals, are choosing not to run for re-election (Detroit's Jerome Cavanagh is the latest) and even voters in Los Angeles and New York have expressed "law and order" preferences.

Hoodlums Beware

Certainly, the incipient conservative trend, if it is that, reflects a surfacing of the basic human desire for safety and security when confronted with the prospect of change and the threat of violence, both from black militants and from student radicals. In the Stenvig platform the major, if not the only, plank was a promise not to "appease hoodlums," meaning the black militants who rebelled in the summers of 1966 and 1967 and the hippies who have staged protests in downtown Minneapolis.

But the deeper meaning of the Minneapolis, Los Angeles and New York votes may lie, as Mr. Stenvig's "average guy" description of himself suggests, not solely in fear but also in a sense of security—a knowing that if change is inevitable it will be directed by a hand that is familiar to the blue-collar workers who now comprise the bulk of many big cities' white populations.

Over the past decade or so, urban populations have changed dramatically. The middle-class whites have fled to the suburbs in accelerating numbers, taking away with them a substantial quotient of the cities' political and racial liberalism. Left behind are the blue-collar whites who, though they may have voted Democratic for pocketbook reasons, never have been especially liberal on racial issues, because of the direct threat posed to their well-being.

Thus, with the removal of the middle-class buffer, urban populations have polarized increasingly along racial lines, giving rise to a different political alignment.

Black power, black consciousness, black pride (they all mean the same) seek to capitalize on the widening racial division by mobilizing the black community into a more effective political force in its own behalf: In essence, to elect more blacks.

Blue-collar whites yearn to be represented by one of their own. In Minneapolis, voters rejected both a liberal Democrat in the Naftalin mold and a Harvard-educated Republican moderate who had President Nixon's endorsement, and instead they chose Detective Stenvig, an "average workingman" who knows, and is known by, his white neighbors.

Odd man out, of course, is the liberal white mayor of more recent Democratic years; increasingly he is resented by both camps. Though Detroit's Mayor Cavanagh denies that rising conservatism had anything to do with his decision to bow out, a week earlier on the "Meet the Press" television program he did say:

"There is no question about the fact that sometimes a so-called progressive or liberal white mayor is sort of caught up between the two conflicting groups within the community, and it is true that he might be a more likely candidate for political oblivion today than he was even a few years ago."

Whether for this reason, or simply the frustration of being unable to cope with mounting problems, the roster of mayors is undergoing profound transformation. At the U.S. Conference of Mayors convention in Pittsburgh recently, the outgoing president, Mayor Terry D. Schrunk of Portland, Ore., took note of the fact.

"Our association has had a tremendous casualty list in the past year," Mr. Schrunk reported to the delegates. "Some of this loss may be attributed to election defeats, but many are due to decisions to resign or not to run for re-election. When we went home from Chicago last year, we had designated 39 mayors to sit in places of leadership on our executive committee and advisory board. Today nearly half of those 39 mayors are either out of office or going out—most of them by their own decisions not to run again."

The message was especially depressing to Richard Lee, for 16 years mayor of New Haven. Mayor Lee, along with Mayor Cavanagh and Mayor Naftalin, personified the "progressive" Democratic city leader of the 1960s who, armed with Federal aid, set out to solve the nation's urban problems via a variety of innovative approaches. Now Mr. Lee, like Mr. Cavanagh and Mr. Naftalin has decided not to run for re-election.

The Lee decision, announced yesterday, was foreshadowed by his mood at the Pittsburgh gathering. "I used to know everybody at these conventions," the Mayor mused as he gazed about the convention hall. "Now I hardly know anybody. We used to have dynamic leadership, now the whole country's adrift. The President isn't leading. The governors aren't governing. And the mayors . . . well, I guess I'd better go meet him."

"Him" is Mayor Stenvig of Minneapolis, who, as Mayor Lee suggests, is worth meeting because, if current events are indicative of the future, he may be the pioneer representative of a new breed of mayor for the 1970s. Charles S. Stenvig—workingman, man of the neighborhood and cop—is proud of all three designations, and his view of life is not encumbered by any, as he puts it, "chrome-dome" theorizing.

Police Were Intimidated

Central to the Stenvig point of view is the need for "fair and impartial law enforcement for everyone." He feels his predecessor, Mayor Naftalin, was responsive to the "wrong elements of the community" and "too timid" about putting the "hoodlums" in jail. The result, says Mr. Stenvig, is that the "good" people of Minneapolis, black and white, lived in fear; "intimidated more than anyone" were the police.

The Stenvig criticism of Mayor Naftalin boils down to his handling of black militants and student radicals. In the summer of 1966, Minneapolis suffered its first racial disturbance. But instead of punishing the leaders, according to Mr. Stenvig, his predecessor arranged for two of them to be admitted to college. "They were rewarded for inciting to riot," the mayor exclaims in horror.

Because of this lenient response, Mr. Stenvig says, the city suffered an even worse disturbance the following

come white city-dwellers. The mayor's political analysis is especially pertinent now, when a growing number of mayors, many of them white liberals, are choosing not to run for re-election (Detroit's Jerome Cavanagh is the latest) and even voters in Los Angeles and New York have expressed "law and order" preferences.

Hoodlums Beware

Certainly, the incipient conservative trend, if it is that, reflects a surfacing of the basic human desire for safety and security when confronted with the prospect of change and the threat of violence, both from black militants and from student radicals. In the Stenvig platform the major, if not the only, plank was a promise not to "appease hoodlums," meaning the black militants who rebelled in the summers of 1966 and 1967 and the hippies who have staged protests in downtown Minneapolis.

But the deeper meaning of the Minneapolis, Los Angeles and New York votes may lie, as Mr. Stenvig's "average guy" description of himself suggests, not solely in fear but also in a sense of security—a knowing that if change is inevitable it will be directed by a hand that is familiar to the blue-collar workers who now comprise the bulk of many big cities' white populations.

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Because of this lenient response, Mr. Stenvig says, the city suffered an even worse disturbance the following summer. "The people and I, myself, feel you cannot appease hoodlums," he declares. "When they are breaking the law and you've used all deliberations and they're still doing it, they should be incarcerated."

The same thing goes for student protestors who break the law, says the new mayor. Minneapolis has an ordinance that forbids parades downtown, but Mr. Naftalin ignored the law to allow students to stage a protest. Though the demonstration was peaceable, Mr. Stenvig insists: "If the ordinance says no parades, then there shouldn't be any. If warnings are ignored, then they should be incarcerated."

None of this, Mr. Stenvig hastens to add, should be interpreted as implying a disregard for the right to dissent. "I believe in dissent," he avers. "I'm a dissenter myself. I just ran for office as an independent." Two years ago he and other policemen picketed city hall for higher wages. "But we had a parade permit," he recalls. "We did it orderly, acted like gentlemen, and didn't break any laws."

If the new mayor feels comfortable in discussing law enforcement, he seems less sure of himself on other urban subjects. Jobs for black people are a puzzlement. He does believe that black people should not be discriminated against in jobs for which they are qualified. But he does not think that an employer should be required to lower standards. The task, then, is to raise black skills to standard, but, as he sees it, the blacks "lack motivation." Even when they do come up to standard, he says, they are not entirely dependable, often jumping to other jobs. "It's a rough situation," he sighs.

Federal Aid: Yes and No

Mr. Stenvig has ambivalent feelings toward Federal aid. On the one hand, he believes there should be more, and he accuses Washington of "dragging its feet." On the other, he feels Federal aid is no panacea because "big pieces are taken out" of the taxpayer's dollar in the nation's capital. So, he concludes Minneapolis must turn to private industry for revivification, but his meaning is not absolutely clear. "I've got to look into this more," he admits. "I'm not too knowledgeable on this."

He does want more tax revenue from the state legislature, but on major reform issues, such as a new city charter to strengthen the mayor's powers, and acceleration of the movement toward metropolitan government, he's not at all certain how fast to push ahead or, for that matter, whether to push ahead at all. "People in the Midwest don't like to swallow things in big lumps," he explains. "They like things in small pieces."

So, for the next two years at least, the "average guy" mayor of Minneapolis, who dislikes politicians and intellectuals, will serve up change in small pieces—except, of course, for law enforcement, which will be offered the "hoodlums" in big lumps.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.
Published since 1889 by

Focusing on 'Blue Collar Blues'

W-5-3 4/6/72

By ELLIOT CARLSON

The Bookshelf

Not since the Great Depression have office-seekers eyed the working-class voter with such a nervous mixture of hope and anxiety.

The complacency with which workers were viewed dissolved in 1968, when George Wallace, deriding "pointy headed" intellectuals in Washington, lured a good many away from their traditionally Democratic moorings. On one level, the success of the third-party candidate was perceived as part of a general white desire for slower integration moves. But on another, perhaps ominous level it was seen as symptomatic of the worker's growing disenchantment with his lot in American life.

Four years later, presidential hopefuls, spurred on by this more sinister image of the working man, are competing more fiercely than ever for his vote. Trying to keep their old allies, Sens. Muskie and Humphrey have stressed bread-and-butter issues as never before. And candidates Wallace, Jackson and Nixon relied heavily on the anti-busing issue, this year's equivalent of the law and order theme.

President Nixon, in fact, began searching anew for blue-collar votes shortly after taking office, when he formed a task force on "the problems of the blue-collar worker." Published in 1970, the task force's final report pictured workers as a "forgotten people" troubled and frustrated by a double bind: an "economic squeeze," in which their earnings level off just when family expenses peak, and a "social squeeze," resulting in part from pressures exerted by subsidized minorities.

Perceiving the worker as ripe for political plucking, the report proposed such remedies as job upgrading, tax relief, child care facilities, adult education and, to enhance the worker's image, portrayal of various skilled trades on postage stamps.

No doubt many of these things are worth doing. Yet until recently few of the assumptions underpinning such proposals have been closely examined by experts. Indeed, the notion of a "blue-collar crisis" has simply been accepted. No longer. One of the first explorations of the alleged crisis is "Blue-Collar Workers: A Symposium On Middle America," an anthology of essays that was little noticed when first published by McGraw-Hill Book Co. six months ago. But in light of current scrambling for the worker's vote, the book's conclusions seem particularly timely now.

Edited by Sar A. Levitan, Director of the Center for Manpower Policy Studies at George Washington University, the book offers findings that conflict sharply with some of the most familiar notions and stereotypes. The volume doesn't, however, hew to an overriding thesis. In fact, many of its authors, drawn from a wide range of disciplines, disagree strongly on the extent to which the worker is troubled. Despite differences, the book's 16 essays, taken together, provide a new perspective.

Take, for example, the worker's financial situation. He's believed to be hurting, and there's plenty of evidence to suggest he's having his share of money troubles. In one essay, Dick Netzer, a New York University economist, details just how hard the average worker in New York City was hit by rising taxes and living costs between 1965 and 1969.

For a hypothetical family of four, federal and state income taxes spurted 85% during the period, while all other taxes, such as sales and Social Security taxes, jumped 49%. Thus, higher taxes absorbed $962 of the family's $2,300 in increased earnings. Four-fifths of the remaining $1,338 was eaten up by swelling living costs, leaving an increase of less than 5% in the family's living standard.

But is this the whole story? By no means, argues Herman Miller, Director of the U.S. Census Bureau's Population Division. Using census data, Mr. Miller shows that white workmen—the blue-collar workers usually referred to as troubled—received during the 1960s the same 25% boost in median earnings received by white men in professional, managerial, clerical, sales and service occupations.

"When the pieces are put together," the census official declares, "it hardly seems appropriate to label blue-collar workers as economically 'squeezed.' . . . They had the same (relative) increases in earnings as other workers during the past decade."

Also hotly debated is whether blue-collar families get a fair return in benefits from income maintenance programs—such as workmen's compensation and Social Security—for the taxes they pay.

Quite simply, higher tax contributions, combined with rising wages, have placed more and more workers in income classes in which taxes do seem high in relation to benefits. This is amply demonstrated by Worth Bateman and Jodie Allen, two researchers at the Washington-based Urban Institute. In a jointly-written chapter, they note that for the average worker—whose monthly wage rose to about $540 in 1969 from $350 in 1958—the ratio of monthly benefits to contributions in 1969 was only 64% of what it was in 1958, while tax contributions were nearly 300% higher.

But does this mean that workers pay disproportionately for public assistance and other programs cited as accounting for anti-black feelings among workers? Not necessarily, insist the two authors. Allowing that taxes for public assistance probably have increased somewhat for each income level since 1960, they explain "the tax as a proportion of income in each income class has probably not changed very much; and the magnitude of the change—one-tenth of one percent—suggests that this change could not have caused a significant rise in blue-collar alienation."

But even granting that workers are better off than widely supposed (and, as the book also indicates, more tolerant), a parodox remains: Many are, in fact, unhappy and discontented. For example, the book cites surveys revealing workers as increasingly disillusioned with the political system. "The belief that government is run for the benefit of a few, perhaps the most damning indictment of a democratic system, runs particularly strong" among blue-collar workers, writes Howard Reiter, a doctoral candidate in political science at Harvard University.

What accounts for this malaise? One possible answer has to do with workers' perceptions; they may think they're much worse off than they really are. The census bureau's Mr. Miller suggests that fear of economic competition from black workers, whose wage gains have exceeded those of white workers in recent years, may be a factor in blue-collar attitudes toward civil rights issues.

Yet deeper forces seem to be at work. In their essay, "Yearning, Learning and Status," manpower experts Robert Schrank and Susan Stein suggest two: "First, manual work is increasingly regarded by Americans as degrading. Second, many blue-collar workers believe the educational route to upward mobility is under heavy fire from students and intellectuals. This threatens their hopes for their and their children's future."

If the Levitan volume has a weakness it's a tendency to treat workers' problems mostly in terms of charts and graphs and arithmetic calculations. Unhappily, the worker seldom emerges as a flesh-and-blood creature with his own private urges that may move him beyond what others might see as rational behavior. Still, the book's authors have unearthed a wealth of new material, correcting many exaggerations that had hardened into stereotypes.

Clearly, blue-collar workers have problems, and serious ones. But the volume seems to suggest that their troubles be kept in perspective. "Blue-collar deprivation should be examined critically in relation to the problems of the very poor, who are still the most in need of educational benefits," say writers Schrank and Stein. "The new blue-collar limelight must not be used to turn the public conscience from the most serious national inequities."

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CENTER FOR COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT

Phone (414) 228-4922 or 228-4945

May 6, 1968

Number _____

SEMINAR IN UNDERSTANDING MINORITY GROUP WORKERS

This is the second of two questionnaires you will be requested to answer for the purpose of evaluating this seminar.

Please answer the following questions to the best of your ability.

Do not write your name on this paper but insert your number above.

1. I would estimate my understanding of the following problems at the level of (circle one for each group and elaborate):

	Negro	Spanish American	American Indian
On-the-job problems	None Limited Moderate Extensive	None Limited Moderate Extensive	None Limited Moderate Extensive

Explain: _____

_____

_____

2. I would estimate my understanding of the following problems at the level of (circle one for each group and elaborate):

Living conditions and housing	None Limited Moderate Extensive	None Limited Moderate Extensive	None Limited Moderate Extensive

Explain: _____

_____

_____

3. I would estimate my understanding of the following problems at the level of (circle one for each group and elaborate):

	Negro	Spanish American	American Indian
Occupational opportunities	None Limited Moderate Extensive	None Limited Moderate Extensive	None Limited Moderate Extensive

Explain: _____

_____

_____

_____

4. I would estimate my understanding of the following problems at the level of (circle one for each group and elaborate):

Educational opportunities	None Limited Moderate Extensive	None Limited Moderate Extensive	None Limited Moderate Extensive

Explain: _____

_____

_____

_____

5. I would estimate my understanding of the following problems at the level of (circle one for each group and elaborate):

Consumer and credit problems	None Limited Moderate Extensive	None Limited Moderate Extensive	None Limited Moderate Extensive

Explain: _____

_____

_____

_____

6. I would estimate my understanding of the following problems at the level of (circle one for each group and elaborate):

	Negro	Spanish American	American Indian
Nature of prejudice	None Limited Moderate Extensive	None Limited Moderate Extensive	None Limited Moderate Extensive

Explain: _____

_____

_____

_____

7. How stereotypes affect minority groups	None Limited Moderate Extensive	None Limited Moderate Extensive	None Limited Moderate Extensive

Explain: _____

_____

_____

_____

8. Please state what were the objectives of the Seminar.

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9. Other comments.

May 7, 1968

SEMINAR IN UNDERSTANDING MINORITY GROUP WORKERS

In order to determine whether our choice of reading material was relevant and in line with your time limitations please check the appropriate blank. Please do not identify this paper with your name or number.

BOOKS AND ARTICLES	Read	Will read	Will not read
Crisis in Black and White	____	____	_____
The Negro in the Making of America	____	____	_____
Nigger	____	____	_____
"Negro American Intelligence"	____	____	_____
"Business and the Urban Crisis"	____	____	_____
Fortune, January 1968	____	____	_____
Nation's Business, October 1967	____	____	_____
Newsweek, November 20, 1967	____	____	_____
Henry Ford III letter and speech	____	____	_____

Comments _____

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Evaluation of First Week for Indian Workers Education Team

Orientation to the School for Workers

This was a very good idea. It helps the student to know the various activities of the school. The orientation should always be a part of any program. It was a good beginning of the program.

Before arriving here I had heard a lot about the Wisconsin School for Workers. The orientation helped to confirm that what I had heard was so true. The talk by the Director made me quite at home with School, its work and objectives. The introduction strengthened the feeling of homeliness.

It was good to have started the course with orientation. The introduction with the staff members of the School helped establish "affinity" and gave it a good start.

Discusson on the total program in some details gave us a precise idea of W. E. activities in the School and as they concern us during our stay.

Orientation to the Indian Workers Education Program

This was also a very good idea. The background of the trainees and knowledge about their work help a lot to the teacher in teaching. It is a must for every program.

This is the first time each one of us was asked to speak about his own work in the Indian Workers' Education program and about his background. That each member of the staff of the School for Workers here did the same in relation to his work and background struck me for the individual attention we got from individual and staff members to us as individuals and colleagues.

The instructors for any training course ought to know what the participants do and what their expectations are. The program fulfilled that need. This should be continued.

This program was very frank and informal; it brought us to know and be nearer to the Staff which is desirable.

Workers Education Institutes for Government Employees

The lecture was quite good. It gave a general idea about the education given by the University and unions to the government employees.

In our country workers' education scheme does not cover government employees. Employees of public sector industrial undertakings are of course covered. With the growing unionization of government employees in India there is need to bring them also under the purview of our scheme.

The development of collective bargaining skills by the government employees is as important as it is for the industrial workers. The School for Workers is serving the cause of Trade Unionism for Government Employees by organizing Workers Education Institutes and has able instructors to teach.

Government employees like other sections of employees have the benefit of workers education insitutes and they do have this to their measure.

Workers Education in the United States

The lecture was very informative, educative and interesting. More such talks of such eminent Professors if possible should be arranged.

Professor Barbash was excellent. His talk took me back to the best lectures I ever heard from an academician of great eminence and competence. With the Indian bias for academic lecture method Professor Barbash's down-to-earth illustrations was a very highly rewarding experience.

The talk by Professor Barbash was very information and educative. I feel that a few more lectures from him ought to be arranged. He dealt with the subject from a broad national point of view and supplied the rationale of Workers Education in the United States.

Professor Barbash's talk was very interesting and educative. Some more of such illuminating lectures could usefully be arranged.

Visit to Amalgamated Meat Cutters Union

It gave an opportunity to see the actual working of an American local union. The visit was educative and interesting.

This is the first local union meeting I attended. The program was conducted with great efficiency and decorum. However, I felt that it was too formal and dry. As an Indian used to own ways I did not appreciate the need for the Chairman and others to sit so far away from the membership and that too on an elvated rostrum, considering that only about 25 members attended the meeting.

The visit provided us an opportunity to see how a union functions and conducts its day-to-day business. A useful visit.

This gave us a first-hand view of a business meeting (Local 538) which we had not done so before. It was good and revealing.

Teaching Government to Workers

The talk was quite good. It was very informative and gave a general idea about the political education given by the University and union to trade union workers.

To an ordinary worker his government is a distant and indirect entity. But still the government comes so much while life of a worker and his union. If anything, the emphasis that this subject gets in the workers education program in this country as ours is not adequate.

There is need for political education to workers, inasmuch as they are a part of the community. How far this education will go and whether the trade union ought to participate in politics will differ from one country to another.

The education in political information and institutions to workers is certainly useful and its utility would differ from country to country; but its place in democracy is always informative and creation of objective attitudes.

How People Learn

This was also a very good talk which gave us the information about the different method by which people learn.

This program was highly developed and delivered with great diligence and competence. The illustrations used, the methods adopted, and the attention devoted to details left nothing to be desired.

The instructor employs two way communications methods in the best sense of the team. I found the class very useful and interesting. An instructor who will hardly have the problem of lack of attendance in his class.

Quite good, informative and full of material for thought and practice in adult W. E. fields.

Lesson Planning and Teaching Steward Training

This was a very good talk. I found it to be most interesting and educative talk. The method used in teaching was exceptionally good. This method can be very useful in our country also. More talks of this lectures should be there.

This program was good. The importance of planning lessons carefully in teaching workers can never be stressed too much.

This class was also very useful. The instructor knows his subject well and has a very lucid and clear expression. The class was lively and interesting throughout.

This was a combination of teaching aid (lessonplanning) and teaching material in a judicious proportion - useful for W. E. program members.

Workers Education - International Labor Education

The lecture was quite general, giving a general idea about the various education programs, problems and setup of International Trade Federation and trade union movement. The talk was quite good.

This lecture covered more ground under Workers' Education program and trade unionism than international labor education.

I learned the role of International Trade Secretariats for different industries and realized how these secretariats are helping the workers in different countries to unite and establish a bond of solidarity between workers in the same industry in different parts of the world.

Good lecture with lot of information and utilization other union organizations and W. E.

Visit to Local Meeting of University of Wisconsin Employees Local 171

The visit was very good. It gave us a very good opportunity of attending a meeting which was specially arranged to enthuse the workers to participate in voting. More such visits should be arranged.

This was a highly satisfactory experience. One would have thought that the speakers could use the exhortation method in mass oratory to appeal to members to come out - strength on the voting day. There was nothing of the sort. I am waiting for election results.

It was interesting to know that the University Employees have a union and has a band of enthusiastic workers. It was an election meeting.

Again, on first of its type, but lot more interesting probably due to its white collar composition.

Workers Education Methods

The talk was very valuable and gave us a lot of material to think and discuss. This gave us a clear ideal of purpose of different education method and situation when each should be used.

This was a very good talk. It gave many new ideas relevant to our program in India.

While talking about the methods employed in Workers Education, the instructor seemed to say that there are more disadvantages to the Buzz group method than advantages and yet he said that if it encourages workers to participate, the method is good. He could have been a little more precise on this subject.

Very interesting, thought-provoking and well presented. This has some more advantages of the common (W.E. and adult Educ.) approach to our problem. All the programs were highly informative, useful and interesting for us.

Evaluation of Second Week for Indian Workers Education Team
September 25-30, 1967

Use of the Case Method in Teaching (2 sessions) - (Owen Tapper)

As a method which introduces variety in teaching it is a valuable aid to teaching workers. The two sessions with the instructor have been useful in the sense that the technique of conducting teaching with Case Method was demonstrated.

The content given by the lecturer were quite good. He presented them -- a nice way by two-way communication method. The method used in teaching will be of great value to us in Workers Education in India.

The classes had special reference to using the case method in preparing for the playing as a method of teaching. In India we do role playing and teach it. But when Owen and Miles develop the subject, its' concept and practice, it almost appears to be a branch of the philosophy of teaching and learning. Very helpful to get new insights into learning process and teaching techniques.

Owen has very clear and precise approach - develops case method in a dramatic way - elucidates information and pinpoints the issues and attracts participation spontaneously. Flexibility is avoided to a great measure thus leaving in mind the best use of case method. One more session could be desired.

Teaching Labor History - (Irving Brotslaw)

The best feature of the session was a film which was shown entitled the "Inheritance". There could have been discussion on the film. It was not clear how he would teach labor history to workers except when he said that he would employ discussion method. The content however was good.

The contents of the talks were quite good. It was not presented by a discussion method. The film shown was very good. The discussion method used in film can be used in India.

The most interesting part of this class was a discussion of the pros and cons of using the discussion method in teaching labor union history as opposed to the traditional classroom lecture method. The idea that modern management is as much a product of collective bargaining as collective bargaining is a product of modern industrial relations was new to me.

Teaching (formal discussion) was better, more effective and clearly informed than the film on Labor History. The film - even though very good.- fails to convey whole story as it is very very old and its sound and pronunciation were not lending proper understanding of the idea under it. The teacher has masterly grasp and expert presentation that lent appreciation on our part as a matter of learning the easy way. In content and presentation it was good and useful to us.

Use of Role Play in Teaching - (Miles Galvin)

The presentation of this instructor is very good and maintains interest throughout the class. He was also able to bring about the advantages of Role Play through discussion method. He encourages direct participation and his classes are very educative and valuable for us.

The contents given were quite good. He presented them in a very good way by two way communication method. The method can be used in India and can be very helpful.

This was the most effective class during the week. Miles asked questions and wanted us to write them down in advance and produce them one by one. When all the answers were given what was left for him was only to elucidate, correlate and explain with a few additions here and there. As a teaching method it was so natural and effective. I learned and appreciated more of this method than of the real class.

M. Galvin is every inch a teacher without making you feel he is so. Teaching in role play highly effective and demonstrative of its impact on all of us. It is very useful for our conditions as a tool of teaching without any expenditure of resources.

Conference with instructor and visit to Labor Legislation and Collective Bargaining Class - (Richard Perry)

The instructor gave some idea of the labor relation legislation and made some points and concepts clear to us. The class, however, turned out to be very thinly attended which was due to the fact that it was the first day. The visit to the class was useful as I saw a fine picture there. The film is always a most effective way of teaching and this was so in this case.

We had a good discussion with the lecturer on Taft-Hartley Act and some of the clauses of the Act were cleared. The content given were quite good. The attendance in the class was very thin so no comment can be given on presentation. The film shown on collective bargaining was very good and nicely discussed.

This was a dry session. In the briefing we almost got a forward lecture on Taft-Hartley Law when there was actually no time to do justice to this topic. The class was equally uninspiring with only four students showing up. What struck me was that this did not put out the spirit of the instructor who was not at all embarrassed and went through with the session in all earnestness. This was remarkable.

There was not much of a class - 4 trainees in all - often reminiscent of India W. E. classes. The system of teaching and developing discusson on C. B. and legislation was really interesting and certainly informative. Even while avoiding such visit - the same presentation and film could be organized by Galvin or Tibbetts no less usefully or effectively.

Lesson Planning for Teaching Collective Bargaining - (Norris Tibbetts)

The content of the talk was good and of use. The presentation, however, was listless. It was more in the nature of a talk than discussion. The reading material was good but it was more than can be finished in one talk and he had to skip over many papers.

The contents given were quite good. They were presented in a lecture way. The content can be used in India by two way communication. It is possible that Lecturer was not feeling well and he could not give his best. In his earlier talk I found him one of the best lecturers.

This class was equally devoted to the method of teaching collective bargaining as well as the content of a class on that subject. The question is often asked if one has to have the background of a lawyer to be a good teacher of labor laws and I have always taken the position that this is not essential. Tibbetts confirmed that I was about right.

The discussion of NLRB and collective bargaining was very clear and lucid. The film shown on collective bargaining was really very effective education on the Consequences of non-agreement on the part of management. Excellent instructional approach and wonderful presentation.

The University of Wisconsin Extension Program - (James Duncan)

Besides providing information about the Extension Program of the University of Wisconsin I saw no point in having this talk. It had no relevance with the program we are having. The instructor however presented it well.

The talk was quite informative and gave a general idea about the extension program which can be conduted by Indian Universities, to make the democracy a real success in India.

This was a very educative class. The varied and wide extension programs of the state universities of this country should be drawn upon by universities in India for taking knowledge to the people quite apart from the ivory tower functions of the university which are to make knowledge and teach it. Knowledge developed and taught in the universities have direct relevance to the problems of people in the field and factories.

It was a lecture-cum-discussion one found information on extension programmes of this university - the presentation not most effective and pouring out of information not very clearly done - probably the teacher had no comprehensive picture of the totality of the programmes and inter-relationships.

The Practice Teaching using role play

I feel that it provided one valuable practice in arranging role plays and brought out the purpose and technique of having it clearly. The remarks of the instructors helped me understand the true purpose and also how it ought to be conducted.

The session was very useful and gave us practicaltraining for the use of role play in Indian situation. It also gave an opportunity to us to clear our ideas about certain steps in role play while using it as a teaching method.

In India I began as an avowed skeptic of the usefulness of role playing as a teaching method and used the method because of rigid official requirements. Slowly I began to appreciate the fact that role play has something to it which merits attention and I believed that for a few subjects role play could be effectively used. Yet I strongly held the view that its emphasis was overplayed. The lessons on role playing I received in this country and this practice teaching lead me to realize that this method has a wider applicability than I was willing to concede when I came. Yet I believe that the whole thing is being played up beyond proportions, not in our training in Wisconsin, but in the workers education programs in India and perhaps in the U.S.A. also.

Practice teaching with role play as a tool was both a test and an occasion for us. Many minor points as to whether goals should be presented before the role play or after, whether full preparation and planning of roles or partial preparation, whether a fixed procedure and thorough programming or flexible approach came in for very useful discussion. It was evident that this discussion could never have become as useful without our playing the roles and practice teaching. The evaluation and discussion following the teaching were very helpful in finding our assessment of the performance and the measure of its success and effectiveness. Time taken in role play was usually more in our case in India than is expected over here. This gave a new dimension with regard to selection of topic for teaching by role-play.

unions - Civil Rights Feb 10, 1969

however, does not make their grievances any less real.

A professor at Rio's Catholic University recently described the university machinery as "rotten, old, indolent and in many cases contaminated by corruption and incompetence." Professors are paid as little as $100 a month for a full class load. In a nation of 90 million people there is room for scarcely 200,000 in the universities; thousands are turned away each year. Student disorders, a phenomenon by no means restricted to Brazil, seemed particularly justified here.

In the weeks immediately after President Costa e Silva's suppression of the opposition, Brazilians showed little inclination to protest. The beaches of Rio were crowded and conversation in bars and coffeehouses was mainly of soccer. This, though, was the holiday season, which here is accompanied traditionally by a general slowdown in all but social activities. It will continue, if custom is observed, until after the pre-Lenten carnival of mid-February.

It is much too early to judge whether a spate of Finance Ministry decrees will help to strengthen the long-ailing economy. Already, though, some segments of the business community are beginning to bridle at new regulations. There is no evidence that the Church will move to silence its more outspoken opponents of the military, and there is nothing to indicate that the students will settle down quietly behind their books.

Moreover, there is no way to measure the extent of opposition to the government within the military itself. But it is incontestable that such opposition exists, based on the conviction that the role of the army is to protect the constitution, to intervene when necessary, but to return to the barracks at the earliest possible opportunity. Officers of this persuasion, up to and including the rank of colonel, are known to have been in touch with former President Juscelino Kubitschek and Carlos Lacerda, former governor of Guanabara (Rio), prior to their arrest. The number and depth of conviction of these officers could be the factors that shape Brazil's future.

Labor - Gen

WHITE LABOR, BLACK LABOR

THE FOMENTED CONFLICT

LLOYD L. BROWN

Mr. Brown, who was a CIO organizer in the 1930s and a founding member of the Negro American Labor Council, belongs to the Typographical Union. He is writing a book on social trends in the black community.

Is America faced with another "irrepressible conflict," this time between the black community and organized labor? Many voices say yes, and many hands seem to be working to bring about the collision. As a Negro American and a trade unionist, I am alarmed by this development; it threatens not only the equal rights movement and the unions but all prospects for social progress.

There are today, as there always have been, grounds for Negro antagonism toward the labor movement. The union button has never been a charm to shield its wearer from the virus of white supremacist ideas incubated in the culture of the upper class. The American labor movement, for the most part, has never accepted the old radical insight that white labor cannot be free while black labor is chained.

Despite its sins against racial equality, however, the union movement has been more hospitable to black Americans than other institutions in our racist society. Labor has a larger interracial membership than any other group, uniting in common interest, if not in brotherhood, some 2 million black workers with 16 million other workers.

Moreover, the continuing and inexcusable failure of the AFL-CIO executive council to put its professed policies of racial justice into practice, and the snail's pace of labor's self-reform are not the main factors behind the present sharp rise of anti-union sentiment in the black community. The main cause is to be found in the propagation of a new social doctrine—that organized labor is now the main barrier to black liberation, and the propagators of this new faith belong to four distinct orders. They are the big business missionaries to the ghetto, the black separatists, the liberal friends of the deserving poor, and the left-wing white advocates of black segregation. I shall deal here only with the first and most important group, merely describing the others in passing.

The black separatists, like their white racist counterparts, are anti-union on principle, opposing all interracial association as the worst of evils. The branch of liberalism that embraces the new creed is composed of middle-class people of good will who believe that labor is now big business, that white workers are rich, and that the only deserving poor are black. The white left-wing supporters of the new doctrine, having despaired of the working-class revolution, update Marx to read: Labor in a black skin can get its rights only by taking away the rights of labor in a white skin.

The big business missionaries, to return to the group which is the main sponsor of the doctrine, are the "thousands of businessmen across the nation [who are] getting involved in the struggle to restore social cohesion," as *Fortune* magazine noted in a special issue (January, 1968) devoted to "Business and the Urban Crisis."

"The struggle to preserve property" might have been a more accurate way to put it, since it has been noted often, and correctly, that the violence of ghetto outbursts has been primarily directed against property. "The term 'Negro revolution' must be taken seriously," one of *Fortune*'s

writers warns, "because its present battleground is at the level of the city."

This writer, Max Ways, outlines for big business the trail-breaking role of advancing the Negro revolution through a "national triple alliance" of the corporation, the city and the Negro (in that order). Noting that "the more congealed liberals . . . continue to doubt that business can be the agent of the kind of social advance that is needed," Mr. Ways assures his readers that "the leaders of the government of the U.S. believe it. Negroes believe it. Business is the one important segment of society Negroes today do not regard with bitter disillusionment." (One can imagine a "Triple Alliance" demonstration marching under the slogan: "No Corporation Chairman Ever Called Me A Nigger!"

The corporate missionaries to the ghetto have been plastering whole cities with their motto: "Give a damn." They will give *that*—but no more than that. The real giving, it is made plain, must come from another source. Here's how one of these agents of social advance puts it:

"Union concepts of security and seniority were formulated in the period of struggle between company and union. Now the struggle is between the Negroes and the unions. It is our position that a basic conflict exists between labor-union concepts and civil-rights concepts. Something has to give."

This clear statement of the new "basic-conflict" doctrine, also quoted in the special issue of *Fortune*, comes from John Doar, president of the Bedford-Stuyvesant Development and Service Corporation, which aims to cure the ills of one of America's most impoverished slums by building black capitalism there. Mr. Doar is also president of the New York City Board of Education, to which he was recently appointed.

His remarks appeared in an article, "The Case Against the Unions" by Thomas O'Hanlon, which offers various recommendations to insure equal rights for Negro workers. The primary proposal is this: "The union hiring hall must be eliminated. Unions still control an estimated two million jobs through such arrangements. Employers should be free to hire any qualified worker."

Mr. Doar's notion that "the period of struggle between company and union" is a thing of the past can only amuse the two sides. But his statement that labor-union concepts and civil rights concepts cannot coexist is more than a total misstatement; it is an invitation to total disaster.

There is nothing complex about labor-union concepts, the basic elements of which can be stated in a single sentence: A union, comprising the workers in a given industry or craft, bargains with the employers and by negotiation, backed up by an implied or direct threat of strike, obtains a contract for a designated period of time that establishes wages, hours, working conditions and various fringe benefits; specifies the prerogatives of both parties, and provides grievance procedures to guarantee compliance.

All other labor-union concepts are details flowing from that basic concept. For example, none of the contract benefits would profit an individual worker if he were not protected from arbitrary dismissal—the job security rules mentioned by Mr. Doar. A seniority system is likewise indispensable; without it, arbitrary dismissal could be effected simply by reducing the work force by one man or by not rehiring a man after a seasonal layoff.

Pat Fink

"Always 'The House that Jack Built'—Jack Senior, Jack Junior, Jack III"

Since the abolition of job security and seniority would make union membership worthless, no union could continue to exist without these safeguards for its members. The protection of trade unionism, achieved by many generations of working people of all races and nationalities, is not "something" that "has to give." It is something that can be taken away by no force short of a Fascist dictatorship.

Labor-union concepts not only are not opposed to civil rights concepts, they *are* civil rights concepts applied to industry. When workers are excluded from union membership because of race or color, labor-union concepts are violated, just as the concept of democracy is violated by racist practices.

No one would destroy good housing that bars Negro tenancy or ownership. The obvious corrective action is to

remove the barriers and let the Negro family move in. More unionization, not dismantled unions, is what the black worker needs. The job security and seniority rules are even more necessary for the Negroes now in unions than they are for other members. Last to be hired and first to be fired was the established rule for Negro industrial employment under the old, open-shop system; to the extent that the rule has been weakened, credit belongs to the unions. Indeed, the very term "due process" that unions stress in cases of dismissal comes from the Fourteenth Amendment, enacted to protect the rights of former slaves.

As for the recommendation that hiring halls be abolished, it happens that there are large numbers of Negroes in those industries where the hiring hall is established—maritime, longshore, hotel and restaurant, for example. Any attempt to abolish this system, under which everyone can see who is hired and for what job and whether fair-practice rules are followed, would elicit the bitterest opposition from the Negro members.

Advocacy of so-called right to work laws that ban the union shop comes from the most reactionary sections of the society—the same sections that are the most racist. The black worker knows better than anyone else the great difference that exists between a "right to work" state like Alabama and a largely unionized state like New York when it comes to job opportunity and pay.

The big business missionaries to the ghetto need not rely on church dinners and "mission Sunday" collections to keep them going. They have access to the tax-exempt billions of the great foundations with which to promote various programs among the desperate poor of the slums. To the most affluent "haves" it must seem very canny to promote the idea that the "have nots" can get what they need only from the "have a little bit mores." But the program sponsors would do well to realize that vandalizing the House of Labor would definitely not advance social cohesion. On the contrary, a fratricidal conflict between white labor and black labor would turn the urban crisis, which now threatens only property, into an urban civil war that would destroy everything.

Does Racism Aid Whites?

Labor News - 12/4/70 unions Race Rel

Racism, charges Dr. Anthony Downs, provides economic, political and psychological benefits to whites.

In a pamphlet entitled "Racism in America and How to Combat It" published by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, Dr. Downs lists racism's "benefits" in the hope that "many whites who are opposed to overt racism in principle will begin to see how they have been profiting unawares from either racism or institutional subordination or both."

Racism may provide economic, political and psychological crutches to many whites, but its benefits are illusory and its costs to whites highly damaging.

Dr. Downs points to the refusal of many hospital staffs to accept Negro or Mexican-American doctors as staff members as giving "economic benefits to a significant number of whites."

True: But since there is a severe shortage of doctors, even for whites, doesn't such discrimination harm many more whites by preventing them from having the adequate medical care which they need?

Or take the unions.

Although unions in the building trades are moving, under minority and government pressure, to take in more nonwhite workers, they have a long tradition whereby one ethnic group has won monopoly control over a craft and defended it against all comers.

It was used by the Irish against the Italians, and vice versa, and now it is being used far too much against blacks and other minority workers.

But while racism enters into the craft unions' attitudes, another factor is the deep-seated fear of depression, and the desire to keep their ranks small to have jobs even in times of scarcity. (In this regard it should be noted that the current unemployment rate for construction workers is 12 percent.)

If we had a full employment economy and built the houses, schools, and hospitals the nation needs, even the skilled building trades, with employment guaranteed, would in all likelihood be far more willing to bring in nonwhite workers in massive numbers.

Yet when minority workers are discriminated against, the nation loses billions upon billions of dollars in Gross National Product which would be available for housing, schools and hospitals if we eliminated bias.

So even craft union workers lose out because of racism.

Many unionists understand this — which is why the labor movement has been in the forefront of those demanding equal pay for equal work, fair employment practices laws, and access to jobs for all.

The industrial unions in the mass production industries, like steel and auto, are among the most integrated institutions in the country, with a labor force around 25 percent black.

As a result, according to Michael Harrington, "the scandalous gap between black and white wages that is so marked for the country as a whole hardly exists in Michigan, where the United Auto Workers play such an important role."

So black workers in Michigan, making the same wages as white workers, contribute the same purchasing power to the economy and pay the same taxes as do their white counterparts.

In summary, then, racism is costly to whites—particularly because it encourages whites to fight blacks for bigger shares of a small pie, instead of uniting whites and blacks to fight side by side for fair shares for all in a larger pie.

CIVIL RIGHTS DIGEST

A Quarterly of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights/Winter 1971

Green Money only

WALL STREET JOURNAL

June 8, 1972

EEO-UNIONS

Barroom Backlash

Some Blue-Collar Workers Shun Their Favorite Beer After the Brewery Signs a Pact to Hire More Blacks

By ROY J. HARRIS JR.
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

PITTSBURGH — Ordering an "Iron" is something of a tradition among beer drinkers in this industrial area. Iron City Beer, promoted in advertisements as a workingman's brew, has been the top selling brand here for almost 20 years.

But sales have fallen substantially since February. Only officials at Pittsburgh Brewing Co., which produces the brand, know the extent of the reversal—and they're keeping mum—but salesmen, distributors, bartenders and competing brewers say Iron City's sales are off by about 15% and have plunged by more than twice that much in some blue-collar areas.

And everyone knows the reason. They say the trouble started when Pittsburgh's black community ended an 11-month boycott against the beer.

That's right, when the boycott *ended*. Iron City, it seems, is the victim of a barroom backlash, a boycott by whites who don't like what they've heard about the agreement Pittsburgh Brewing signed with black tavern owners and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. "People more or less want to punish the brewery for the settlement," one Iron City salesman laments.

Milton G. Hulme, a civic leader and chairman of the brewery, is reluctant to discuss the situation. "The less comment we make the better," he says. "It's a tender topic, and anything we say may be held against us." As a result, he says he won't even discuss the boycott when the company reports to shareholders this week on results of the six months ended April 30. In the first half of fiscal 1971, Pittsburgh Brewing earned $338,520, or 30 cents a share, on sales of $11.9 million.

First Boycott Didn't Hurt

The pact signed by the brewery on Feb. 10 in the office of the city's Commission on Human Relations is mild by most standards. Pittsburgh Brewing, which at the time counted only 42 blacks among its 672 employes, agreed to hire two blacks for each white put on the payroll during the next two years and thereafter to get half of its hirees from the black community until Negroes constitute 25% of its workforce—roughly equivalent to the proportion of blacks in Pittsburgh. The company says it hires only 30 to 40 new employes each year.

In addition, the company agreed to participate more actively in the black community by advertising its products in minority-oriented media and by appointing a black marketing assistant. (The lack of such emphasis in the past probably helps explain why the NAACP's "selective buying campaign" against Iron City had only a minimal effect on sales.)

The agreement got only moderate local publicity. But, in a matter of days, as one Iron City salesman puts it: "Bang. No matter where you went, you got slapped in the face with it." Bar rumors circulated wildly, some going so far as to say Pittsburgh Brewing had fired two thirds of its workforce and replaced them with blacks. Mill workers who customarily downed several "Irons" after work refused to drink what many tipplers call "that nigger beer" and sometimes harassed those who did.

Sales sank steadily, and salesmen say some bars ordered their Iron City taps removed. Nick Vidnovic, a beer distributor in Duquesne, a largely white steel-mill town near here, says demand for Iron City has dropped 40% among his case-buying customers.

The Opposition

The biggest booster of the boycott has been Harvey F. Johnston, a McKees Rocks, Pa., real estate salesman and white supremist who heads a group called the National Association for the Advancement of White People. He has given the anti-Iron campaign top billing in the last four editions of a newspaper he publishes (claimed circulation: 75,000) and has put out 100,000 circulars in western Pennsylvania bars blasting the beer.

Iron City salesmen say support for the boycott is coming from an unlikely source—the cop on the beat. Noting that the local fraternal order of police has endorsed Alabama Gov. George Wallace for President, one salesman complains that he has seen policemen "talking down" Iron City while checking taverns. "If a cop comes in mouthing off about our beer, it's going to cause us a lot of damage," the salesman moans. It's impossible to document the extent—or the existence— of such activity.

Also difficult to determine is whether other brewers are spreading rumors to exploit Iron's situation. The same salesman who saw the cops "mouthing off" says he also overheard a sales representative for Schmidt's tell a tavern owner that "Iron City had laid off 25 whites" in order to give jobs to blacks. He says Schmidt's has gotten 80% of the brand switchers in his area. A spokesman for C. Schmidt & Sons of Philadelphia denies the company has used such tactics and says its salesmen have "strict instructions" not to play up the racial issue. In addition, the spokesman says, Schmidt's sales haven't surged that much recently in western Pennsylvania.

A Counter-Rumor?

But while Schmidt's denies spreading rumors, one Schmidt's representative accuses Iron City salesmen of brewing a rumor campaign of their own. "We've been thrown out of a lot of taverns (in the Pittsburgh area) lately since Iron City salesmen started spreading a rumor that we're pro gun control," the Schmidt's man says. Letters have been "pouring in" to the company's headquarters for the past two months asking if it's true that Schmidt's has given money to groups advocating stricter gun laws, the spokesman contends. He swears that the rumors are untrue.

Regardless of who's saying what, Mr. Hulme and others at Pittsburgh Brewing continue to say little—at least publicly. The only active defense of the beer seems to be coming from—of all places—local labor groups. The three Brewery Workers Union locals here, fearful that any loss in sales could result in a loss of jobs for both blacks and whites, persuaded the Allegheny County Labor Council in March to send letters to its 150-local membership in support of the settlement.

Pittsburgh Brewing isn't the first brewery to face a racial boycott, but trade sources says this is the industry's nastiest case of backlash. In 1970, after a boycott by the Congress of Racial Equality, Anheuser-Busch Inc. of St. Louis, the brewers of Budweiser, avoided such backlash problems by signing an "affirmative action program" directly with the federal government rather than with CORE. The result—improved minority employment opportunities—was the same, but the company could save face by saying it cooperated with the government rather than caved in to black demands.

In any event, some beer distributors and bartenders believe that Iron's downward spiral has been halted and that the beer may be starting to turn around now. A major factor in its favor: people here like the taste of Iron.

Ed. - Labor

1973

trades. This was not a tactical error because these unions wield an influence far beyond their actual numbers and because it was necessary to fight against what Lucy calls the "Building Trades Syndrome." However, the struggle for minority and black jobs must be broadened as we shift to a "service economy." The Coalition will try to explain this in the community. The link between the unions and the future of the inner city has never been clearer.

When questioned about the role of the A. Philip Randolph Institute and its leader, Bayard Rustin, Mr. Lucy expressed regret that the Institute's reaction to the Coalition had been negative and apparently in accord with the viewpoint of the top AFL–CIO leadership, which considers this movement unnecessary and perhaps even disruptive. He felt that the Institute had an important educational function to perform—registering union voters, conducting workshops in union policies, training courses, etc.—but that it was in danger of becoming counterproductive because of its unqualified defense of the status quo in the unions.

At this stage, the Coalition of Black Unionists is a highly promising development; it might turn out to be one of the few constructive results of the dismal election we have just been through. □

Max Shachtman

1904–1972

Socialist

Franklyn S. Haiman

Adj - Sup. Ct

The First Amendment and the Nixon Court

The United States Supreme Court, pushed to the Right by the four appointments of President Nixon, ended its 1971–72 term last June with a flurry of opinions that did not bode well for the freedom of speech and press clause of our Bill of Rights. Further retreat from the expansive interpretations of the First Amendment that have prevailed since the 1930s appear almost inevitable by the end of the Court's current term.

The decisions and opinions on which these forebodings are based were but straws in the wind. Almost none of them, by themselves, were unqualifiedly regressive. For each, some plausible justification was invoked. Indeed, to be completely fair, there were even two or three decisions handed down by the 1972 Nixon Court that could be said to have followed the liberal tendencies of the past. The new justices are cautious men and not likely to move sharply in new directions. Rather, the likelihood is that they will slowly gnaw away at past gains while trying to make it appear that precedent is being respected.

The best example was a decision handed down on June 22, 1972, in which the four Nixon appointees, Chief Justice Warren Burger and Justices Harry Blackmun, Lewis Powell, and William Rehnquist—joined, as they generally are, by Justice Byron White—reversed a ruling of the lower courts that had permitted the distribution of antiwar leaflets in the malls of a Portland, Oregon, shopping center (*Lloyd Corporation* v. *Tanner*). Just four years earlier, in the first shopping center case to reach the Supreme Court (*Amalgamated Food Employees* v. *Logan Valley Plaza*), it seemed that the justices had put an end to prohibitions against the exercise of free speech in the open areas of privately owned shopping centers. The 1968 Court had reasoned that the size and function of shopping centers, even though

Dissent Win '73

beyond 1976. The grave problems that beset our society will persist; they will not be dissolved by Nixon's meeching rhetoric or by sophisticated intellectual apologia. The hopes, the energies, the needs of this country still point toward large-scale social change, social innovation, social reform.

And we propose to contribute whatever little we can toward that end. □

Stanley Plastrik

Coalition of Black Trade Unionists

Known for the time being as the "Coalition of Black Trade Unionists," a new organization has been launched of black trade union leaders and members. It may turn out to be of major significance both in the American labor movement and the black struggle for social and economic equality.

This movement had its origin in the McGovern campaign, but its plans go beyond it. According to William Lucy, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO (AFSCME), who is a spokesman for the new group, the McGovern campaign served merely as its "catalyst." A call for its organization arose out of a meeting attended by 1,200 black trade unionists in Chicago last September. Hundreds of delegates from UAW locals, building trades unions, the AFSCME, and dozens of other national unions decided to set up a continuing movement.

In our interview, Mr. Lucy stressed that the group does not see itself as another "protest" or black nationalist movement. Nor does it have the least interest in setting up anything at all rival or "dual" to the unions. It considers itself an organic part of the union movement, and it plans to operate fully within that framework; it conceives of labor as a major force for social change in America.

The Coalition of Black Trade Unionists aims:
to conduct campaigns to organize nonunion black workers (it is estimated there are some 8 million in the country);
to help in the organization of the poor in black communities;
to support actions in opposition to the Vietnam war;
to back legislation favorable to federal revenue-sharing programs that will bolster social services in black communities;
to provide a forum for blacks concerning their special problems within unions;
and perhaps most impressive, to act as a bridge between the organized labor movement and the black communities where hostility to unions is often high.

WILLIAM LUCY, a tall and slender man with a good deal of poise, was especially insistent about the fraternal attitude of the Coalition toward the trade union movement. He pointed out that the people the Coalition will mobilize are at the bottom of the social ladder, among those treated with particular callousness by the present Administration; hence, it is natural that black unionists are anti-Nixon. The AFL-CIO "neutrality" on the elections contradicted the needs of black workers and therefore had to be opposed.

A five-man steering committee, selected at the Chicago gathering, is at work preparing a constitution to formalize the new Coalition and to issue a statement of intent. Lucy hopes the Coalition will bring together the experienced organizers of the labor movement with the inexperienced but enthusiastic volunteers of the communities, thus achieving a unity hitherto unknown among blacks.

The goals sought by this united movement will be jobs on the union level plus a further opening up of the construction trades to black and minority membership, and improved services on the community level. So far, the movement for jobs has concentrated on the building

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UNIONS AND THE STRUCTURE OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

George W. Brooks

for

McKINSEY SEMINAR,
University of Chicago
May 19-21, 1960

May 12, 1960

PROVING YOUR ARBITRATION CASE

by BOAZ SIEGEL

Reprinted from the February 16, 1963, issue of Saturday Review.

CHILDREN'S READERS

Life Is Fun in a Smiling, Fair-Skinned World

The literary merit of the "readers" used by children in the elementary grades has been widely discussed and their value as teaching instruments has been debated. But the effect of these books on a child's view of the world has rarely been analyzed.

Otto Klineberg is a distinguished social psychologist who has examined 15 widely used readers and here raises some disturbing questions about their contents. The books examined are listed on page 76.

By OTTO KLINEBERG

"READERS" are presumably prepared for the purpose of teaching children to read, adding to their vocabulary, developing the capacity to see the interrelationship of ideas; children are helped to understand the structure of sentences and of grammatical forms, to follow the sequence of events, and to become aware of the manner in which they are united and integrated. One reader speaks of the "steady growth of interpretative powers" which is insured through the content of the stories, and describes the situations and plots as containing a "meaningful interplay of the personality, mood, emotion, and purpose of the characters" (5). (This and the following numbers refer to the books listed in the accompanying box). The present writer expresses no opinion as to the contribution of these readers to the ability to *read*, but this analysis of their content raises in his mind, however, some very real questions regarding their contribution to the children's *picture of American society*, the *attitudes* and modes of thinking which are presumably developed, and the desire to *read further*.

First, and perhaps most important, is the picture of American society which is presented. Margaret Mead and Rhoda Metraux have written about "The Study of Culture at a Distance" (University of Chicago Press, 1953), describing the attempts to understand another culture on the basis of its plays or motion pictures, its books, its manuals of child care, etc. Suppose the visitor from Mars or even from Thailand tried to reconstruct American life from the content of these readers, without any other data to guide him. The resultant picture would be approximately as follows:

The American people are almost exclusively white or Caucasian. The only exception discovered in the fifteen readers refers to a visit to a Western ranch, near which lived an American Indian family, who spent most of their time "making beautiful things . . . to sell to the white people who came to the Indian country" (12). The story told is in general friendly and sympathetic to the Indians, except that they are treated as exotic and "different," not really part of the American scene. Their names—"Big Horn," "Shining Star", etc.—strike Jack, the white American boy, as "funny" (12). This incipient ethnocentrism might have been countered by reminding Jack that many proper names may be considered "funny," depending on one's experiences. What about Longfellow or Bacon? Even "old American" names may refer to occupations (Baker, Tinker), or colors (Brown, Green), or places (Hill, Field); some of the most distinguished names in American history, like Roosevelt, Eisenhower, or more recently Shepherd (or its variant Shepard) also refer, as do most American Indian names, to places or occupations. There are other stories of Indians, but mostly of Indian children of a bygone day (14).

The Americans in these readers are almost exclusively North European in origin and appearance. When any mention of ethnic origin appears, which is rarely, it is English, French (Brittany), or Norwegian (13). Other peoples and places are visited, including Lapland, Spain, and North Africa, but this is part of travel to foreign lands, and not part of the picture of America. In this particular case, one traveler, on the apparent basis of experience with the North African desert, delivers himself of the following judgment: "A mighty interesting country, Africa" (13), as if nothing existed south of the Sahara, and as if Africa were one (Arab) country instead of a great many different ones.

To return to the ethnic picture in the United States, the exceptions to the usual North European appearance and origin are themselves significant. An organ grinder is given an appearance which is stereotypically Italian or Greek, with a red scarf instead of a necktie; he appears in the illustration on the cover, as well as several times in the text (1). A slightly different version of the same, or similar, organ grinder appears in another Reader (9). There is also an Italian- or Greek-looking peddler who carries a big bag on his back (14). Finally, there is a story of a discontented horse that works for Mr. Polaski, who "sold fruits and vegetables," and who also "looks" very South- or Central-European in the accompanying illustrations (14). The treatment of these characters is by no means unsympathetic, and the last example occurs in a story which is charmingly written, but one cannot help wondering about the extent to which the stereotype—South Europeans

—Gregor (Monkmeyer).

—Max Tharpe (Monkmeyer).

"The earliest impressions develop attitudes that persist."

are organ grinders, peddlers, and fruit and vegetable vendors—may be strengthened by such a presentation.

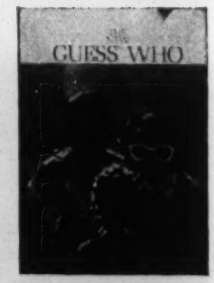
Americans in these readers are predominantly, almost exclusively, blondes. A check on the illustrations used in three of the readers, found in two of them (3, 4) almost 100 per cent blondes, and another (2) with 75 or 80 per cent. There are occasional references to dark skin, but these usually relate to people far away. Pandas, for example, are found in a distant land (India?) with dark-skinned people (7); in Lapland there are "small dark men" (13); and of course the illustrations for the stories about China, India, North Africa, etc., do show dark people. Not in the United States, however, apart from the exceptions noted above. Negroes are nonexistent. One reader has a story called "A Summer in the South," in which a boy and his father go "away down South to see Grandmother." But there are apparently no Negroes even in the South. It is true that Grandmother had a cook whom Paddy liked "almost as well as he liked Grandmother" (12), but even in the case of the cook, there is no indication of what Charlie May looked like. Either there are no Negroes, or they must not be mentioned. Some years ago, H. E. Wilson ("Intergroup Relations in Teaching Materials," Washington, American Council on Education, 1949) pointed out that in American textbooks foreign nationalities, as well as American minority groups, are either placed in an unfavorable light or are treated inadequately. In the readers under review, to speak of "inadequate treatment" of the Negro is an extreme understatement.

Religion, as was to be expected, is rarely mentioned. Only in one reader is there a reference to religious observance, when on Sunday "everyone was going to church" because "this is Sunday, you know" (9). Paddy says, "I always go to church on Sunday, I

Widely Used Elementary Readers

Dr. Klineberg says of the following books, "These are without exception presented in an attractive format, with hard covers, excellent print, and colorful, attractive illustrations. Although the exact publication figures are not available to the writer, they have been described as representing popular and successful books, adopted for general use by many school boards throughout the country."

—*Max Tharpe (Monkmeyer).*
". . . attractive format, excellent print, and colorful illustrations."



". . . prepared for the purpose of teaching children to read."

1. On Cherry Street	The Ginn Basic Readers, First Reader (Primer) 1961. O. Oursley & D. H. Russell
2. We Are Neighbors	The Ginn Basic Readers, Second Reader, Level I. 1961. O. Oursley & D. H. Russell
3. Fun With Our Family	New Basic Reading Program, Scott, Foresman & Co., Second Pre-Primer, 1962. H. Robinson, M. Monroe, & A. S. Artley
4. Fun Wherever We Are	Third Pre-Primer, Scott, Foresman & Co., 1962. H. Robinson, M. Monroe, & A. S. Artley
5. Fun With Our Friends	Primer, Scott, Foresman & Co., 1962. H. Robinson, M. Monroe, & A. S. Artley
6. The New Guess Who	Special Junior Primer, Scott, Foresman & Co., 1962. H. Robinson, M. Monroe, & A. S. Artley
7. On Four Feet	The Macmillan Readers, Basal First Reader, 1960. A. I. Gates, M. B. Huber & F. S. Salisbury
8. The Little White House	Ginn, Primer, 1961. O. Oursley & D. H. Russell
9. Round About	Alice & Jerry Basic Reading Program; Row, Peterson & Co. First Reader, 1957. M. O'Donnell
10. Friends and Fun	Macmillan, Basal Second Reader, 1960. A. I. Gates, M. B. Huber & F. S. Salisbury
11. Around the Corner	Ginn, Second Reader, Level II, 1961. O. Oursley & D. H. Russell
12. Friendly Village	Row, Peterson & Co. Basic Second Reader, 1957. M. O'Donnell
13. If I Were Going	Row, Peterson & Co. Basic Third Reader, 1957. M. O'Donnell
14. Finding New Neighbors	Ginn, Third Reader, Level I, 1961. D. Russell, G. Wulfing & O. Oursley
15. Friends Far and Near	Ginn, Third Reader, Level II, 1961. D. Russell & G. Wulfing

always do". On a Sunday morning Mr. Carl rolled over in bed until the church bell called, "Come to church! Come to church!" These are the words with which this particular reader closes. No one could argue that in these readers religious (Christian) observance is overemphasized, but again the opportunity might have been taken to give some idea of the range and variety of observance found among the different religious groups that constitute the American people. There is no hint of this in any of the readers examined.

Americans in these readers are all quite well-to-do; not exactly wealthy, perhaps, but certainly quite comfortable, to say the least. The illustrations show, for example, (1) a pleasant home with good furniture, all the children dressed in clean, attractive clothes, with talk about buying new dresses; there are all kinds of toys in the house; the children go out (presumably with their own pocket money) to buy balloons. Again (2), they live in pretty suburban houses, and the children have money in their pockets with which to go buy toys themselves (2). The farmer has his own tractor, and Father brings home a new car, "long and blue and beautiful" (2). In another Reader (3) the family has an attractive home with a car, a television set, toys, and bicycles. In still another, the mother buys her girls new coats (5); or they already have beautiful clothes and the house a modern, built-in kitchen (6); or the family takes a trip on a big and very luxurious ship (7); or the boy goes riding on his own pony (8); or the family lives in "a pretty white house" (9); or father takes the children to the circus and his boys to the ball game (11); or they take a train out West (12). Poverty exists, but usually only in fairy tales or those set in a foreign environment, and even in those cases everything turns out right before the end. Occasionally a boy will do some work in order to earn money, but he then puts away his twenty pennies in his own "bird bank" (9). Not only is there no poverty, but work seems to be readily available to everybody, and is on the whole not only easy, but "fun."

In fact, life in general is fun, filled almost exclusively with friendly, smiling people, including gentle and understanding parents, doting grandparents, generous and cooperative neighbors, even warm-hearted strangers. There is an occasional display of anger, but it is usually very transitory. In general, all is peaceful and happy.

In summary, then, life in the United States as it is portrayed in these children's readers is in a general way easy and comfortable, frustrations are rare and usually overcome quiet easily, people (all white, mostly blonde, and "North European" in origin) are almost invariably kind and generous. There are other kinds of people in the world, but they live in far-off countries or in days gone by; they evidently have no place on the American scene.

WHEN we turn to the *attitudes* which the content of the readers will develop in the children, we are on less certain ground, since we must depend on inference rather than on direct observation. Certain conclusions can be drawn, however, with a fair degree of probability. There is a great deal of published work which demonstrates that ethnocentric attitudes develop very early in children, and that they are already present at the ages for which these readers are destined. (See for example "Prejudice and Ethnic Relations," by John Harding *et al.*, Chapter 27 in G. Lindzey, editor, "Handbook of Social Psychology," 2 volumes, Addison Wesley, Cambridge, 1954, and K. B. Clark, "Prejudice and Your Child," Beacon Press, Boston, 1955). Obviously, the responsibility for this cannot all be laid at the door of school experience, since so many other influences make their contribution. Nevertheless, some of that responsibility must be borne by readers which, by what they omit as well as by what they contain, give the impression that the "true" American is of the fair-skinned "North European" variety. Although this was certainly not the aim of the writers concerned, the net effect would almost certainly be to strengthen the ethnocentric attitudes of those children who share these characteristics, and make all others—of Negro, Puerto Rican, South European, possibly also of Jewish origin—feel that they do not quite belong. Since these and other ethnic groups constitute a substantial proportion of the American school population, it would not be surprising if the readers had an alien quality for a great many of the children who come into contact with them. (The writer is reminded of a Brazilian first reader which starts out telling the children that Brazil has three "mothers," one European, white, one Indian, red, and one African, black, and goes on from there to describe how the present Brazilian population has developed.)

In addition to ethnocentrism, the readers also display what might rather clumsily be called a socioeconomic-centrism, a concentration on those who are relatively well-to-do. Here the problem is rather more complicated, because Americans are in general well-to-do, and the amenities described are within the reach of a substantial proportion of the population. For the remaining "one-fourth of a nation" it is part of the American dream that a more comfortable life is attainable. Until it is attained, however, the life portrayed in these readers must represent a very frustrating experience for them. Are *no* other families as poor as ours? Does everybody else live in a pretty white house? Are there no crowded tenements except where we live? Are we the only ones who can't go out and buy the toys we want? On the other side, is it desirable for the well-to-do children to be unaware that there may be poor people living on the other side of the tracks? Surely a more balanced presentation of American life, both from the ethnic and socioeconomic standpoints, would better prepare the children for what they will later encounter and help to correct what would otherwise be a one-sided picture. It may be argued that this will come in time, and that these children are still too young to face that kind of reality. The fact remains that the earliest impressions frequently develop attitudes that persist; it follows that it is never too early to tell children the truth.

THERE is another striking feature of these readers related to the question of "truth." In addition to the (conceivably factual) accounts of the activities and experiences of children and their families, most of the readers contain a number of stories, which, though fictional in character, deal with animals or with objects such as trains or airplanes which the children have in all probability encountered. These stories are predominantly characterized by *anthropomorphism* (ascribing human qualities to animals) and *animism* (ascribing life and thought to inanimate objects). Thus a snowman laughs (1), animals talk to one another (1,2,8,9, 10,11,14,15) and cooperate in joint enterprises (1); trains converse (10), and so do airplanes and helicopters (10, 11), cars and taxis (15), and there is even a little red lighthouse, round and fat and "very proud," which carries on a conversation with a new bridge (15).

There can be no doubt that animistic thinking is widespread among young children, at least in Western society. (J. Piaget, "The Child's Conception of the World," New York, 1929). It has been suggested, however, that this tendency would not be nearly so marked nor so common if it were not for the influence of language (as when we refer to a ship as "she"), the actions of parents and other adults (like spanking the chair that "hurt" the little child), and the stories told as in these particular readers, for example. In any case, animism is a stage *through which* children pass, through which children *must* pass if they are to reach a realistic appraisal of the outside world. The

present writer feels that the proliferation of anthropomorphism and animism creates an unnecessary barrier to the intellectual development of children, who should rather be encouraged to make, as early as possible, a distinction which is in harmony with the truth. He finds it hard to believe that animistic distortion is necessary in order to attract the attention of even young children. In fact, he has met children of six who would show a pitying smile at such an insult to their intelligence.

As far as *moral* attitudes are concerned, the readers appear to be on relatively safe ground. They illustrate, without any overt preaching, the virtues of honesty, fair play, cooperation, family solidarity, work and thrift, friendship, independence, cleanliness, courage and forgiveness. There is even, as has already been indicated, an awareness and acceptance of differences in culture and background, but usually for people far removed in space and time. One could certainly wish for more of this in the case of those nearer home; for these, there are no negative or unfriendly references; they simply do not exist.

In regard to the desire to read further, the editors of these readers, some of whom are personally and favorably known to the present writer, presumably have based their choice of materials on a knowledge of the tastes and interests of children. It is hard to believe, however, that enough is being done to stimulate the *curiosity* of the children, to make them feel that they would like to know more. The readers do contain a number of well-written stories and some delightful poems, but almost no information. Surely, together with the reading of good prose or verse, a reader could do more to instruct the child.

This report concludes with two specific proposals. The first is that the analysis made of American readers be supplemented by a comparison with readers of other countries (France, the Soviet Union, Brazil, and Sweden, for example) to determine what can be discovered from their experience, and also to see what other children, no brighter than our own, can absorb at an early age. The second is the preparation of sample readers designed to give children a more complete and more adequate picture of American life, and capable at the same time of making *important* things *interesting*.

Collective Bargaining

CLM

MONOGRAPH SERIES NO. 11

Centralized Versus Decentralized Decision-Making in Collective Bargaining: Effects on Substantive Contract Language

By Michael Whitehill

CENTER FOR LABOR AND MANAGEMENT
COLLEGE OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION
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Can GE's unions exorcise Boulwarism?

Coll. Bargaining 54-69

It is a mistake to think of the current electrical industry negotiations as collective bargaining; they are really an attempt at exorcism. The unions that bargain with General Electric have united to exorcise the formidable ghost of Lemuel Boulware, the now-retired father of GE's policy of taking and holding the bargaining initiative. The odds may be against their succeeding—or at least succeeding definitively enough to banish the ghost once and for all. But a few years ago a bookmaker would not even have bothered to figure the odds.

The unions arrayed against GE (and, almost as an afterthought, against Westinghouse) include groups that bear little love for each other: the International Union of Electrical Workers, formed as a rival union when the old CIO expelled the United Electrical Workers for Communist taint; UE, which hung on grimly to become the No. 2 union in the industry; the craft-oriented International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, chronically suspicious of both IUE and UE; the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the United Auto Workers, the country's strongest unions despite their separation from AFL-CIO, but representing only small fractions of the electrical industry work force; the International Assn. of Machinists, as orthodox as it is militant; and a handful of smaller fry.

IUE's Paul Jennings

To anyone familiar with the short tempers and long memories of the labor movement, there is high drama in the occasion. In more Shakespearean times, the sheeted dead would have squealed and gibbered in the streets the day that IUE's Paul Jennings (finest flower of the Assn. of Catholic Trade Unionists, former habitué of labor-management luncheons at New York's intellectual New School) and UE's Albert J. Fitzgerald (veteran infighter for his outcast union) issued identical rejections of GE's contract offer.

Two definitions. Only a matter of compelling principle could have brought those two together—and genuine principle is at stake on both sides of the bargaining table. That in itself is enough to distinguish the negotiations. The word "principle" is common in bargaining talk and usually it means 7½¢. It doesn't mean that here.

As GE sees it, principle involves the company's right to retain control of its employees' wages and working conditions, to determine fairly but independently the terms of a contract offer and to stick basically to those terms. The unions' desires are to be considered, but the company remains the final judge of what its employees really want and what the company is prepared to give.

As the unions see it, principle involves their right to bargain as partners, to affect substantively the course of negotiations, as they do when UAW bargains with General Motors, the United Steelworkers with Big Steel, or most unionized companies with their unions.

That's the point. GE is the one big, successful, articulate holdout among unionized U. S. companies, a conscious exponent of non-egalitarianism in bargaining. As such, it serves as a model for many smaller, conservative-minded companies and some not so small. Few manage to duplicate its success, but, in the words of an AFL-CIO official, "We spend a lot of time and money convincing them they can't." Cut the model down to size, the unions reason, and they save the time and money. Moreover, the unions fear that altered economic conditions may improve the prospects for Boulwarism sometime in the future if they do not exorcise it now.

New components. Realistically, Boulwarism itself has changed although it still remains too close to the original for union comfort. Factors that favored its development have changed with time.

Formerly, the personal instability of James Carey, IUE's ex-president, made him maneuverable by GE strategists. The left-wing pasts of many UE officials limited their scope at the same time that their leadership qualities kept UE a useful counterpoise to IUE. For historical reasons, a multitude of unions represented GE workers in place of a single strong union as in autos or steel, an ideal arrangement from GE's viewpoint.

Today, a new man heads IUE. UE's political vulnerability has declined as its past receded. And a seemingly firm front of unions faces GE across the bargaining table.

Other factors favor the company. Many of its workers belong to no union. GE's policy of year-round communication with its employees (another component of Boulwarism) gives it more influence with its work force than most companies have. The union alliance is still untested, and 1969 could be its last chance for many years. Rising unemployment figures could dim members' militancy by the time the next contract reopening rolls around.

Clues. So what are the prospects for the exorcism of Boulwarism? Probably no one will know for sure even after the contracts have been signed.

The contracts themselves will provide some clues. The unions can claim an important measure of success if the agreements are substantially better than, rather than merely different from, GE's original offer; the company's traditional willingness to "rearrange" the parts of a contract package but not to improve the whole has long rankled the unions as both symbol of its policy and practical proof of its dominance. The unions can claim success if they win changes long sought in working conditions. But comparing specific clauses with clauses on similar topics in General Motors' contract or U. S. Steel's contract will not prove anything; the most optimistic electrical unionist does not expect to achieve in one negotiation what the auto and steel unions have achieved in a generation. Nor will a strike prove much; labor history is studded with strikes that settled nothing. And it goes without saying that official declarations by company and union bargainers, after the event, will be meaningless. Who ever heard of contract negotiations that weren't described as victories by both sides—or, alternatively as fair resolutions of mutual problems, acceptable to all?

UE's Albert Fitzgerald

The real proof that the ghost is gone—or still walks—will come with the next negotiations. If union and management representatives sit down at the bargaining table as psychological equals, prepared for active give and take, the ghost will be gone. If not, the exorcism will have failed.

That's the difference between collective bargaining and magic. One wins or loses a negotiation—or achieves a standoff. One never knows whether an exorcism has worked till long afterward.

To / Bay.

NEGOTIATING

A WORKING AGREEMENT

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Published by
Research and Education Department

INTERNATIONAL WOODWORKERS OF AMERICA-CIO
314 S. W. Ninth Avenue
Portland 5, Oregon

collective bargaining or monopoly

UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA

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THE INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS
RESEARCH CENTER

Dispute Settlement in Atomic Energy Plants

by

David B. Johnson

Reprint Series No. 59/7

YOU be the Arbitrator!

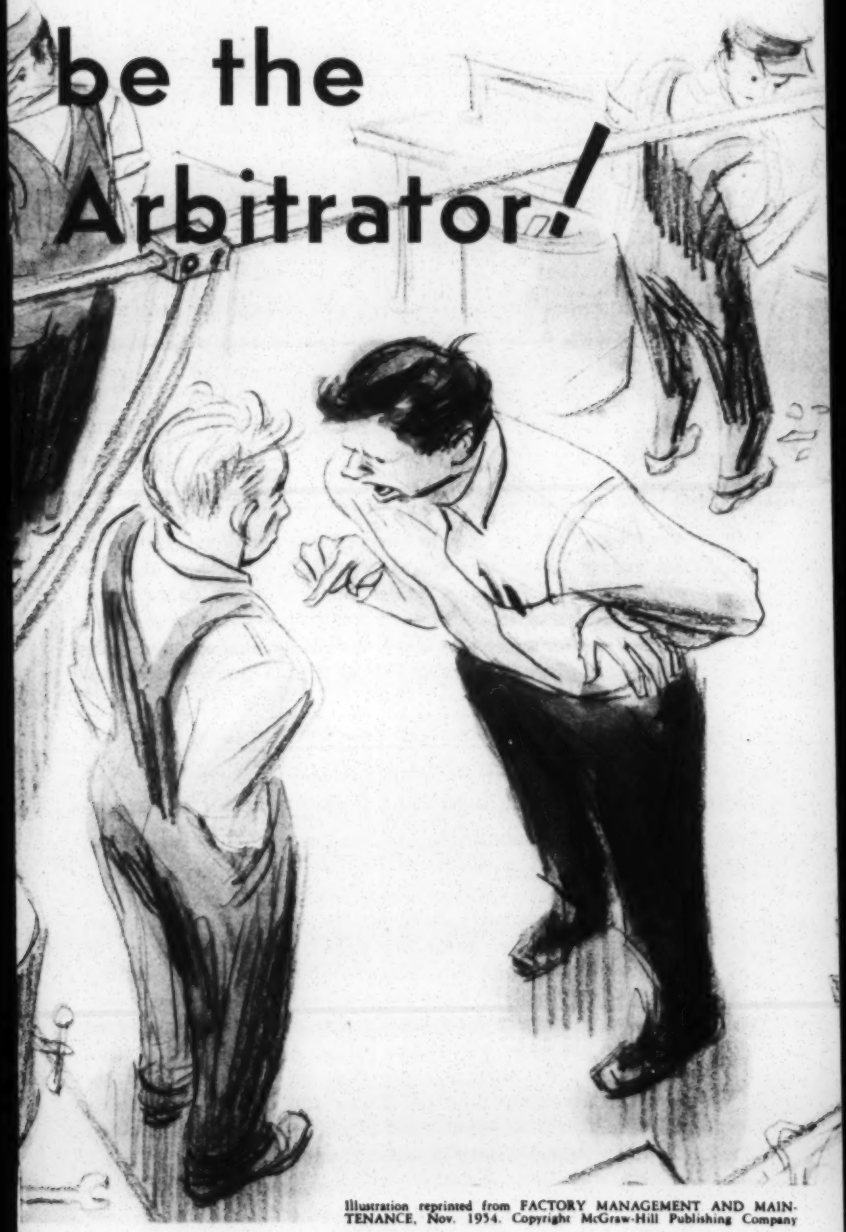

Illustration reprinted from FACTORY MANAGEMENT AND MAINTENANCE, Nov. 1954. Copyright McGraw-Hill Publishing Company

FOURTH EDITION

AMERICAN
ARBITRATION
ASSOCIATION

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NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

Offices in Atlanta • Boston • Charlotte • Chicago • Cincinnati
Cleveland • Dallas • Detroit • Hartford • Los Angeles
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THE ELEMENTS OF THE BARGAIN

1. The thing which workers have which they can offer an employer is their labor - their skills as producers of the employer's product.

   Workers can also offer (or withhold) their cooperation, interest and imagination in relation to their work for the employer.

2. The thing which an employer has which he can offer to workers is jobs.

   An employer can also offer (or withhold) an interest in and understanding of the problems of the workers and their union.

   Collective bargaining takes place between the representatives of the workers who want jobs and the employer who needs workers on the wages, hours, and other terms and conditions under which a bargain can be reached.

3. In order to support its proposals, the union has the power of its members to collectively withhold their labor.

   The logic and moral rightness of the union's proposals will be factors which affect this power.

4. In order to resist union proposals or to support proposals of his own, the employer has the power to withhold job opportunities, to stop his operation and to replace workers.

   The logic and moral rigtness of the employer's position will be factors which affect this power.

DEFINITION OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

- a method of determining the wages, hours and working conditions of labor, and a process of interaction between representatives of the union and representatives of management.

Contract negotiations and re-openers: the periodic determination of wages, hours and other terms and conditions of employment.

Day-to-day bargaining: in the grievance procedure within the framework of the contract, and in relation to matters not covered by the contract.

ALTERNATIVES TO COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

1. The operation of market forces.
2. Individual bargaining.
3. Employer determination
4. Determination by private arbitration.
5. Government determination.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING GOALS - from the standpoint of the union:

1. To attempt to equalize bargaining power between workers and management.

2. To improve wages, hours and working conditions.

3. To attain a degree of job security.

4. To achieve a degree of industrial democracy.

5. To attain and maintain a high level of purchasing power so that workers can buy back the things which they and other workers have produced (including the products of industry, farm, construction, the professions, and service trades).

6. To reduce or eliminate wage competition and wage differentials in one industry between different plants and geographical areas (and to some extent, between different industries in the same area).

These goals are inter-related. For example, the elimination of the "southern differential" will contribute to the bargaining position of northern locals.

These goals sometimes come into conflict with each other. For example, a balance must be struck between wages paid and the capacity of an employer to absorb the added costs and maintain the same level of employment (job security).

FACTORS WHICH AFFECT COLLECTIVE BARGAINING - some of the things which help determine what the union will get in negotiations

1. The strength and attitude of the union, locally and nationally:

   - Is it a new local or a well-established local?

   - Does the local or international cover more than one plant of the employer?

   - If other plants are involved, what are the nature of contract terms and the status of bargaining in these other plants?

   - What has been the nature of the relationship with the employer in previous negotiations?

   - How did things work out under the current contract?

   - How effective has been the day-to-day operation of the union - local meetings, stewards' meetings, grievance procedure, education program, legislative and political activities, social and recreational activities, quantity and quality of service from the international (as needed)?

   - How will the local be affected by "the consequences of non-agreement"?

2. The strength and attitude of the employer:

   - Does the employer really accept the union as a continuing part of his operation?

   - Is it a single plant, or part of a chain?

   - If a chain, what is the extent of organization among the various plants, is there a variety of unions involved, what is the nature of the various contract terms, and what is the status of contract negotiations in the other plants?

   - To what associations, formal or informal, does the employer belong?

   - What is the economic position of the employer relative to:
     - -nature of the product
     - -demand for the product
     - -labor supply
     - -profit situation
     - -competitive position
     - -plant efficiency
     - -plans for expansion
     - -"ability to pay"

   - How will the employer be affected by the "consequences of non-agreement"?

3. Industry differences in contract terms, particularly wages and fringes:

   - What is the impact of "coercive comparison" on the parties?

4. Regional differences

   - What is the extent of union organization in the area as compared with other areas?

   - What is the nature of the predominant industries in the area?

   - What are the regional differences in terms of workloads, plant and equipment, methods and processes?

   - Is the area known as a "high" or "low" wage area?

5. The general economic situation:

   - Are times good or bad, and what is the general trend in this respect?

   - How strong are the pressures of the cost of living?

6. What is happening in the major bargaining situations throughout the country:

   - What settlements are being made which will serve as goals or as limitations on a particular situation?

7. Government policies and laws:

   - Wage and price control programs, if any.

   - Current administration position relative to wage and fringe issues, as well as union security issues.

   - The Taft-Hartley law: (plus NLRB and Court interpretations)

     - the duty to bargain
     - union security
     - check-off
     - featherbedding
     - jurisdictional strikes
     - secondary boycotts
     - hot cargo clauses
     - exclusive bargaining versus individual bargain
     - nature of the bargaining unit
     - employer free speech
     - suits in Federal Court for contract violation (wild cat strike)
     - restrictions on administration of health and welfare programs
     - national emergency provisions

- State laws:

    - union security
    - regulation of strikes and picketing
    - regulations re: public employees, public utility workers
    - provisions re: labor relations in intrastate commerce

- The Fair Labor Standards Act, Walsh-Healy, Social Security

8. The attitude of the community:

    - Are there other unions in the area and what is their relationship with your union?

    - Is the community generally pro- or anti-union?

    - What will be the attitude of business and professional groups in the event of a showdown?

    - What will be the attitude of city and county government, police and other agencies in the event of a showdown?

    - What is the attitude of church and agency leaders?

THE PARTIES TO THE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING PROCESS

1. A common view:

Three parties: the union, the company, and the employees:

This view often reflects a lack of understanding on the part of the employees that they ARE the union. It may indicate an unwillingness on the part of the company to accept the union as a regular part of the operation. It may reflect a desire to split the union leadership from the union membership. It is in line with the "labor boss" theory.

2. A more realistic view:

Two parties: the union (which is the members and has no existence apart from them), and the company.

Under law, the union is certified as exclusive bargaining agent for all occupants of occupations noted in the certification order. However, the law frequently makes a distinction between employees and the bargaining agent.

RESPONSIBILITIES AND PROBLEMS OF UNION LEADERSHIP IN THE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING PROCESS

I. IN RELATION TO THE EMPLOYER

A. Assembling facts for negotiations - a year-round process:

1. Resources:

   - settlements and patterns in labor-management relations generally
   - settlements and patterns in your industry
   - settlements and patterns in different industries in your own community
   - what's been happening in the shop under your current contract

2. A suggestion:

   - involve stewards and as many other members as possible in an examination of the existing contract for possible changes; participation by the members in these decisions will tend to improve the quality of their support for the final proposals.

B. Anticipation

1. Of company proposals and the stated and actual reasons for them.

2. Of the company attitude, expressed and unexpressed, toward union proposals.

   Opportunities for estimating company positions exist in the day-to-day relationship of the parties. The process of anticipation will improve the quality of the union's performance in conference with the company; prepare the other side's case as well as your own. Sharing what is anticipated with the membership will increase confidence in the leadership.

C. Preparing the actual proposals

1. The "language" approach:

   Working up classes in exact contract language. This offers a solution without a statement of the problem. It is possible that devotion to language or an exact solution may hinder agreement. However, the language approach is common and often necessary; be alert to the problems which it presents.

2. The "problem" approach:

   Presenting the problem with a generalized suggestion for its solution - a clearcut invitation to management to acknowledge the problem and participate in a joint solution, with language secondary. This allows more freedom for bargaining with less initial bickering about language.

3. Support for proposals:

   Be ready to document requests for change; the company is bound to ask the union why it wants a change (or a new proposal). Grievance procedure and arbitration records are important in this respect - as well as stewards' notes on problems for which the contract or past practice offered no solution.

4. Estimating minimum requirements:

   Make a conscious effort to analyze what the minimum requirements are in relation to each proposal - what the union must have. This estimate of what is minimum may change as negotiations develop.

5. The broad, union-wide proposals:

   Be able to relate any such international programs to the local situation to lessen the affect of management's claim that this is strictly a national office adventure. This is also important in relation to the membership.

6. Membership action on proposals before they are submitted to the company:

   This involves the "principle of participation" and helps the members to appreciate their role in the collective bargaining process.

   A mimeographed summary of the proposals in the hands of the membership at the meeting will contribute to an orderly meeting and intelligent discussion and action.

D. <u>In conference with the company</u>

1. Bargaining committee procedure:

   - planning prior to each session with management
   - evaluating each session with management
   - the size and nature of the committee
   - the "spokesman" theory
   - recesses and other tactical shennanigans

2. Getting to the heart of an issue:

   - precisely what are we (the union) after?

   - precisely what is the company after?

     Timing plays a role here; that is, the determination of the time when precision is desirable. In the early phases of negotiations, there may be tactical reasons for a certain amount of obscurity.

3. Maintaining the union's bargaining strength:

   - as far as the members are concerned, certain issues have more appeal than others; therefore, the timing of tentative agreements on such issues may have a bearing on the union's ability to make progress on some less popular but equally important matters

   - the "GE" formula

4. The "art" of settlement:

   - have we gone as far as we can on a particular issue?

   - if we continue to press, may the company back off?

5. The tentative agreement with management prior to membership ratification:

   - must the union, under pressure from management, commit itself as to whether or not it will "sell" the tentative agreement to the membership?

   - avoiding embarrassment in the event of unanticipated action by the membership.

6. Other considerations:

   a. Educational proposals

      Those submitted and discussed without expectation of immediate attainment for the purpose of warming up management to a later, serious push.

   b. Educating the company about the union

      Take advantage of such opportunities, or create them. Particularly in a new bargaining relationship, management may be plenty worried about the union. How does the union look at bargaining? What is the role of the members? Of the leaders? How are leaders selected? the role of the International? The union view of the stewards' role and of the grievance procedure in general. Etc.

c. Learning about company problems

Resist the temptation to give short answers when the company attempts to air its problems and grievances. The more you know about the company, the product and the industry, the better representation you can give. And if you won't listen, the company may search for understanding through direct mailings to the membership. Or in full page ads in the local papers.

d. Be alert for injudicious company proposals

The company may submit proposals which cry for an instant "No!" Consider, however, the use which such proposals may be put to in gaining membership support for the hard road ahead. Courtesy requires that such use of such proposals precede any detailed explanation by the company of the problem they are designed to solve.

e. Be cautious with apparently unrealistic union proposals.

Just as in "d" above, the company may use these to your disadvantage in its contacts with stockholders, the public and even the union membership. In presenting something of a dubious nature, time it in such fashion that a full explanation of why it is needed is forced on the company. Should the company, aware of the good, sound reasons for the proposal, then run off half cocked to its various publics, the union is in a position to be righteously indignant.

f. Giving consideration to the other's point of view

This is sound on principle. It is also good tactics since you can then expect similar consideration from the company. "Giving consideration", of course, does not mean that any type of agreement must be reached on an issue.

g. Dealing with management publicity during negotations

If management goes to the papers, radio and/or TV with its case, the union may feel compelled to answer. You cannot compete financially, so the timing and nature of your response are important. Care should be exercised in relation to charges of bad faith, name calling and such things; management will become indignant and bargaining will slow down. The position of labor in our society suggests that the union may have to take more abuse than it can afford to give. Another caution: once the issues have hit the press, bargaining tends to take place in public, with the substitution of speechmaking for true negotiations.

h. Avoid backing management into a corner from which there is no honorable exit.

If there must be a showdown, let it be on the basis of valid issues rather than on the need of one party or the other to save face.

II. IN RELATION TO THE MEMBERSHIP

A. The membership is the source of the union's bargaining power.

While the bargaining committee may be concerned about its relationship with the employer during negotiations, it must be even more concerned about its relationship to the members whose interests it is representing - or had better be representing.

The union's year-round program of meetings, stewards' meetings, grievance handling, union education, community services and other activities must all be viewed in their relationship to the development of bargaining strength. Membership understanding and activity are the goals, and these cannot be developed on 60 days' notice.

B. Preliminary activities (before meeting with the employer)

1. Creating the proper climate for negotiations:

   - do not assume that support for the committee will come about automatically simply because the contract is expiring

   - use every means and opportunity to remind the members of their key role in the collective bargaining process

     as at union meetings, stewards' meetings, department meetings, talk in the shop, talk in car pools, phone contacts, home visits, the union paper, letters

     some members will shy away from any responsibilities in order at a later date to be in a good position to offer criticism

2. Include the membership in the preparation of proposals:

   - many good ideas can be obtained in this way

   - the principle of participation; people tend to support better something about which they have had a chance to make decisions

   - problems: the queer proposal, the unobtainable proposal:

     leadership must give reassurance to these people that their help was appreciated

- membership participation may be obtained at local meetings, department meetings, and through a continuing program of written membership suggestions on some appropriate form. Some locals make use of a questionnaire.

3. Focus membership attention on the major contract problems and their suggested solutions as reflected in the union proposals:

   - the list of proposals is often too long and detailed to be on the lips of every member

   - attempt to gain good understanding of the major proposals of an order which will bring an intelligent response if members are questioned in the shop by management, or by members of the general public

   - all union resources for communicating with the membership should be used in this process

4. Prepare members for the probable company approach to negotiations:

   - what will be the major company proposals and how will they be defended?

   - what will be the probable attitude of the company toward various union proposals?

   - intelligent predictions in this area will help soften the impact of company activities in behalf of its own proposals and will help build confidence in the committee

C. <u>While negotiations are in progress</u>.

1. Keep in touch with the memberhip:

   - the principle of participation: people will tend to accept propositions about which they have helped make decisions

   - use all union resources for communicating with the membership to keep them informed: the union wants a positive response from its people under questionning by management or the public

     but there may be sound tactical reasons for temporarily withholding certain information

2. Lack of progress, as well as progress, should be reported:

   - the absence of progress may be based on the company's evaluation of membership interest; the company has an ear for the bargaining table and an ear for the shop.

D. When negotiations are completed:

1. The ratification meeting

- the report should be frank and honest (on principle, and to avoid future trouble)

- decide in advance of the meeting as to the nature of the report

- generally speaking, the report should include a recommendation for acceptance or rejection; members should be clearly and repeatedly informed of their rights concerning any recommendation

- a mimeographed summary of the report in the hands of the membership may be helpful in guiding discussion and action

- take time to review factors contributing to success or failure with regard to certain proposals; use the report to educate the membership

- stress the importance of making the new agreement work

2. Start the membership thinking and planning ahead to the next re-opener or contract expiration.

III. IN RELATION TO THE COMMUNITY

A. The public relations aspect of collective bargaining:

1. What the union does will have an economic and social impact on the community.

2. The union's friends will want to be able to justify their support for the union; they may have an influence on management which the union itself does not possess.

3. A good case for the union will help neutralize anti-union elements in the community (particularly if the union has developed a good public "image" over the long run).

4. Unless bargaining tactics require it, it may be well to attempt to avoid a surprise showdown (particularly in a small community).

B. The public support aspect:

1. The attitude which non-labor people take toward the union's position will have an affect on the morale of the membership.

2. General approval of the union's position as expressed by the community may have some affect on management's position in negotiations.

3. However, attention given to the community cannot be given at the expense of attention to the membership; they are the people who constitute the power of the union.

IV. IN RELATION TO OTHER GROUPS

The union wants the support of other labor groups in the community. What the union achieves or fails to achieve will have an affect on these locals. Therefore, be prepared to consider their problems even though the union may finally decide on a course of action unpopular with other locals. Keep other locals informed of your situation (trades council, letters, visits to meetings). The attitude which other union people take toward your members will affect the morale of your people.

AFL-CIO

GEORGE MEANY
President

WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER
Secretary-Treasurer

Collective Bargaining REPORT

JUNE 1957
Vol. 2, No. 6

JOB EVALUATION PLANS

The rapid increase of formal job evaluation plans in the last two decades has brought a variety of special problems to unions.

A major danger is that these plans, which use technical and often inflexible methods to decide how much each job is "worth" as compared to other jobs, may supplant or unduly cramp or limit collective bargaining on wage rates for individual jobs.

The difficulties in working with job evaluation plans are compounded by the fact that there are no generally accepted uniform practices. There are wide variations in types of plans and in their administration.

Also, since the plans tend to be plant wide, rather than industry or even company wide, the problems normally have to be met on a local basis. Bargaining on job evaluation is primarily carried on at the local union level, although in one major exception, in the steel industry, the United Steelworkers have negotiated a plan extending through the basic steel industry.

The following article discusses briefly several of the types of questions and problems involved in job evaluation plans.

Union Attitudes

Union experience with job evaluation plans has varied widely. As a result, there is no single or overall union attitude or policy toward job evaluation.

Some unions have resisted its introduction. Others have joined in or even requested the installation of job evaluation plans.

For unions which already have such plans in effect, the immediate question is not whether to accept or reject job evaluation, but rather "How can we represent our members most effectively under the plan now in effect? Should we participate in it and if so, how?"

The degree to which union *desire* to participate varies considerably. In some cases unions have decided on a job evaluation plan jointly with management; they have analyzed jobs and written job descriptions, evaluated jobs, determined labor grades and rate ranges, all on a joint basis. Other unions have allowed management to perform these functions, but have reserved the right to question the results of each step through the grievance procedure.

In still other cases unions have simply stated that all they are interested in are the wages paid to their members and that management may use whatever means it desires to arrive at what it thinks wages should be. The union simply reserves the right to bargain on the results of any management wage determination, regardless of how the determination is made.

Whether unions are for or against job evaluation on principle, all agree that where a plan exists it is necessary to provide protection against any arbitrary and abusive application by management. This protection must be gained primarily through collective bargaining

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Collective Bargaining REPORT

JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1959
Vol. 4, No. 1-2

BARGAINING IN 1958 AND 1959

How does the 1959 bargaining picture shape up?

As always, bargaining results will vary considerably between and within industries, but sizeable wage increases should be the general rule. The widespread pick-up in production, rising productivity and rising profit margins appear to provide a favorable climate for wage-increase negotiations.

Presented on the following pages are (1) a broad summary of the results of bargaining last year, 1958, and (2) a brief review of some of the basic factors which will influence bargaining in 1959.

Bargaining Results in 1958

Despite unfavorable economic conditions, workers under union agreements received wage increases in 1958, increases generally large enough both (a) to make up for the rises in the cost of living and (b) to provide an additional amount for some "real" wage gain.

Serious economic recession and business uncertainty marked much of the year. This did limit increases in some of the industries most seriously affected, but by and large unions were not stampeded into passing up wage increases or into accepting merely token raises.

The increases received by the largest numbers of workers over the year were between 11 and 15 cents an hour. This takes into account all three types of wage increases under collective bargaining: (1) those negotiated during the year, plus (2) cost-of-living adjustments provided automatically under agreement escalator provisions, and (3) so-called "deferred" fixed increases provided automatically under long-term agreements negotiated in an earlier year.

In addition, the great majority of bargaining settlements provided also for some liberalization of various fringe benefits.

A more detailed summary of 1958 wage and benefit increases starts on page 3.

Economic Factors in 1959

Bargaining in 1959 will take place against a more favorable business background than in 1958.

In contrast to the sharp slump in many business activities early last year, 1959 has opened on an economic upturn. Although views differ on how rapidly this upturn will proceed, there is wide agreement that some continuing improvement will be taking place throughout the year.

Also in progress as 1959 opens is a sharp increase in productivity. Output is rising with relatively little increase in employment.

The rising productivity (more output per man hour of work) means lower production costs and larger profit

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Labor's ECONOMIC REVIEW

Vol. 5, No. 1 January, 1960

IN BRIEF

For 25 years the promotion of collective bargaining has been official government policy. Yet today collective bargaining institutions are under sharp attack.

What are the basic ingredients of collective bargaining? What values does it bring to labor-management relations and to the economy as a whole? What alternative methods have been proposed as a substitute? These are the questions with which this issue of Labor's Economic Review is concerned.

A Vital Force For Progress

Collective Bargaining in America

It is now almost 25 years since Congress first set forth its approval of collective bargaining as the preferred method for determining wages, hours, and work conditions of American workers. The National Labor Relations Act, signed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in June 1935, sets forth government policy in these words:

> "It is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to eliminate the causes of certain substantial obstructions to the free flow of commerce and to mitigate and eliminate these obstructions when they have occurred by encouraging the practice and procedure of collective bargaining". . .

The history of collective bargaining, of course, dates from a much earlier era, although it has not always been the accepted practice in employer-worker relations. In fact, many of the earlier labor unions spurned any systematic method for dealing with employers. They much preferred a more direct action approach through the use of such weapons as the strike or boycott, and objected to any formal agreement by which wages and working conditions would be fixed for a specific period of time. Many of the early unions concentrated their energies on attaining legislative or political goals, minimizing their activities at the work-place.

Although collective bargaining in the U.S. is now a well-accepted institution, its origin is a concept which in time past has been considered quite radical: namely, that the worker is entitled to have a voice equal to his employer in determining his conditions of employment. It was many, many years before American employers were willing to accept this notion and even today many sections of the business community are not convinced of the validity of this principle.

Gradually, however, collective bargaining has become a widely accepted means of determining

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING INSTITUTE

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"EMPLOYER RIGHTS AND THEIR LIMITATIONS
DURING UNION ORGANIZATIONAL CAMPAIGNS:"
AN ADDRESS BY HOWARD W. KLEEB

(Note: The following address was prepared for delivery January 29, 1964, at the NLRB Conference Workshop at Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., by Howard W. Kleeb, NLRB Associate Executive Secretary.)

Your co-chairman, Mr. Ray Breckenridge, asked that I discuss the subject of employer rights and their limitations during union organizational campaigns. This, of course, brings into play the first amendment of the Constitution, Section 7, Section 8(a) (1) and Section 8(c) of the National Labor Relations Act. I shall therefore limit my comments to this subject, and ask that you bear in mind that the Board also deals with union rights and their limitations during organizational campaigns as well as with the rights of employees.

I. Manner or Method of Communication with Employees

First let's talk about the manner or method of communication between an employer and his employees. The uninformed employer often asks "Can't I even talk to my employees about the union?"; the answer, of course, is an unequivocal "yes." An employer is free to communicate with his employees singly or in groups at any time. The Board imposes restrictions on this right only when it has determined that such talk, because of its nature, tends to interfere with, restrain, or coerce employees in the exercise of their Section 7 rights, or because its timing, even though non-coercive, occurs during the 24-hour Peerless Plywood rule. This rule, established by the Board in 1953 1/, which is still in effect, states: "Employers and unions alike will be prohibited from making election speeches on company time to massed employees of an employer within 24 hours of the scheduled time for conducting an election. Violation of this rule will cause the election to be set aside whenever valid objections are filed."

Likewise, an employer may communicate with his employees by letters, handbills, posters, the introduction of plant rules, and he may attach messages to pay envelopes. Here again the Board will restrict these rights only if such communications interfere with, restrain or coerce, or tend to unfairly influence employees' freedom of choice in an election. However, unlike speeches, there is no comparable Peerless Plywood 1/24-hour election rule with respect to written communications. They may be distributed right up to the eleetion, assuming it is not done in the electioneering area. The Board will, however, in an objections case, look to the contents of such last-minute communications to determine whether there has been a misrepresentation, or that similar campaign trickery, which involves a substantial departure from the truth at a time which prevents the other party or parties from making an effective reply 2/.

Picture posters, cartoons, slides and movies having to do with unions may also be shown to employees up to the date of an election, with the above limitations with respect to contents and timing.

II. Substance and Content of Communication

What about the substance and contents of these communications?

There is, perhaps, no more difficult task confronting the Board today than that of evaluating the contents and substance of statements made orally or in writing, as well as certain motion pictures that are being shown throughout the country. Here again, the Board has to decide whether, in the light of all the surrounding circumstances, such matters tend to interfere with, restrain, or coerce employees in the exercise of their Section 7 rights, or whether they tend to interfere with the employees' free and untrammelled choice in a representation election.

When an employer learns that an organizational campaign is going on among his employees, human nature being what it is, he's just bursting with curiosity to know whether any of his employees have joined, if there have been union meetings, who has attended them, and what was said? How better can he find out than to ask his employees? There would be no problem for the employer or the Board if it could be established that such interrogation was purely motivated. Unfortunately for this point of view, experience has shown that in many cases such questioning is followed by reprisals against union adherents. Employers tend to react angrily to a union drive. Employees they had considered "loyal" before a union drive they now consider "disloyal" because of interest in the union; outside, union representatives are depicted as interlopers with horns, and what was once a nice quiet family affair assumes the proportions of a major struggle for the "loyalty" of the employees. How has the Board dealt with this problem?

In 1954 the Board decided a case known as Blue Flash Express 3/ which set forth principles which are still being followed. The principles are that the Board will find interrogation a violation of Section 8(a) (1) unless the employer can show (1) his intent was only to determine whether the union actually represented a majority; (2) employees interrogated are assured against reprisals; and (3) there is no background of hostility to unions by the employer.

In a recent case 4/, in affirming a Trial Examiner's Decision on interrogation, in which he cites Blue Flash Express 3/, the Board said, inter alia: "We affirm the Trial Examiner's dismissal of the interrogation allegation because we are satisfied that the record supports Respondent's contention that these interrogations were conducted only for the purpose of determining whether Respondent's valid, no-solicitation rule. . . had been violated, and this purpose was indicated to the employees questioned."

Nor will the Board find interrogation illegal where the information is needed to prepare a case before the Board. In such instances the questions must be relevant to the issues and the data sought should be of sufficient probative value to justify the risk of intimidation involved 5/.

However, in July, 1963, the U.S. Fifth Court of Appeals upheld the Board in finding an 8(a) (1) violation where counsel for an employer on one occasion interrogated employees under oath with a court reporter taking statements, and asked questions which were coercive in result and may have tended to interfere with the employees' rights, and, on another occasion, a team of lawyers over a 5-day period interrogated every employee of the company. Although the court recognized the right of the company to attempt to find out certain facts in this case, it found the conduct in total went beyond the pale of privilege 6/.

An interesting sidelight to this case is that the company attorney was named as a co-respondent and the Board found against the attorney as well as against the company. However, the court refused to enforce that part of the Board order running against the attorney, holding that the attorney in question was not "purposely aiding the employer in contravening the statute," but had directed his activity "to matters within the scope of and relevant to rights of the employer by way of proceedings pending or imminent."

Before leaving interrogation, I would like to mention a case decided by the Board in 1962 7/, which was set aside by the Ninth Court of Appeals in 1963. Here the Board found an 8(a) (1) violation where the company, after a representation petition had been filed, systematically interrogated their employees, after several employees had voluntarily informed the employer of their doubts as to the adequacy of the petitioning union's showing of interest in support of the petition.

The Board distinguished this factually from the Blue Flash Express 3/case because the showing of interest is an administrative requirement to assist the Board in determining if a question concerning representation exists. The Board concluded that such interrogations serve no permissible function, and interfere with the employees' rights to privacy in their union affairs.

In reversing the Board the court said that since the employer assured each employee questioned that his job was not in danger and he could refuse to answer the questions; there was no evidence of employer hostility in the background; nor was there evidence that the employees disbelieved the employer's assurances; there was no justification for the Board's conclusion that such interrogation coerced or interfered with employee rights. While the Board has not conceded that such interrogation is permissible, it has decided on the facts in this case not to seek certiorari in the Supreme Court.

Aside from interrogation, what can an employer say to his employees that will not be grounds for finding he violated Section 8(a) (1) of the Act, or unfairly interfered with his employees' free choice in a representation election? An employer may say anything which is truthful, assuming, of course, that the truth so stated is not itself coercive. For example, it may be true that an employer honestly intends to discharge anyone who joins the union, but to say this to his employees would be found to be an unfair labor practice.

On the other hand misrepresentations, or campaign trickery which involves a substantial departure from the truth at a time which prevents the other party or parties from making an effective reply before an election, are grounds for setting aside an election. This is so even though the misrepresentation is not deliberate 8/.

Statement of Legal Position

One rather familiar pattern of employer conduct is to convey to employees predictions of what might happen if a union comes in. This includes such statements as:

A vote for the union will result in a loss of business an/or customers 9/;

If the union is voted in, it will make demands the employer cannot meet; there will be a strike; the employer has a right to hire permanent replacements; and the union employees will be out of a job.

Variations of this approach are to point out that the union supporters would be ineligible for unemployment benefits during a strike; no other company would hire them; their group insurance would be lost; their savings would be depleted; and they would not be able to get a loan; the employer in the event of a strike would subcontract its work 10/.

In such cases the Board has generally found such statements tend to engender fear of economic loss or fear of reprisal, and make it impossible for the employees to make a rational, uncoerced decision in an election. However, I think it is important to stress at this point that the situations cited should not be relied upon blindly. Each case before the Board consists of a combination of facts and circumstances which is rarely found in any other case. The presence or absence of one fact or circumstance in a particular case may very well influence the Board's final decision. A good illustration of how the Board's decisions may be misread lies in the fact that in at least three instances the Board has reversed regional directors in their application of Board decisions in the area of offers of benefits and fear of reprisals 11/.

The Board has also set aside elections where an employer had made pre-election statements, including a statement that if the union won an election the employer would refuse to bargain unless and until the courts made them bargain 12/. An interesting sidelight with reference to this point is that in one case where the Board set aside an election for this reason, among others, the union lost the subsequent election, and upon objections being filed, the regional director recommended that it, too, be set aside, because in his view the employer engaged in the same type of conduct as before the first election. The Board disagreed, finding, among other things, that the employer did not contest the appropriateness of the unit, nor did it indicate to its employees that it would not bargain because the company thought the unit inappropriate, as it had indicated before the first election 13/.

Appeals to Racial Prejudice

Cases involving appeals to racial prejudice seem to have come to the fore in the past several years. The leading cases in the area of election campaigns were handed down by the Board in 1962. In Sewell Mfg. Co. 14/ the Board set aside an election held in two small southern towns. The Board found that the employer, by various propaganda means, resorted to appeals to racial prejudice to prevent a free election. For four months prior to the election the employer circulated an anti-union, segregation, monthly newspaper and distributed other literature and newspaper reproductions including a picture of a white union leader dancing with a Negro woman, all of which the Board concluded were irrelevant to campaign issues and were intended to exacerbate racial prejudice and create an atmosphere of racial hostility to the petitioning union.

In this case the Board announced that in the future a party to an election making use of a racial message will bear the burden of establishing that such message was truthful and germane, and if doubt exists as to whether totality of conduct is truthful, the doubt will be resolved against the party using such a message. The second election was set aside for the same reasons as the first.

In another decision issued on the same date as the first Sewell 14/ case, the Board over-ruled objections that alleged the employer had injected the extraneous issue of race hatred, finding that the employer's letter containing reference to the racial issue was temperate in tone and was essentially factual and true 15/.

The Board has pending before it several objections cases involving racial issues introduced by labor organizations.

Exhibition of Movies

Some employers have exhibited a movie entitled "And Women Must Weep" which was purportedly a true story of a strike involving a different employer and union that resulted in violence, fear, hatred and murder during an unnecessary strike for no justifiable reason 16/.

Others have shown a film titled "A Question of Law and Order 17/." This sound film shows various scenes of mass picketing and attending violence, including physical beating of various persons attempting to enter a plant being picketed, stoning and overturning of cars, and other damage. The Board, in setting aside the election in these cases, stressed the fact that a motion picture is a much more powerful instrument than the written or spoken word in arousing emotions and influencing attitudes. They found the pictures to be in the nature of misrepresentation.

No-Solicitation Rules

In another very important area of organizational communication the Board held that a department store, the May Co., 18/, in refusing to grant a union's request for equal opportunity and time to reply to the employer's non-coercive pre-election speeches to massed assemblies of employees, on company working time, interfered with the conduct of the election. In this case the company maintained and enforced a broad rule denying solicitation during both working and non-working time 18/.

The Sixth U.S. Court of Appeals, refusing to enforce the Board's finding in a subsequent unfair labor practice proceeding, held that the Board could not compel the employer to make its store available to union organizers in the absence of findings that alternative channels of communication were not open to the union. The Board did not seek certiorari in this case before the Supreme Court. However, the Board has not abandoned the theory of this case. Since the reversal by the Sixth Court of Appeals, the Board has cited the May 18/ case in the Montgomery Ward case 4/ decided this month.

In finding the Montgomery Ward 4/no-solicitation rule unlawful, the Board said "Respondent seriously imparied lawful solicitation activities at the natural site where employees are accessible for organizational efforts. Quite clearly, here more than in May 18/, Respondent's broad and unlawful no-solicitation rule, coupled with its own use of company time and property to impress its anit-union propaganda on employees, created a glaring imbalance in organizational communication that justified the union's request to address employees under the same circumstances as had Respondent."

The Montgomery Ward 4/ no-solicitation rule prohibited union solicitation and distribution of union literature on company time, but expressly provided that such activity by employees on company property was permissible if (a) both the soliciting and solicited employees were on their own time, and (b) the solicitation was conducted in an orderly manner and did not interfere with the business of the store. The written rule also proscribed all meetings and speeches. This written rule was supplemented by an oral rule announced at the meeting of the employees, at which the rule was read. At this meeting the employees were told that they were not to discuss the union from 8:30 in the morning until 5:30 in the afternoon, including lunch and coffee break time, and that if they were to do so they "would be fired."

The Board noted that the company made anti-union speeches to assembled employees on paid time, on the company premises, on three occasions. When the union requested permission to address the employees during company's working hours the company refused. As indicated, the Board found under these circumstances that the employer violated the Act.

In another case involving a no-solicitation rule the Second Court of Appeals, in November 1963, enforced a Board finding that an employer violated Section 8(a)(1) by promulgating and enforcing its rule prohibiting employees, when on non-working time and in non-working areas of the plant, from distributing any leaflets, handbills, circulars or other literature on behalf of the union 19/.

In the above case the company urged that the Board had failed to consider whether the employees had alternative means of communication. However, it appears clear that the court rejected this argument since employees alone were involved in contradistinction to non-employees.

In the area of employer rights during the pre-election period, the Supreme Court, on January 13 of this year, sustained the Board's finding that the Exchange Parts Co. 20/ had interfered with its employees prior to an election.

Here, after a petition was filed and before an election, in a letter to its employees, prefaced by the statement that the employees did not need a union to obtain additional improvements in the future, and asking the employees to vote against the union, the employer announced certain benefits concerning holiday, overtime pay, and vacation period, which the Board found was intended to influence the outcome of the election and was also a violation of Section 8(a)(1). The Fifth Court of Appeals, which denied enforcement while accepting the Board's finding, stated: "the critical fact in this case is that the benefits carried no coercive elements; they are not conditioned upon the employee's relinquishment of any rights. The employees had, as the Act intended the employees to have, an unfettered right of self-organization, a free choice. It is impressive logomachy (a dispute in, or concerning, words) to turn "allurements" into "coercion" by divining a secret purpose. It is good, homey, country-lawyer advocacy to argue that a carrot on a stick may have the same effect on a donkey as a club. This is beguiling bewording. But a carrot is not a club, labor is not a donkey. Persuasion is not coercion."

The Fifth Court of Appeals' opinion seemed to turn on the very narrow ground that the company benefits were put into effect unconditionally on a permanent basis and that there was no implication that they would be withdrawn if the employees voted for the union.

A different approach to this problem, in keeping with the Supreme Court's decision, is indicated by the Seventh Court of Appeals in enforcing a Board order in which the Board found promise of benefits by an employer. The court said it was immaterial that "no strings were attached to the offers and no threats [were made] to withdraw benefits if the employees persisted in supporting the union 21/.

In Exchange Parts 20/ the Supreme Court made some observations which thoroughly support what the Board has been saying for years. The Court says "we think the Court of Appeals was mistaken in concluding that the conferral of employee benefits while a representation is pending, for the purpose of inducing employees to vote against the union, does not 'interfere with' the protected right to organize."

The Court also said: ". . . we have no doubt that [Section 8(a)(1)] prohibits not only intrusive threats andpromises but also conduct immediately favorable to employees which is undertaken with the express purpose of impinging upon their freedom of choice for or against unionization and is reasonably calculated to have that effect."

Of particular significance is the Court's statement that: "The danger inherent in well-timed increases in benefits is the suggestion of a fist inside the velvet glove."

Time and Place of Communication

In communicating with his employees, to what extent must the employer be concerned as to the time and place of communication? Aside from the Peerless Plywood 1/ rule which already has been mentioned, the Board has issued a number of decisions dealing with the time and place of non-coercive communication, with particular reference to the numbers of employees present in relation to the total employment figure.

For example, the Board has set aside elections where an employer:

interviewed employees and discussed the union at their homes as well as in the employer's office 22/,

interviewed about 8 of 37 employees at their homes 23/,

interviewed employees individually in a storeroom where the manager's desk was located 24/,

interviewed 5 employees individually out of 119 eligible employees in the basements of 4 stores in a 16-food-store unit 25/.

The above-mentioned cases suggest that if an employer wishes to convey non-coercive statements orally he should do so in "large" groups, or a single group of all employees, and at a place that cannot be construed to be a locus of managerial authority.

Other Employer Activities

Sometimes, particularly in small towns, the Board is confronted with objections revolving around alleged third-party interference during a pre-election campaign. In such cases the local newspaper, public officials, members of the clergy, civic organizations, and others, have engaged in conduct alleged as interference with the election either for or against the participating labor organization. In 1961 the Board decided, in one such case 26/, that an election should be set aside where numerous statements and conduct by various responsible groups and individuals in the community reasonably conveyed the view to the employees that in the event of unionization the employer would shut down its plant and other employers would not locate in the community. The Board found that such conduct created a general atmosphere of fear and confusion which precluded the holding of a free election. The Board adopted the regional director's Report

on Objections with respect to this objection, which stated that it was immaterial whether or not the employer was responsible for the generation of the fear which was created by the third parties, and also noted that there was no evidence that the employer did anything to disavow the threats contained in the newspaper articles and ads that the plant would close if the union were successful. This decision still stands. Assuming that the present Board follows this line of reasoning, it would appear that an employer that does not wish to risk having an election set aside should take steps to disavow any statement or activities by third parties concerning the employer's continuation in business, or other conditions over which the employer has control.

Support for Board's Decisions

As indicated in the beginning of my comments, when we talk of an employer's rights and limitations, we are concerned with the application of the First Amendment to the Constitution, Section 7, Section 8(a)(1), and Section 8(c) of the National Labor Relations Act. How has the Board's approach to the Constitution and the statute fared in the courts?

Going back to 1941 and 1943 we find that the U.S. Supreme Court ruled on two cases involving constitutional rights in the Virginia Electric and Power Co. 27/

The employer had pointed out that strikes and unrest might follow unionization and pointed to the employer's past record on an unorganized basis. The court upheld the employer's right to speak up against unionization. Further support was given to this employer right in the American Tube Bending case 28/. In this case the Court found no intimidation or reprisal in a speech against unionism accompanied by a statement that the employer would abide by the election results if a union were selected.

In 1947 the Taft-Hartley Act incorporated Section 8(c) into the statute. This is sometimes referred to as the free-speech amendment to the Act. The effect of this Section was to preclude the Board from consideration of protected statements by employers or unions as evidence in support of any unfair labor practice charges whatsoever. The Supreme Court, in speaking of Section 8(c) stated: "The remedial function of Section 8(c) is to protect non-coercive speeches by an employer and labor organization alike in favor of a lawful object. It serves that purpose adequately without extending its protection to speech or picketing in furtherance of unfair labor practices . . .29/"

Thus it is clear that neither the First Amendment nor Section 8(c) protects the statements of an employer or a union, if such statements are properly evaluated by the Board to be violative of the Act.

A harder question is posed where the conduct being evaluated by the Board is contained in objections to an election, and is not alleged as an unfair labor practice. The Board has taken the position that Section 8(c) is applicable to unfair labor practices only, and has no application to representation cases; it has been supported in this position by the courts 30/ .

In the Dal-Tex 12/case, decided in 1962, the Board revived the General Shoe 30/doctrine established in 1948, and reversed intervening decisions which held that certain employer's statements in representation cases were privileged because of the introduction of Section 8(c) into the statute.

The Board found in the Dal-Tex case that the entire content of the employer's speeches generated fear of economic loss and hostility toward unions, which destroyed the "laboratory conditions" under which the Board must hold elections.

In the Oak Manufacturing Co. 10/ case the Board stated that it recognized that the employer involved had a constitutionally-protected right of free speech, but that its rights are not derived from Section 8(c) -- which is applicable to unfair labor practice cases but not to representation cases.

In a case that combined 8 (c) statements in an unfair labor practice case with a representation case 31/, the Tenth Court of Appeals, in 1963, reversed a Board finding that pre-election protected anti-union statements to assembled employees was background evidence for an 8 (a)(1). The court said statements protected by 8 (c) cannot serve as the "determinative" foundation for unfair labor practice findings. The Board decided not to seek certiorari in the Supreme Court in this case.

As one who has lived with the National Labor Relations Act for 26 years, both in the field, where the cases are made, and in Washington, where final decisions are made, I feel qualified to tell you that a Board Member's job is not easy. If you think it is, I suggest you try putting yourself in the position of a Board Member in almost any one of these close cases. Bear in mind that you have taken an oath to administer a statute that encourages collective bargaining as a matter of policy, that states the employee has the right to join a labor organization, or refuse to join one without being interfered with, restrained, or coerced, or discriminated against by his employer, or by a labor organization. Add to this the sobering thought that the decision you make may deprive a fellow citizen of his means of livelihood, or seriously affect his industrial way of life, either as an employee or as an employer, and I think you will be forced to agree with me that it is not an easy task.

The cases to which I have referred in my comments are by no means unanimous decisions. Many of them are split decisions. Some of them have different majorities, which illustrates more than anything I can say the difficulty of this field of labor relations. The Board Members are men of ability and integrity as well as knowledgeable in this field. They are aware of your problems and spend long hours in trying to come to the right decision.

In your forthcoming discussion your reactions and criticisms to the Board's approach to "free speech" will be welcomed by the Board as well as by the rest of us in the agency who are deeply interested in this field.

During my three years in St. Louis with the Board, I developed a real fondness and affection for the City of St. Louis and the people in it. I honestly believe it is one of the most sophisticated "labor relations" cities in the United States.

I am sure your criticisms and comments will be thoughtful and meaningful. Thank you for making it possible for me to return, if only for a visit.

Refererences

1/ Peerless Plywood Co., 107 NLRB 427
2/ Hollywood Ceramics, 140 NLRB No. 36
3/ Blue Flash Express Co., 109 NLRB 591
4/ Montgomery Ward Co., 145 NLRB No. 88
5/ Joy Silk Mills, Inc., vs. N.L.R.B. (C.A. D. of C., 1950, 185 F. 2d. 732)
6/ Guild Industries Mfg. Corp. and Paul A. Saad, 133 NLRB 1719; 135 NLRB 971, Enf. C.A. 5, 7/10/63
7/ S. H. Kress and Co., 137 NLRB 1244; S. H. Kress and Co. vs. N.L.R.B., 317F 2d. 225
8/ Hollywood Ceramics, 140 NLRB 221
9/ R.D. Cole Mfg. Co., 133 NLRB No. 130
10/ Oak Manufacturing Co., 141 NLRB No. 121; Marsh Supermarkets, 140 NLRB 899; Steel Equipment Co., 140 NLRB 1158; Trane Co., 137 NLRB No. 165; Somismo, Inc., 133 NLRB No. 1218.

11/ Seven-Up Bottling Co., 140 NLRB No. 57; Decorated Products, 140 NLRB No. 131; Arch Beverage Corp., 140 NLRB. No. 132.
12/ Dal-Tex Optical Col, 137 NLRB No. 189; The Lord Baltimore Press, 142 NLRB No. 10
13/ The Lord Baltimore Press, 145 NLRB No. 191
14/ Sewell Mfg. Co., 138 NLRB 66 and 140 NLRB No. 220
15/ Allen-Morrison Sign Co., 138 NLRB No. 11
16/ Plochman & Harrison (Cherry Lane Food, Inc.), 140 NLRB 130; Carl T. Mason, Inc., 142 NLRB No. 56; Storkline Corp., 142 NLRB No. 99; Industrial Steel Products, 143 NLRB No. 19.
17/ Ideal Baking Co., 143 NLRB No. 14.
18/ May Department Stores, dba The May Company, 136 NLRB 797, Enf. Denied, C.A. 6, 316 F. 2d 797.
19/ United Aircraft Corporation, Pratt & Whitney Division, 139 NLRB No. 39, Enf. C.A. 2, Nov. 6, 1963.
20/ Exchange Parts Co., 131 NLRB 806, Enf. Denied, 5 C.A., June 22, 1962; Cert. Granted by U.S. Supreme Court
21/ Imperial Eastman Corporation, 139 NLRB No. 1255, Enf. C.A. 7, 9/23/63
22/ Hurley Co., 130 NLRB 282
23/ F. N. Calderwood, 124 NLRB 211
24/ National Caterers of Virginia, 125 NLRB 110
25/ The Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co., 140 NLRB No. 10
26/ James Lees & Sons Co., 130 NLRB 290
27/ N.L.R.B. vs. Virginia Electric & Power Co., 314 U.S. 469; Va. Electric & Power Co. vs. N.L.R.B., 319 U.S. 533
28/ The American Tube Bending Co., Inc., 44 NLRB 121, Reversed C.A. 2 (1943), 134 F. 2d., 993; Cert. Denied U.S. Supreme Court, 320 U.S. 768.
29/ Electrical Workers vs. N.L.R.B., 341 U.S. 694
30/ General Shoe Corporation, 77 NLRB 124; Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., 90 NLRB 935; Shirlington Supermarket, 108 NLRB 579, 109 NLRB 192 Enf. 4 C.A., 224 F. 2d., 649; Cert. Denied 250 U.S. 914, 76 Supreme Court 198 (1955). Dal-Tex Optical Co. 12/
31/ N.L.R.B. vs. Colvert Dairy Products Co., 317 F. 2d. 44

ALLIED INDUSTRIAL WORKERS STAFF INSTITUTE
March 9 - 12, 1964

- All classes will be held in Room 227, Wisconsin Center -

MONDAY, March 9

6:15p.m.	Opening Banquet, Wisconsin Center
7:00	Ralph Huitt, Speaker Robert Ozanne, Chairman

TUESDAY, March 10

8:30-10:00	Jules Draznin - A Review of NLRB and Court Decisions Relating to Organizing Campaigns and Certification Elections James Stern, Chairman
10:00-10:30	Break
10:30-12:00	Jules Draznin - A Review of NLRB and Court Decisions Robert Ozanne, Chairman
12:00-1:00	LUNCH
1:00-2:30	Jules Draznin - A Review of NLRB and Court Decisions Robert Ozanne, Chairman
2:30-2:45	Break
2:45-4:15	Harold Schrubbe - Community Services Richard Humphreys, Chairman

Dinner and Evening Free

WEDNESDAY, March 11

8:30-12:00 (With Break)	James Stern - Contractual Approaches to Handling Technological Change
12:00-1:00	LUNCH
1:00-2:30	Gordon Gregory - Plant Removal and Sub-Contracting
2:30-2:45	Break
2:45-4:15	Gordon Gregory - Plant Removal and Sub-Contracting

Dinner and Evening Free

THURSDAY, March 12

8:30-10:00	Norris Tibbetts - Arbitration
10:00-10:30	Break
10:30-12:00	David Previant - Recognition, Seniority and Management Rights Problems
12:00-1:00	LUNCH
1:00-2:15	David Previant - Recognition, Seniority and Management Rights
2:15-2:30	Break
2:30-3:30	James Stern, Robert Ozanne, David Previant - Panel, Summary and Review
6:15p.m.	CLOSING BANQUET - Rohde's Steak House, 613 West Main Carl Griepentrog, Speaker Robert Ozanne, Chairman

STAFF

Jules Draznin	National Labor Relations Board, Chicago Regional Office
Gordon Gregory	Attorney, Detroit
Carl Griepentrog	President, Allied Industrial Workers of America
Ralph Huitt	Professor of Political Science, The University of Wisconsin
Richard Humphreys	Research and Education Director, Allied Industrial Workers of America
Robert Ozanne	Director, School for Workers
David Previant	Attorney, Milwaukee
Harold Schrubbe	Director, Community Services, Milwaukee
James Stern	School for Workers
Norris Tibbetts	School for Workers

The New Consumer Price Index

Every month the U. S. Department of Labor publishes a Consumer Price Index which many people view as a cost-of-living yardstick. Actually this index does not measure living costs; it records changes in the prices of goods and services bought by urban workers.

The index indicates price changes for the things that families and individual workers normally buy, but it does not indicate how much families actually need for living expenses.

The Consumer Price Index, or the CPI as it is commonly called, surveys changes in the prices of things people buy—such as food, clothing, automobiles, homes, house furnishings, household supplies, fuel, drugs, recreation, fees to doctors and lawyers, beauty shops, rent, repair costs, transportation fares and public utility rates. The index deals with prices actually charged to consumers, including sales and excise taxes on homes, but does not include income taxes, social security taxes or personal property taxes paid by consumers.

The Consumer Price Index was revised in January 1964 to reflect changes in the things people buy. This was the latest of the periodic revisions the Labor Department makes in the index to keep it up-to-date.

The following major changes were made in the 1964 revision of the index:

- The importance of specific items in the index has been changed to reflect present spending habits of families and individuals.
- A new comprehensive index has been developed which reflects price changes experienced by both urban families and single workers living alone, in addition to an index based on price changes for things bought only by families of urban workers. These are national indexes for the country as a whole.
- Separate city indexes are being prepared for metropolitan areas with a population of a million or more.
- Changes have been made in the statistical procedures used in computing the indexes.
- Additional and different items are included among the things priced by the Labor Department.
- Changes have occurred in the sample of areas and stores surveyed by the Labor Department for price changes.

The 1964 revision affects all unions since labor is one of the major users of the Consumer Price Index. Some unions may have to change the wording in their cost-of-living escalator clauses to take account of the new revised index.

History of the CPI Changes

The Consumer Price Index has been revised periodically throughout its history, which dates back to 1913. The changes were necessary to reflect the changing way of life. Obviously television sets could not have been included in the early indexes. And today, few buy ice for refrigeration purposes.

Previous studies of buying habits were made as far back as 1917 and 1918 to improve the quality of the index. In the mid-1930s, a new study was made which indicated changes in buying habits during the Depression. Following World War II, another survey of consumer expenditures was made and the index was revised in 1953 to take account of postwar buying habits.

Now the index has undergone another comprehensive revision, based on the Bureau of Labor Statistics survey of consumer expenditures during the period 1960-1961. The Labor Department selected a representative sample of individual and family groups to determine what goods and services are actually bought by wage earners and clerical workers and their families. The Department's representatives visited and interviewed families and single workers to obtain a complete record of the kinds, qualities and amounts of goods, clothing, furniture and all other goods and services bought in 1960 or 1961 and how much was spent for each item. Then the family records were averaged together.

The new indexes are based on buying patterns of

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING *Report*

Prepared by Department of Research
Reprinted from May 1964
AFL-CIO AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

city families and single workers in 1960 and 1961.

The Make-up of the Index

The CPI is based on a statistical formula which puts together all the items commonly bought by city workers and their families, as determined from the survey of family and individual spending.

Different items have varying degrees of importance in how a family spends its money. Each item is given an importance in the index calculation equal to its average importance in family or individual spending. If families spend ten times as much on item A as they do on item B, then a change in the price of item A will have ten times as great an effect on total family spending as an equal change in the price of item B. The importance given each item is its index "weight."

Expenditures for housing in the new index represent about a third of the total index weight; apparel, on the other hand, accounts for about 10 percent of total expenditures. Apparel is therefore given a weight of 10 percent. The average price change of housing now has about three times as much influence in the index as the average price change of apparel.

On the basis of the new consumer expenditure survey, new index weights have been assigned to various items of the family budget. Thus housing, health, recreation and transportation are now of greater importance in the average family's spending than these items were a decade earlier. On the other hand, the average family and single worker spends a smaller portion of his money on food than he did 10 years ago. The proportion of expenditures spent for clothing and clothing upkeep showed no change in the past decade.

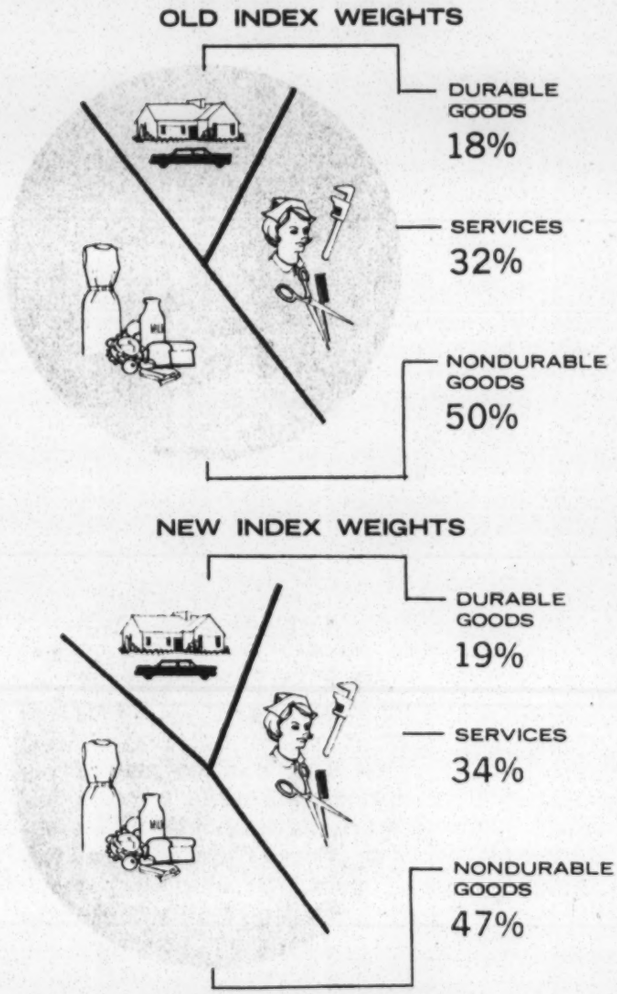
Today, food accounts for about 22 percent of family spending versus 28 percent 10 years ago; housing, 33 percent versus 31 percent in the old index; transportation, 14 percent as against 12 percent before. An accompanying table shows the precise weights assigned to the particular budget categories in the old and new indexes.

Information was gathered on all the items for which families and individuals spend their money. However, to get information on price changes, every single item does not need to be checked. The new index is based on prices of 400 items, compared with 325 in the old index. The price changes for these selected items (the CPI family market basket) are assumed to represent price movements for all the thousands of goods and services purchased by wage earners and clerical workers for family or individual consumption.

For example, some of the items representing food prices are flour, cornflakes, hamburger, round steak, frying chickens, milk, etc. In housing, the cost of rent or home ownership is priced, as well as maintenance, utility costs and the prices of furniture and appliances. The prices of new and used cars, as well as taxi fares and airline fares, enter into computation of the index.

Composition of the list, both the old and new, is based on the selection of items which best represent the general movement of all consumer prices.

BUDGET CATEGORIES OF CONSUMER PRICE INDEX



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Dept. of Labor

Suburban stores, discount houses and a whole new group of stores are now having their items priced under the new revision. This sampling of stores reflects the growth of suburban shopping centers and the rising number of discount stores in the last 10 years. The stores are those typically used by city worker families.

Prices are obtained by personal visits of Labor Department agents to 16,500 chain stores, independent grocery stores, department and specialty stores, restaurants, professional people and service establishments. Rental rates are obtained from about 34,000 tenants. Certain price information, such as the cost of utility rates or auto license tags, is collected by mail questionnaire or from other governmental or private organizations.

Items are priced monthly or every three months; foods whose prices fluctuate are checked monthly. Other goods and services are priced only every three months, except in the five largest metropolitan areas, where they are priced monthly.

To represent the nation, prices are now surveyed in

50 metropolitan areas and cities (by 1966, 56 cities will be surveyed). These cities are a statistical sample representing all urban places in the United States with a population of 2,500 or more. These areas also are weighted according to the proportion of wage earner and clerical worker groups they represent, as determined by the 1960 population census. Alaska and Hawaii are included for the first time in the current sample for the indexes.

All of this data on price changes of hundreds of items in thousands of stores throughout the country is collected and tabulated each month. The information is put together into a single figure which represents the average change in price experienced by a city worker's family or by an individual worker each month. This is the monthly "All Items" figure published by the Labor Department.

Information on the price movements of special subgroupings of the index also are available. Thus it is possible to see what major items in the index have increased in price and which have decreased. For general purposes, however, the "All Items" index is the most important.

City Indexes

A separate Consumer Price Index is compiled and published on a monthly basis for five cities and on a quarterly basis for 18 cities whose metropolitan areas had over 1 million in population in 1960. Published monthly are indexes for Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York and Philadelphia.

Quarterly indexes are available for Atlanta, Baltimore, Boston, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, San Francisco, Seattle and Washington, D. C. New cities included in the quarterly series for the first time are: Buffalo, Dallas and Honolulu. The series for Cincinnati, Houston, Kansas City, Milwaukee and Minneapolis-St. Paul will not be revised until the middle of 1965 and the new San Diego index also will not be available until the latter part of 1965. Special reports will be available for four Alaskan cities: Anchorage, Fairbanks, Juneau and Ketchikan. The quarterly reports for Portland, Ore. and Scranton, Pa., have been discontinued.

Statistical Changes

The Labor Department sought not only to modernize the index but also to improve its statistical quality. The government agency is attempting to minimize sampling errors and is seeking methods to measure any such error. In the collection of information, the Department has adopted statistical techniques to reduce possible errors.

Provision also was made for introducing new items into the CPI. Such changes always have been necessary through the years as significant changes occur in family buying patterns.

Index Includes Single Workers

The new CPI measures the price changes experienced by city families as well as by typical single workers living alone. The old index revealed only the buying habits of families of two or more persons. It failed to take into account price changes which affected single workers.

Single workers living alone account for about 10 percent of the total wage earner and clerical worker consumer units. Since workers' incomes and consumption expenditures are generally smaller than those of families, their weight in the new index is only 6 percent of the new comprehensive index.

A second index, relating only to city families, is also published on a national basis but not for separate cities.

The Consumer Price Index represents the average movement of prices for wage earners and clerical workers as a broad group. It does not represent the change in prices paid by any one individual or family or small group of families. The index is not directly applicable to other occupational groups such as farmers or corporation presidents, whose buying patterns differ from city workers.

Some families may find their outlays changing because of changes in factors other than prices. For example, an increasing number of children in a family increases expenses but not prices. Or changes in the quality of goods will change expenses, while prices may remain the same. The index measures only the change in prices.

No Change in Base Period

The base period—the years from which changes are measured—continues on a 1957-59=100 base. In 1962, the index was given the new starting or base period of 1957-59=100 for measuring the changes in prices from the average cost of these goods and services for the 1957-1959 period. The prior base was 1947-49=100. However, the CPI, along with all other

IMPORTANCE OF VARIOUS ITEMS IN THE CONSUMER PRICE INDEX

PERCENT OF TOTAL SPENDING

BUDGET ITEMS	OLD Index Weights		NEW Index Weights	
FOOD	**28.2%**		**22.4%**	
FOOD AT HOME		23.1%		17.9%
FOOD AWAY FROM HOME		5.1		4.5
HOUSING	**30.7**		**33.2**	
SHELTER		18.3		20.2
FUEL & UTILITIES		4.9		5.3
HOUSEHOLD FURNISHING & OPERATION		7.5		7.8
CLOTHING & UPKEEP	**10.6**		**10.6**	
TRANSPORTATION	**11.7**		**13.9**	
PRIVATE AUTO		10.0		12.6
PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION		1.7		1.2
HEALTH & RECREATION	**18.0**		**19.5**	
MEDICAL CARE		5.9		5.7
PERSONAL CARE		2.3		2.8
READING & RECREATION		5.6		5.9
OTHER GOODS & SERVICES		4.3		5.1
MISCELLANEOUS	**0.8**		**0.8**	
TOTAL BUDGET	**100%**		**100%**	

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics
U.S. Department of Labor

governmental statistical programs, adopted the new base period of 1957-59=100.

The February 1964 index of 107.6 means consumer prices have increased 7.6 percent from the average prices which prevailed in the 1957 to 1959 period for those goods typically purchased by workers and their families. This means the market basket of goods and services which cost $10 in the 1957-59 base period cost $10.76 in February.

Union Use of the CPI

Unions use the Consumer Price Index in two ways:

1. Price changes reflected in the monthly CPI are used as one of the grounds to justify a wage adjustment;

2. The CPI is the basis for escalator clauses in many longterm contracts.

When prices rise, the effect is a cut in buying power, since existing wages cannot buy as much as before. To restore the lost buying power, it is necessary to raise wages by an amount equal to the rise in consumer prices. Thus when prices increase, say 5 percent, each $1 in wages has to be increased 5 percent to $1.05 so the worker's wages can buy as much as before the price rise.

While a wage increase to make up for increased prices is important, it must be recognized that it only restores lost buying power and does not provide any improvement. Additional wage increases are necessary to provide a real increase—one which enables a worker to buy more than he could before.

The new index creates no problems when it is used for negotiations as an indicator of price changes. Actually the revised index is a more up-to-date yardstick for measuring price changes and thus is a better indicator of the amount needed to regain buying power lost through price changes.

Escalator Clauses

When agreements are negotiated for more than a year, many unions have insisted on including a cost-of-living escalator clause to protect the buying power of wages against price rises during the life of the agreement. These escalator clauses provide for the automatic adjustment of wages during the life of the agreement, on the basis of changes in the Consumer Price Index. In addition, such long-term contracts also usually contain provisions for deferred wage increases to provide real gains during the life of the contract.

Some 2.5 million workers are under escalator clauses.

These clauses normally are based on the national Consumer Price Index, though a number of contracts refer to the index of a particular city.

The contract clauses normally provide that wages are to be adjusted for each 0.4 or 0.5 point change in the Consumer Price Index. The aircraft agreements generally call for a one-cent adjustment for each 0.4 point change. The auto agreement formula (negotiated in 1961) is one cent for each 0.5 point change.

Some agreements call for percentage wage adjustments to match the percentage change in the index.

Most contract provisions provide for quarterly or semi-annual adjustments during the contract life.

Some contracts provide for a wage reopener, if the price index exceeds a specified amount.

The revision of the CPI last January has two effects on escalator clauses:

1. A date must be set for shifting the escalator clauses to the new index;

2. A choice must be made of which of two new indexes to use for the escalator clause—the comprehensive index based on the items bought by both city families and single workers or the index limited to the buying patterns only of urban families.

Changes in the wording of existing contracts may not be necessary, depending upon the existing wording of the contract or its expiration date. If the escalator clause is in a contract that terminates in June 1964 or earlier, no changes are required as the old index will be continued through June. But contracts that run beyond June may require changes in their escalator provision.

If the escalator clause is written in sufficiently general terms, presumably the only action necessary is for the parties to agree on the month to shift to the new index and to agree that the new comprehensive index, including families and single workers, shall succeed the old index.

It is desirable to shift from the old index to the new one as soon as possible. Otherwise, if a difference between the two indexes develops, it will be more difficult to make the adjustment. In February, there was no difference between the new and old indexes.

Since the old index will be reported by the Labor Department only through June and then discontinued, it is absolutely necessary to shift to the new index.

There should be no problem in making the shift while both indexes are published, since the new index

CONSUMER PRICE INDEXES FOR INDIVIDUAL CITIES

MONTHLY	CHICAGO	NEW YORK
	DETROIT	PHILADELPHIA
	LOS ANGELES	
QUARTERLY	ATLANTA	KANSAS CITY
	BALTIMORE	MILWAUKEE
	BOSTON	MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL
	BUFFALO	PITTSBURGH
	CINCINNATI	ST. LOUIS
	CLEVELAND	SAN DIEGO (1965)
	DALLAS	SAN FRANCISCO
	HONOLULU	SEATTLE
	HOUSTON	WASHINGTON, D. C.

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor

remains the measure of changes in consumer prices and it has been revised to make it a better measuring device. The revision does not affect the principle involved in escalation clauses, namely, that workers should not bear the brunt of changes in living costs during the period of longterm contracts.

Figuring the Price Change

The index can be used to compute changes in prices for any given period either in percentage terms or in points of the index. For example, the change in the Consumer Price Index from January 1963 to January 1964 is from 106.0 to 107.7. This is a 1.7 point change but a 1.6 percentage change. This is the calculation:

Period	*(1957-59 base)*	*(1947-49 base)*
January 1964	107.7	132.1
January 1963	106.0	130.1
Point Change:	1.7	2.0
Percent change:	1.7÷106.0x100=1.6%	
	2.0÷130.1x100=1.6%	

- To figure the point change, just subtract the old index number from the new.
- To figure the percentage change, divide the point change by the old index number, and multiply by 100.

The above table shows that the point change varies, depending upon whether the 1947-49 base or the 1957-59 base is used. The percentage change is the same no matter which base is used.

Two new indexes are now available. One is a comprehensive index, including family buying patterns and those of single workers, while the other includes only families. Each index is as "official" as the other. The negotiator has to decide which index to use. The Labor Department considers the comprehensive index that includes families and single workers the successor to the old index. Generally, most unions have been interested in the broader, comprehensive index as more representative of the buying patterns of the working force. The "family only" index is compiled only at the national level and is not available in the city series.

The revision of the CPI has no effect upon the base period. Both the old index and the new indexes are presented with a base of 1957-59=100. The index also will continue to be reported on the 1947-49=100 base, if this is still used in the contract. The February 1964 index was 107.6 on the 1957-59 base and 132.0 on the 1947-49 base.

Pensions tied to cost-of-living changes also should be reviewed. Similar considerations apply to pension clauses as apply to wage escalator clauses. Changes in wording may be necessary for the sections to be readily applicable.

Challenges to Collective Bargaining

Report of the Thirtieth American Assembly
October 27-30, 1966 • Arden House, Harriman, N.Y.

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS RESEARCH CENTER

Declining Utility of the Strike

By James L. Stern

Reprinted from
Industrial and Labor Relations Review
Vol. 18, No. 1, October 1964

reprint series no. 57

The University of Wisconsin
School for Workers
University Extension

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING FOR MANAGEMENT

The following pointers were excerpted from a publication titled When Management Negotiates, published by the National Association of Manufacturers in 1967. Local Union negotiators will find them of interest.

DOs AND DON'Ts IN NEGOTIATING THE CONTRACT

The various elements making up successful negotiations have been discussed in detail in the preceding sections, where we have considered: The gathering of information prior to negotiations, evaluation of past experience, selection of the negotiating team, techniques of negotiating, the need for examination of every detail in the formulation of the contract, and the procedures required should negotiations not be successful. It is obvious that there is no pat formula to follow. However, in summary here are some dos and don'ts that could determine the success or failure of bargaining.

DO see that your labor contract permits you to remain competitive.
DO analyze every proposal to determine what it will cost now and in the future, and avoid hidden cost items.
DO ask for revisions or modifications of your contract to give you greater efficiency.
DO remember that collective bargaining is a two-way street -- that the union will often "trade" to get what it wants.
DO make effective use of the counter-proposal.
DO state at the beginning that the terms of the contract become effective on the date the agreement is signed, not retroactive to the date bargaining begins.
DO stick by your position with courage when you know you are fair and right.
DO make sure you have not relinquished important company rights.
DO analyze, digest, review and scrutinize suggested contract lanugage before agreeing, to avoid "give-away" clauses and "sleepers."
DO remember that you have a duty to bargain, but that you are free to disagree and reject any proposal.
DO understand that unions are political organizations and take into account their neck and/or face-saving devices.
DO make sure the final contract has been checked by a competent attorney, to make certain its provisions will hold up and that you are on sound legal ground.
DO try to negotiate from your old labor agreement and your own proposals.
DO avoid permitting the union to take the ball away from you by constant referral to its own proposals.

DON'T relinquish control of the meeting.
DON'T interrupt the union presentation of a proposal, no matter what you think of it personally.
DON'T bargain solely on union demands.

DON'T be misled on mutual consent clauses. (Remember that ability to operate effectively is your most important consideration and that frequently mutual consent clauses give to the union authority not originally intended, and a veto over management actions.)

DON'T make commitments without deliberation.

DON'T offer to make major concessions unless the offer is contingent upon the reaching of a complete agreement.

DON'T give away in one clause of the agreement what you have carefully obtained or preserved in another.

DON'T overlook the need to keep abreast of what employees themselves are thinking and how they are reacting.

DON'T neglect to consider what your agreement will mean to other businesses in your community.

THE CITY WORKER'S BUDGET $9,200 A YEAR

by Rudolph Oswald

It takes over $9,191 a year for a four-person city worker's family to maintain a "moderate standard of living." This budget estimate of the U.S. Department of Labor for late 1966 would be somewhat greater today as a result of steadily rising living costs.

This family budget figure represents neither a "minimum" nor "poverty" level nor a level of "luxury" but rather a "modest but adequate standard of living." While $9,191 a year is considerably higher than the average family's income, some of the detailed items in the budget will seem meager and inadequate to many people.

The $9,191 family budget cost is a national average for a four-person city worker's family, based on detailed cost estimates for 39 large metropolitan areas and several small cities. The cost varies, depending on such factors as whether the famiy rents or owns its home, the age of the children, the climate in the area and local taxes. The budget cost varies from city to city and between large metropolitan areas and smaller cities; it is somewhat higher for homeowner families than renters and in large urban areas than in small cities.

This city worker's family budget, published by the government towards the end of 1967, is a continuation of the Labor Department's series of such budgets. The Department calculated such a budget for various cities in the late 1940s and early 1950s, again in 1959 and now in 1966. The budget cost for a four-person family increased from $4,200 in 1951 to $6,100 in 1959 and to $8,700 in 1966 (for renter families in the 18 major cities included in each of the three studies) and nearly $9,200 for both renter and homeowner families in 39 metropolitan areas and several small cities.

Most of these increases in budget costs reflect rises in the standard of living — such as upgrading food standards, an increase in restaurant meals, a rise in auto ownership and an increase in home ownership.

RUDOLPH OSWALD is an economist in the AFL-CIO Department of Research.

The increases in budget costs also reflect increased prices and increases in federal, state and local income taxes and social security taxes.

In addition to the moderate standard-of-living budget, the Labor Department will issue later in 1968 two additional budgets for a four-person family: A lower standard-of-living budget representing minimum adequacy and a higher standard of living budget reflecting a more comfortable level and manner of living. A retired couple's budget, at a moderate standard of living, also is being developed. The Labor Department expects to estimate the costs of these family budgets annually.

Comparison With Family Income

Only about a third of all American families—regardless of ther size, composition or age of the head of the family—had money incomes of $9,000 or more in 1966, according to the U.S. Bureau of the Census.

The age of the family head influences the family's income. Half of all families, with the head of the family between the ages of 35 and 54, had an income of $8,700 a year or more in 1966.

Another important factor is whether the head of the family has a year-round full-time job. Half of all families headed by a full-time employed person between 35 and 54 years of age had an income of $9,475 or more.

Some of these families are headed by business executives, self-employed doctors, lawyers, dentists and businessmen. A large percentage of families achieve such incomes as a result of working wives. Some families are able to achieve the moderate standard of living through the moonlighting of the family head.

As a result, the Labor Department's family budget for 1966 represents the general living standards of many city worker families and the aspirations of others.

However, the budget also points up the fact that many workers are not now paid enough to maintain moderate family living standards. The wages of a great many workers today clearly fall short of the

WPPA COLLECTIVE BARGAINING INSTITUTE

WRITING CONTRACT CLAUSES

I. Several considerations go into constructing a contract clause

A. What is the clause supposed to do?

1. This can change over time.

a. overtime was originally a penalty imposed on the employer for failing to schedule efficiently.

(1) now, of course, it is highly sought after and sometimes allocated by seniority.

b. seniority was originally meant to protect employees from arbitrary management decisions.

(1) it has evolved as a convenient way to allocate benefits, determine levels of benefits, protect senior employees from layoff. It has taken a number of forms including plant-wide, departmental, and occupational seniority. Ironicly, it has even taken the form known as juniority.

B. What is the best possible clause we could write?

1. Class Discussion -- A vacation Clause

C. <u>What does management see as the challenge to its jurisidction and prerogative in this issue</u>?

1. Class discussion -- A sick leave clause

II. As an exercise, develop a contract clause which would allocate among the members of the department all the requests from private persons for the presence of a uniformed (and perhaps armed) officer who would be on his own time rather than city time and who would be compensated by the private party rather than by the city.

AGREEMENT

ARTICLE I - Prupose of Agreement

1. It is the intent and purpose of the parties hereto that this Agreement shall promote and improve working conditions between the City and the Appleton Professional Policemen's Association hereinafter referred to as the ASSOCIATION and to set forth herein rates of pay, hours of work and other terms and conditions of employment to be observed by the parties hereto.

2. The CITY agrees that there shall be no discrimination by the CITY against any employee covered by this agreement because of his membership or activities in the ASSOCIATION, nor will the CITY interfere with the right of such employees to become members of the ASSOCIATION.

ARTICLE II - Recognition

This agreement made and entered into at Appleton, Wisconsin, pursuant to the provisions of Chapter 111.70, Sections 66:90 and 62:13, of the Wisconsin Statutes by and between the CITY of Appleton, a municipal corporation, as municipal employer with the Police Chief as it's agent, hereinafter referred to as the CITY and the Appleton Professional Policemen's Association, as sole bargaining agent for the policemen of the Appleton Police Department, municipal employees hereinafter referred to as the ASSOCIATION.

ARTICLE III - Hours

A normal work day shall consist of an eight (8) hour shift.

The normal work week shall average forty (40) hours based on a fifty-two (52) week year.

ARTICLE IV - Overtime

1. Employees will be compensated at the rate of time and one half based on their normal rate of pay for all hours worked in excess of the scheduled work day or work week, Overtime and normal work day compensation may be either by pay or time, the choice to be determined by the employee.

2. An officer recalled for an emergency shall receive two (2) hours pay at his regular rate plus pay for the actual hours worked, at time and one half, with a minimum equivalent to three (3) hours straight time.

3. An officer required to appear in court on regular off duty time shall be paid two (2) hours at his regular rate plus pay for the actual hours worked, at time and one half, with a minimum equivalent to three (3) hours straight time. Call in pay for court appearances shall not apply when such appearances are immediately prior to or immediately following the officer's scheduled shift.

ARTICLE V - Pay Period

All salaried personnel payroll vouchers shall be prepared by the Director of Finance and shall be paid bi-weekly, every other Friday. If Friday is a legal holiday, so designated by the City, then pay day shall be on the day preceding.

ARTICLE VI - Salaries (See Exhibit A, attached)

ARTICLE VII - Workmen's Compensation

Full time employees receiving Workmen's Compensation shall be paid the difference between their pay at the disability date and Workmen's Compensation benefits. This differential shall be paid for a period up to but not to exceed thirty (30) weeks commencing from the disability date.

ARTICLE VIII - Vacations

1. The vacation policy for the Police Dept. to be on a work week basis as follows:

   a) One (1) work week vacation after one (1) year of service.
   b) Two (2) work weeks vacation after two (2) years of service.
   c) Three (3) work weeks vacation after ten (10) years of service.
   d) Four (4) work weeks vacation after twenty (20) years of service.

2. Vacation benefits shall be accrued at a rate of one twelfth (1/12) of the employee's authorized vacation for each full month of employment.

3. New employees will not be eligible for vacation benefits until they have completed one (1) full year of employment.

4. Vacation allowances shall not be cumulative and after the qualifications have been met for additional vacation, it must be taken between January 1 and December 31.

5. In case of termination, for reasons other than discharge for cause, an employee will be paid his accrued and unused vacation, calculated from his anniversary date to his termination date.

The Police Chief shall have a vacation schedule available for members on or before January 1, preceding the year vacations are to run, so that picking of vacations can be completed by March 1. The order of picking vacations shall be by seniority and subject to present procedure and practice as per Exhibit B, attached hereto and made a part hereof by reference thereto.

ARTICLE IX - Longevity

The present City plan of paying longevity of one hundred and twenty dollars ($120) after five (5) years of service and two hundred dollars ($200) after ten (10) years of service is hereby ratified and made a part of this agreement.

All Patrolmen and Cruiser Drivers with fifteen (15) years of service shall receive twenty dollars ($20) per month starting with the pay period immediately following their fifteenth anniversary in addition to the longevity pay provided herein.

ARTICLE X - Paid Holidays

Paid holidays included in this agreement are:

New Year's Day	Thanksgiving Day
Memorial Day	Christmas Eve
Independence Day	Christmas Day
Labor Day	

1. The Police Department continue to schedule all shift Police Officers with one hundred and four (104) days off annually.

2. All shift Police Officers will be paid two (2) times their base pay for the six and one half (6½) legal holidays not worked.

3. All shift Police Officers who work on any of the six and one half (6½) legal holidays, will be paid three (3) times their base pay for the holidays worked.

ARTICLE XI - Leaves

1. Sick Leave

a) All members of the Association shall be granted sick leave with pay at the rate of one working day for each full month of service beginning after the first six (6) months of service.

b) Sick leave shall accumulate but not to exceed ninety (90) working days.

c) All sick leave shall be subject to administration by the Police Chief.

d. A member of the Association may use accumulated sick leave with pay for absences necessitated by his injury or illness or that of a member of his immediate family, required dental care, death or serious illness of his immediate family.

e) In order to be granted sick leave with pay, an employee must:

1) Report promptly to the Desk Sergeant the reason for his absence.

2) Keep the Desk Sergeant informed of his condition if absence is of more than three (3) working days duration.

3) Permit the City to make medical examination or nursing visit as it deems desirable.

4) Submit a medical certificate for any absence of more than three (3) consecutive working days if required by the City.

f) Any Police Officer who reaches the retirement age of sixty-five (65) years of age (or legal statutory retirement age, if approved by the Council Committee

having jurisdiction and ratified by Council), may have year-to-year recertification until the age of seventy (70). At that time the Police Officer must retire from the Police force. At such retirement, the retired officer shall receive payment for his unused accumulated sick leave as compensatory time or cash payment as the officer may choose, as a bonus for service given to the City.

2. Leave of Absence without Pay

Requests for leave of absence without pay for justifiable reasons shall be made by written application on a form provided by the Personnel office and be submitted at least two (2) days prior to the anticipated leave.

a) For a leave not to exceed three (3) consecutive days, his request shall be made to and approved by the Police Chief.

b) For a leave in excess of three (3) consecutive days, he shall make his request to the Director of Personnel after securing the approval of the Chief.

Failure to comply with the requirements of this article shall result in disciplinary action.

ARTICLE XII - Hospital Plan

The employer agrees to pay eighty-five percent (85%) of the cost of present hospital/surgical insurance for all single and married employees.

ARTICLE XIII - Retirement Contribution

The City shall pay two and three quarters percent (2 3/4%) of the employee's wages as a portion of their contribution to the Wisconsin Retirement Fund.

ARTICLE XIV - Life Insurance

1. Employees will be entitled to subscribe to or continue to participate in the life insurance program provided by the City and in accordance with the present City policy. Upon emforcement of a new increased life insurance program all provisions of the present plan will become null and void.

2. Increased Life Insurance: Upon selection and ratification of an increased life insurance plan, each member of the Association will be furnished a copy of the terms and provisions thereof and by mutual agreement of both the City and the Association will be attached to and made a part of this agreement.

ARTICLE XV - Clothing Allowance

The clothing allowance for members of the Association shall be as follows:

Maximum initial allowance $235.00
Annual maintenance 100.00

Initial clothing allowance shall be for the first twelve (12) months of service. Officers shall not be eligible for semi-annual maintenance allowances until completion of twelve months of service.

Initial clothing allowance for uniforms and/or clothing shall be purchased through reguisition and all such requisitions must be approved by the Police Chief or the Inspector.

Fifty percent (50%) of the annual maintenance clothing allowances shall be paid semi-annually on April 1 and October 1 to officers on the roster as of that date.

ARTICLE XVI - Compensation for Attending Training Programs

1. All Police Officers ordered to attend training schools or programs by the Police Chief or Inspector shall attend such schools or programs at City expense.

2. All Police Officers not ordered to attend training schools or programs by the Police Chief or Inspector may attend such schools or programs at the individual officer's expense.

3. The monthly required target firing of the service weapons shall be done during normal working hours.

4. The special field firing target practice shall be performed as part of the in-service training of the Police Department.

ARTICLE XVII - Rules and Regulations

The rules and regulations of the Appleton Police Department as established by the Police and Fire Commission of the City of Appleton in accordance with the provisions of and pursuant to Chapter 111.70, Section 62:13, of the Wisconsin Statutes, shall be made a part of this agreement by reference.

ARTICLE XVIII - Grievance Procedure

Both the Association and the City recognize that grievances and complaints should be settled promptly and at the earliest possibble stage and that the grievance process must be initiated within five (5) days of the incident. Any grievance not reported or filed within five (5) days shall be invalid.

Any difference of opinion or misunderstanding which may arise between the City and the Association shall be handled in the following manner:

1. The aggrieved employee shall present the grievance orally to his Captain either alone or accompanied by an Association representative.

2. If the grievance is not settled at the first step, it shall be reduced to writing and presented to the Inspector. Within three (3) days, (Saturdays, Sundays and holidays excluded), the Inspector shall furnish the employee and the Association with a written answer to the grievance.

3. If the grievance is not settled at the second step, the grievance shall be presented in writing to the Police Chief. The Chief shall within five (5) days, (Saturdays, Sundays, and holidys excluded), hold an informal meeting with the agrrieved employee, the Inspector and/or Captain and Association representatives. If the grievance is not resolved to the satisfaction of all parties within three (3) days (Saturdays, Sundays and holidays excluded), either party may proceed to the next step.

4. The grievance shall be presented in writing to the Personnel Director or the Police and Fire Commission, which ever authority has jurisdiction on any particular grievance.

   a) If the grievance shall be deemed under the jurisdiction of the Police and Fire Commission, the grievance shall

thereby be governed by Section 62:13 of the Wisconsin State Statutes.

The Police and Fire Commission shall within five (5) days set up an informal meeting with all parties involved up to this point. Within seven (7) days (Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays excluded), after this meeting a determination shall be made and reduced to writing and copies submitted to all parties involved.

b) All other grievances relating to wages, hours and working conditions or any other matter under jurisdiction of the Personnel Director be directed to that office. The Personnel Director shall within five (5) days set up an informal meeting with all parties involved up to this point. Within seven (7) days (Saturdays, Sundays and holidays excluded),after this meeting a determination shall be made and reduced to writing and copies submitted to all parties involved.

5. The Association may appoint representatives of the Association and shall inform the City of the names of the individuals so appointed, and of any changes thereafter made in such appointments. The City shall allow the representatives the necessary time to process grievances during the course of the duty day.

ARTICLE XIX - Military Leave

Police Officers having permanent status and who are duly enrolled members of the National Guard, the State Guard, the Officers Reserve Corps, the Enlisted Reserve Corps, the Naval Reserve Corps, the Naval Reserve, the Marine Corps Reserve or any other reserve component of the military or naval forces of the United States or the State of Wisconsin now or hereafter organized or constituted under Federal Law, are entitled to leaves of absence without loss of time to enable them to attend military or naval schools, field camps of instruction and naval exercises which have been duly ordered held, but not to exceed fifteen (15) days, excluding Sundays and holidays in the calendar year in which so ordered and held.

The difference in pay between the military pay during time of attendance and the employee's regular pay during the same period shall be paid by the City.

The leave granted is in addition to all other leaves.

ARTICLE XX - Suspension, Dismissal and Reduction in Rank

Suspension, dismissal and reduction in rank of employees from the Police Department shall be governed by Section 62:13 of the Wisconsin Statutes.

All newly hired permanent employees shall be considered probationary for the first year of their employment with the Appleton Police Department. Probationary employees may be discharged without recourse to the grievance procedure.

Continued employment beyond the probationary period above noted is hereby defined as evidence of satisfactory completion of probation.

A permanent employee is hereby defined as a person hired to fill a full-time position in the Table of Organization.

The seniority of a permanent employee who has satisfactorily completed probation shall date from his date of employment. Proper records indicating status of the employee shall be maintained.

Seniority shall be established for each employee, and shall consist of the total calendar time elapsed since the date of his employment. Seniority rights terminate upon discharge or quitting.

ARTICLE XXI - Defense of Officers by the City Attorney

The City shall authorize the City Attorney to defend actions brought against any officer growing out of any acts done in the course of his employment or out of any alleged breach of his duty as such officer.

Any judgment obtained against such officer shall be paid by the City provided the officer did not act in bad faith.

ARTICLE XXII - Amendment Provision

This agreement is subject to amendment, alteration or addition only by a subsequent written agreement between and executed by the City and the Association where mutually agreeable. The waiver of any breach, term or condition of this agreement by either party shall not constitute a precedent in the future enforcement of all it's terms and conditions.

ARTICLE XXIII - Savings Clause

If any article or section of this agreement or any addendums thereto should be held invalid by operation of law or by any tribunal of competent jurisdiction, or if compliance with or enforcement of any article or Section should be restrained by such tribunal, the remaider of this agreement and addendums shall not be affected thereby, and the parties shall enter into immediate collective bargaining negotiations for the purpose of arriving at a mutually satisfactory replacement for such Article or Section.

ARTICLE XXIV - No Other Agreement

The employer agrees not to enter into any other agreement written or verbal with the members of the Police Department individually or collectively which in any way conflicts with the provisions of this agreement.

ARTICLE XXV - Changes in the Terms of this Agreement

If either party desires to negotiate any changes in this agreement to become effective after the end of the term of this agreement or any extension thereof, they shall notify the other party in writing of it's desire to enter into such negotiating one hundred and fifty (150) days prior to the end of the contract period.

ARTICLE XXVI - Term of Agreement

This agreement shall become effective as of January 1, 1968, and remain in full force and effect to and including December 31, 1968, and shall renew itself for additional one year periods thereafter unless either party pursuant to Article XXV has notified the other party in writing that it desires to alter or amend this Agreement at the end of the contract period.

In witness whereof, the parties hereto, have executed this Agreement, in this the year of 1968.

CITY OF APPLETON

GEORGE L. BUCKLEY
Mayor

ELDEN J. BROEHM
City Clerk

JEROME RUSCH
Personnel Director

APPLETON PROFESSIONAL POLICEMEN's ASSOCIATION

SGT. JAMES COTTER
President

SGT. CARL H. THIEL
Secretary

GORDON MYSE
Attorney

DETECTIVE RICHARD JIRSCHELE
Chairman, Employee - Employer Relations Committee

ARTICLE VI - 1968 Pay Schedule

EXHIBIT A

CLASS TITLE	A	B	C	D	E
Police Captain	$720	$755	-	-	-
Police Lieutenant	670	705	-	-	-
Police Sargeant	635	660	-	-	-
Police Detective	600	620	640	-	-
Patrol Cruiser Driver	515	535	555	575	595
Police Patrolman	500	520	540	560	580

Progression through the above schedule shall be as follows:

1. Trainee Police Patrolmen will start in Step A of the pay schedule.

2. Patrol cruiser drivers and patrolmen will move to:

   a) Step B after six (6) months of service.

   b) Step C after two (2) full years of service.

   c) Step D after three (3) full years of service.

   d) Step E after four (4) full years of service.

3. In the event of promotions, the person will advance to the step in the pay plan that is above the salary he is presently receiving.

4. Promotional increses to the next higher step shall be granted one year from the date of promotion.

EXHIBIT B

Rules for Vacations

1. The Chief of Police will reserve the right to determine the number of personnel to be on vacation at any one time. The Captains will work in close cooperation with each other and the Inspector in the selection of vacations in all departments.

2. No more than one Captain or Sergeant from the same shift may be on vacation at the same time.

3. No more than one Cruiser Driver from the same shift may be on vacation at the same time.

4. No more than one Detective will be on vacation at any one time.

5. No more than one traffic officer will be on vacation at any one time.

6. No more than one foot Patrolman on the night or day shift will be on vacation at the same time.

7. Seniority will prevail in all the various groups within the department.

8. The same method will prevail as in the past regarding splitting vacations.

9. If you are entitled to four (4) work weeks vacation, you may take four separate vacations during four different months, with ten (10) full years you may take three (3) separate vacations, with two (2) full years, you may take two (2) separate vacations. Members eligible for only one (1) work week vacation may not split their time.

10. When you have picked your first vacation, all others in your group may then pick their first week before you pick your second week. In the event you pick two weeks of your vacation, those following will have a choice of two weeks in separate months before you pick your third week.

11. Once your name is on the list, there will be no changing without the permission of the Inspector.

Insert this in your 68 contract

MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING

This Memorandum of Understanding entered into this 20th day of December, 1967, by and between the City of Appleton and the Appleton Professional Policemen's Association.

WHERAS, an employment contract between the parties hereto dated the 20th day of December, 1967, setting forth the rates of pay, hours of work and other terms and conditions of employment has been agreed by and between the parties hereto.

AND WHEREAS certain provisions of the aforesaid agreement require clarification.

NOW THEREFORE, it is agreed by and between the parties hereto as follows:

1. That Article XV setting forth the provisions for the "Clothing Allowance" shall be interpreted to provide for the payment of an amount equivalent to fifty (50%) per cent of the annual maintenance allowance upon the completion of twelve (12) months of service with the payment of a like amount occurring on the 1st day of April and the 1st day of October of each year. The Intention of this paragraph is to provide for a payment upon the completion of twelve (12) months of service in addition to the semi-annual payments as set forth in Article XV as above described.

2. That Article XVI entitled "Compensation for Attending Training Programs" shall be interpreted to provide for compensation calculated at the officer's regular rate of pay except for such situations falling within subparagraphs 2 and 3 of Article IV entitled "Overtime" in which case the appropriate paragraphs will govern the officer's compensation for attending training programs.

WPPA COLLECTIVE BARGAINING INSTITUTE

A CONTRACT CHECLIST

I. Purpose
II. Recognition (including scope)
III. Union Security ("when appropriate" clause)
IV. Check off of Dues
V. Compensation
   A. Pay scale showing differentials by rank and longevity
   B. Overtime
   C. Call In
   D. Court Duty
   E. Definition of Work Day and Work Week
   F. Training, Schools, and Target Practice
   G. Night Shift Premium
   H. Uniform Allowance and Cleaning
   I. Pay Periods Defined
   J. Vacations
   K. Holidays
VI. Insurance Programs
   A. Health, Medical and Surgical Insurance
   B. Pension
   C. Life Insurance
   D. False Arrest Insurance
VII. Leaves and Absences
   A. Sick Leave
   B. Disability
   C. Funeral Leave
   D. Jury Duty Pay
   E. Military Service Leave and Pay
   F. Personal Business
   G. Association Business
   H. Leave without Pay
VIII. Organization Needs
   A. Bulletin Boards
   B. Meetings on Police Department Premises
IX. Miscellaneous
   A. Medical Exams
   B. Rules by Reference
   C. Voluntary Shift Switching
X. Grievance Procedure
XI. Seniority
XII. Timetable for Bargaining
XIII. Savings Clause
XIV. Duration and Expiration Clause

The University of Wisconsin
University Extension
School for Workers

THE ELEMENTS OF THE BARGAIN

1. The thing which workers have which they can offer an employer is their labor - their skills as producers of the employer's product.

   Workers can also offer (or withhold) their cooperation, interest and imagination in relation to their work for the employer.

2. The thing which an employer has which he can offer to workers is jobs.

   An employer can also offer (or withhold) an interest in and understanding of the problems of the workers and their union.

   Collective bargaining takes place between the representatives of the workers who want jobs and the employer who needs workers on the wages, hours, and other terms and conditions under which a bargain can be reached.

3. In order to support its proposals, the union has the power of its members to collectively withhold their labor.

   The logic and moral rightness of the union's proposals will be factors which affect this power.

4. In order to resist union proposals or to support proposals of his own, the employer has the power to withhold job opportunities, to stop his operation and to replace workers.

   The logic and moral rigtness of the employer's position will be factors which affect this power.

DEFINITION OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

- a method of determining the wages, hours and working conditions of labor, and a process of interaction between representatives of the union and representatives of management.

Contract negotiations and re-openers: the periodic determination of wages, hours and other terms and conditions of employment.

Day-to-day bargaining: in the grievance procedure within the framework of the contract, and in relation to matters not covered by the contract.

ALTERNATIVES TO COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

1. The operation of market forces.
2. Individual bargaining.
3. Employer determination
4. Determination by private arbitration.
5. Government determination.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING GOALS - from the standpoint of the union:

1. To attempt to equalize bargaining power between workers and management.

2. To improve wages, hours and working conditions.

3. To attain a degree of job security.

4. To achieve a degree of industrial democracy.

5. To attain and maintain a high level of purchasing power so that workers can buy back the things which they and other workers have produced (including the products of industry, farm, construction, the professions, and service trades).

6. To reduce or eliminate wage competition and wage differentials in one industry between different plants and geographical areas (and to some extent, between different industries in the same area).

These goals are inter-related. For example, the elimination of the "southern differential" will contribute to the bargaining position of northern locals.

These goals sometimes come into conflict with each other. For example, a balance must be struck between wages paid and the capacity of an employer to absorb the added costs and maintain the same level of employment (job security).

FACTORS WHICH AFFECT COLLECTIVE BARGAINING - some of the things which help determine what the union will get in negotiations

1. The strength and attitude of the union, locally and nationally:

   - Is it a new local or a well-established local?

   - Does the local or international cover more than one plant of the employer?

   - If other plants are involved, what are the nature of contract terms and the status of bargaining in these other plants?

   - What has been the nature of the relationship with the employer in previous negotiations?

   - How did things work out under the current contract?

   - How effective has been the day-to-day operation of the union - local meetings, stewards' meetings, grievance procedure, education program, legislative and political activities, social and recreational activities, quantity and quality of service from the international (as needed)?

   - How will the local be affected by "the consequences of non-agreement"?

2. The strength and attitude of the employer:

   - Does the employer really accept the union as a continuing part of his operation?

   - Is it a single plant, or part of a chain?

   - If a chain, what is the extent of organization among the various plants, is there a variety of unions involved, what is the nature of the various contract terms, and what is the status of contract negotiations in the other plants?

   - To what associations, formal or informal, does the employer belong?

   - What is the economic position of the employer relative to:
     - -nature of the product
     - -demand for the product
     - -labor supply
     - -profit situation
     - -competitive position
     - -plant efficiency
     - -plans for expansion
     - -"ability to pay"

   - How will the employer be affected by the "consequences of non-agreement"?

3. Industry differences in contract terms, particularly wages and fringes:

   - What is the impact of "coercive comparison" on the parties?

4. Regional differences

   - What is the extent of union organization in the area as compared with other areas?

   - What is the nature of the predominant industries in the area?

   - What are the regional differences in terms of workloads, plant and equipment, methods and processes?

   - Is the area known as a "high" or "low" wage area?

5. The general economic situation:

   - Are times good or bad, and what is the general trend in this respect?

   - How strong are the pressures of the cost of living?

6. What is happening in the major bargaining situations throughout the country:

   - What settlements are being made which will serve as goals or as limitations on a particular situation?

7. Government policies and laws:

   - Wage and price control programs, if any.

   - Current administration position relative to wage and fringe issues, as well as union security issues.

   - The Taft-Hartley law: (plus NLRB and Court interpretations)

     - the duty to bargain
     - union security
     - check-off
     - featherbedding
     - jurisdictional strikes
     - secondary boycotts
     - hot cargo clauses
     - exclusive bargaining versus individual bargain
     - nature of the bargaining unit
     - employer free speech
     - suits in Federal Court for contract violation (wild cat strike)
     - restrictions on administration of health and welfare programs
     - national emergency provisions

- State laws:

    - union security
    - regulation of strikes and picketing
    - regulations re: public employees, public utility workers
    - provisions re: labor relations in intrastate commerce

- The Fair Labor Standards Act, Walsh-Healy, Social Security

8. The attitude of the community:

    - Are there other unions in the area and what is their relationship with your union?

    - Is the community generally pro- or anti-union?

    - What will be the attitude of business and professional groups in the event of a showdown?

    - What will be the attitude of city and county government, police and other agencies in the event of a showdown?

    - What is the attitude of church and agency leaders?

THE PARTIES TO THE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING PROCESS

1. A common view:

Three parties: the union, the company, and the employees:

This view often reflects a lack of understanding on the part of the employees that they ARE the union. It may indicate an unwillingness on the part of the company to accept the union as a regular part of the operation. It may reflect a desire to split the union leadership from the union membership. It is in line with the "labor boss" theory.

2. A more realistic view:

Two parties: the union (which is the members and has no existence apart from them), and the company.

Under law, the union is certified as exclusive bargaining agent for all occupants of occupations noted in the certification order. However, the law frequently makes a distinction between employees and the bargaining agent.

RESPONSIBILITIES AND PROBLEMS OF UNION LEADERSHIP IN THE COLLECTIVE BARGAINING PROCESS

I. IN RELATION TO THE EMPLOYER

A. Assembling facts for negotiations - a year-round process:

1. Resources:

   - settlements and patterns in labor-management relations generally
   - settlements and patterns in your industry
   - settlements and patterns in different industries in your own community
   - what's been happening in the shop under your current contract

2. A suggestion:

   - involve stewards and as many other members as possible in an examination of the existing contract for possible changes; participation by the members in these decisions will tend to improve the quality of their support for the final proposals.

B. Anticipation

1. Of company proposals and the stated and actual reasons for them.

2. Of the company attitude, expressed and unexpressed, toward union proposals.

   Opportunities for estimating company positions exist in the day-to-day relationship of the parties. The process of anticipation will improve the quality of the union's performance in conference with the company; prepare the other side's case as well as your own. Sharing what is anticipated with the membership will increase confidence in the leadership.

C. Preparing the actual proposals

1. The "language" approach:

   Working up classes in exact contract language. This offers a solution without a statement of the problem. It is possible that devotion to language or an exact solution may hinder agreement. However, the language approach is common and often necessary; be alert to the problems which it presents.

2. The "problem" approach:

   Presenting the problem with a generalized suggestion for its solution - a clearcut invitation to management to acknowledge the problem and participate in a joint solution, with language secondary. This allows more freedom for bargaining with less initial bickering about language.

3. Support for proposals:

   Be ready to document requests for change; the company is bound to ask the union why it wants a change (or a new proposal). Grievance procedure and arbitration records are important in this respect - as well as stewards' notes on problems for which the contract or past practice offered no solution.

4. Estimating minimum requirements:

   Make a conscious effort to analyze what the minimum requirements are in relation to each proposal - what the union must have. This estimate of what is minimum may change as negotiations develop.

5. The broad, union-wide proposals:

   Be able to relate any such international programs to the local situation to lessen the affect of management's claim that this is strictly a national office adventure. This is also important in relation to the membership.

6. Membership action on proposals before they are submitted to the company:

   This involves the "principle of participation" and helps the members to appreciate their role in the collective bargaining process.

   A mimeographed summary of the proposals in the hands of the membership at the meeting will contribute to an orderly meeting and intelligent discussion and action.

D. <u>In conference with the company</u>

1. Bargaining committee procedure:

   - planning prior to each session with management
   - evaluating each session with management
   - the size and nature of the committee
   - the "spokesman" theory
   - recesses and other tactical shennanigans

2. Getting to the heart of an issue:

   - precisely what are we (the union) after?

   - precisely what is the company after?

     Timing plays a role here; that is, the determination of the time when precision is desirable. In the early phases of negotiations, there may be tactical reasons for a certain amount of obscurity.

3. Maintaining the union's bargaining strength:

   - as far as the members are concerned, certain issues have more appeal than others; therefore, the timing of tentative agreements on such issues may have a bearing on the union's ability to make progress on some less popular but equally important matters

   - the "GE" formula

4. The "art" of settlement:

   - have we gone as far as we can on a particular issue?

   - if we continue to press, may the company back off?

5. The tentative agreement with management prior to membership ratification:

   - must the union, under pressure from management, commit itself as to whether or not it will "sell" the tentative agreement to the membership?

   - avoiding embarrassment in the event of unanticipated action by the membership.

6. Other considerations:

   a. Educational proposals

      Those submitted and discussed without expectation of immediate attainment for the purpose of warming up management to a later, serious push.

   b. Educating the company about the union

      Take advantage of such opportunities, or create them. Particularly in a new bargaining relationship, management may be plenty worried about the union. How does the union look at bargaining? What is the role of the members? Of the leaders? How are leaders selected? the role of the International? The union view of the stewards' role and of the grievance procedure in general. Etc.

c. Learning about company problems

Resist the temptation to give short answers when the company attempts to air its problems and grievances. The more you know about the company, the product and the industry, the better representation you can give. And if you won't listen, the company may search for understanding through direct mailings to the membership. Or in full page ads in the local papers.

d. Be alert for injudicious company proposals

The company may submit proposals which cry for an instant "No!" Consider, however, the use which such proposals may be put to in gaining membership support for the hard road ahead. Courtesy requires that such use of such proposals precede any detailed explanation by the company of the problem they are designed to solve.

e. Be cautious with apparently unrealistic union proposals.

Just as in "d" above, the company may use these to your disadvantage in its contacts with stockholders, the public and even the union membership. In presenting something of a dubious nature, time it in such fashion that a full explanation of why it is needed is forced on the company. Should the company, aware of the good, sound reasons for the proposal, then run off half cocked to its various publics, the union is in a position to be righteously indignant.

f. Giving consideration to the other's point of view

This is sound on principle. It is also good tactics since you can then expect similar consideration from the company. "Giving consideration", of course, does not mean that any type of agreement must be reached on an issue.

g. Dealing with management publicity during negotations

If management goes to the papers, radio and/or TV with its case, the union may feel compelled to answer. You cannot compete financially, so the timing and nature of your response are important. Care should be exercised in relation to charges of bad faith, name calling and such things; management will become indignant and bargaining will slow down. The position of labor in our society suggests that the union may have to take more abuse than it can afford to give. Another caution: once the issues have hit the press, bargaining tends to take place in public, with the substitution of speechmaking for true negotiations.

h. Avoid backing management into a corner from which there is no honorable exit.

If there must be a showdown, let it be on the basis of valid issues rather than on the need of one party or the other to save face.

II. IN RELATION TO THE MEMBERSHIP

A. The membership is the source of the union's bargaining power.

While the bargaining committee may be concerned about its relationship with the employer during negotiations, it must be even more concerned about its relationship to the members whose interests it is representing - or had better be representing.

The union's year-round program of meetings, stewards' meetings, grievance handling, union education, community services and other activities must all be viewed in their relationship to the development of bargaining strength. Membership understanding and activity are the goals, and these cannot be developed on 60 days' notice.

B. Preliminary activities (before meeting with the employer)

1. Creating the proper climate for negotiations:

   - do not assume that support for the committee will come about automatically simply because the contract is expiring

   - use every means and opportunity to remind the members of their key role in the collective bargaining process

     as at union meetings, stewards' meetings, department meetings, talk in the shop, talk in car pools, phone contacts, home visits, the union paper, letters

     some members will shy away from any responsibilities in order at a later date to be in a good position to offer criticism

2. Include the membership in the preparation of proposals:

   - many good ideas can be obtained in this way

   - the principle of participation; people tend to support better something about which they have had a chance to make decisions

   - problems: the queer proposal, the unobtainable proposal:

     leadership must give reassurance to these people that their help was appreciated

- membership participation may be obtained at local meetings, department meetings, and through a continuing program of written membership suggestions on some appropriate form. Some locals make use of a questionnaire.

3. Focus membership attention on the major contract problems and their suggested solutions as reflected in the union proposals:

   - the list of proposals is often too long and detailed to be on the lips of every member

   - attempt to gain good understanding of the major proposals of an order which will bring an intelligent response if members are questioned in the shop by management, or by members of the general public

   - all union resources for communicating with the membership should be used in this process

4. Prepare members for the probable company approach to negotiations:

   - what will be the major company proposals and how will they be defended?

   - what will be the probable attitude of the company toward various union proposals?

   - intelligent predictions in this area will help soften the impact of company activities in behalf of its own proposals and will help build confidence in the committee

C. <u>While negotiations are in progress</u>.

1. Keep in touch with the memberhip:

   - the principle of participation: people will tend to accept propositions about which they have helped make decisions

   - use all union resources for communicating with the membership to keep them informed: the union wants a positive response from its people under questionning by management or the public

     but there may be sound tactical reasons for temporarily withholding certain information

2. Lack of progress, as well as progress, should be reported:

   - the absence of progress may be based on the company's evaluation of membership interest; the company has an ear for the bargaining table and an ear for the shop.

D. When negotiations are completed:

1. The ratification meeting

- the report should be frank and honest (on principle, and to avoid future trouble)

- decide in advance of the meeting as to the nature of the report

- generally speaking, the report should include a recommendation for acceptance or rejection; members should be clearly and repeatedly informed of their rights concerning any recommendation

- a mimeographed summary of the report in the hands of the membership may be helpful in guiding discussion and action

- take time to review factors contributing to success or failure with regard to certain proposals; use the report to educate the membership

- stress the importance of making the new agreement work

2. Start the membership thinking and planning ahead to the next re-opener or contract expiration.

III. IN RELATION TO THE COMMUNITY

A. The public relations aspect of collective bargaining:

1. What the union does will have an economic and social impact on the community.

2. The union's friends will want to be able to justify their support for the union; they may have an influence on management which the union itself does not possess.

3. A good case for the union will help neutralize anti-union elements in the community (particularly if the union has developed a good public "image" over the long run).

4. Unless bargaining tactics require it, it may be well to attempt to avoid a surprise showdown (particularly in a small community).

B. The public support aspect:

1. The attitude which non-labor people take toward the union's position will have an affect on the morale of the membership.

2. General approval of the union's position as expressed by the community may have some affect on management's position in negotiations.

3. However, attention given to the community cannot be given at the expense of attention to the membership; they are the people who constitute the power of the union.

IV. IN RELATION TO OTHER GROUPS

The union wants the support of other labor groups in the community. What the union achieves or fails to achieve will have an affect on these locals. Therefore, be prepared to consider their problems even though the union may finally decide on a course of action unpopular with other locals. Keep other locals informed of your situation (trades council, letters, visits to meetings). The attitude which other union people take toward your members will affect the morale of your people.

LEGAL BACKGROUND OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

1. The "Conspiracy" Doctrine:

Unions viewed by courts as conspiracies under the common law, designed to benefit the members and injure those who did not join. Courts said that what may be legal for one individual (to quit to attempt to force a wage increase, to refuse to work with a non-member) is not necessarily lawful when done as a concerted activity. Prevalent until the mid 1800's.

2. The "Means" Approach:

General recognition by the courts of the right to organize and bargain, but taking exception to the means used, particularly in relation to the closed shop, strikes, picketing and boycotts. Extensive use of injunctions in labor disputes. "Yellow Dog Contract" held to be valid by the Supreme Court. Prevalent until World War I period.

3. Clayton Act, 1914:

Designed to exempt unions from the anti-trust and anti-monopoly provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act (1890) - labor is not a commodity. Also provided (rather ineffectively) for restrictions on the use of injunctions issued by federal courts in labor disputes.

4. World War I Period:

War Labor Board established to assure continued high production by reducing the number and duration of labor disputes. Tentative employer acceptance of the right to organize and bargain collectively dissipated at end of war with transition into era of the "American Plan" and company unionism.

5. Transportation Act of 1920:

Recognition of the right of railroad workers to organize and bargain collectively. Urged settlement of disputes by direct conference and set up Railroad Labor Board to settle outstanding disputes. Compliance voluntary.

6. Railway Labor Act of 1926:

Repealed the 1920 Act. Established the right of railroad workers and management to choose collective bargaining representatives free from interference, coercion or influence by the other party. Required exercise of every reasonable effort to reach agreement on pay, rules and working conditions. Provided for settlement of disputes between the parties through a Board of Mediation.

1934 Amendments: Passed in the face of continued employer opposition to unions and efforts to dominate established unions. Employer prohibited from interfering with unions in any way. Majority rule determines bargaining agent. Mediation Board empowered to investigate and determine questions of representation and certify the results. Employers required to "treat with" the certified union.

7. The Norris-LaGuardia Act, 1932:

Declared it to be the policy of the United States that the individual worker, while free to decline to associate with his fellows, should have "full freedom of association, self-organization and designation of representatives of his own choosing, to negotiate the terms and conditions of his employment, and that he shall be free from the interference, restraint or coercion of employers of labor, or their agents, in the designation of such representatives or in self-organization or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection." Prohibited issuance of injunctions by federal courts in labor disputes unless evidence of fraud or violence and unless employer could show that unlawful acts have been threatened and will be committed unless restrained, that substantial and irreparable injury to the employer's property will follow, that greater injury will be inflicted on the employer by denial of relief than upon the union by granting relief, that the employer has no remedy at law, and that law enforcement officers are unable or unwilling to furnish adequate protection of the employer's property. Outlawed the "yellow dog" contract.

8. The National Industrial Recovery Act, 1933:

Established freedom of workers to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, free from interference, restraint or coercion in the designation of representatives and in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection. Workers could not be compelled to join a company union. Administered by National Labor Board which had no enforcement powers.

9. Public Resolution 44, 1934:

Wave of strikes followed union discovery that National Labor Board was unable to enforce public policy. Resolution set up a National Labor Relations Board of 3 members to hold elections, investigate disputes and hold hearings on alleged violations of 7a of NIRA. No way to force compliance but there was much voluntary compliance. Developed a body of informed and experienced personnel and clarified the issues of government protection of the right to organize and bargain collectively.

10. The National Labor Relations (Wagner) Act, 1935:

Enabling legislation, concerned with permitting unionism to work in the face of anti-union economic power of employer; establish relationship, compel bargaining, and step aside. Reaffirmed right of workers to form, join or assist unions, to bargain collectively, to engage in other concerted activities for their mutual aid or protection. Prohibited certain unfair labor practicies by employers (no restraint, coercion or interference with workers' rights, no interference in union affairs, no company unions, no discrimination for union activity or for giving testimony at Board hearings, no refusal to bargain - but no compulsion to agree). National Labor Relations Board to establish bargaining units, conduct elections, certify results, investigate unfair labor practices, issue cease and desist orders, issue restitutionary orders. Board orders subject to review and enforcement in federal courts. Challenged before Supreme Court, declared constitutional in 1938.

11. The Taft-Hartley Act, 1947 (plus 1959 Landrum-Griffin Ameadments)

Regulatory legislation, consisting of a series of amendments to the Wagner Act passed in the turmoil of the post-WWII years, with later amendments in 1959 as a result of McClellen investigations. Enabling features still present but government does not step aside after relationship has been established. Emphasis on public interest. Proscribes certain union unfair labor practices including coercion of workers in right to refrain from union activity, secondary boycotts, jurisdictional disputes, "featherbedding", picketing under certain conditions. Reintroduction of injunctions in federal court. "Hot cargo" clauses outlawed. Changed approach to determination of bargaining unit. Provides for election petitions from employers under certain circumstances; provides for decertification petitions. Employer "free speech". Detailed statement of "duty to bargain", spelling out the obligations of the parties. Restrictions on union security agreements. 14b and its impact on state "right to work" laws. Restrictions on the checkoff. Restrictions on administration of health and welfare plans. Company may sue in federal court for contract violation or damages resulting from secondary boycott. No union dues money in federal elections. National emergency provisions, including injunction.

Course Outline
INDUSTRY, ECONOMICS, PROBLEMS FACING CWA
AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

CWA Education Department
Jules Pagano, Director

INTRODUCTION

Instructor In your own words, explain as follows the objective of this session. In other classes you are reviewing the structure of CWA and here we shall briefly discuss some of the pertinent facts related to our industry and how it fits into the general ecnomic picture so that we may better appreciate, by examining the facts, what our union, CWA, deals with and the industries that AFL-CIO deals with. We will do this so that we may better understand -

1. The kind of employer that CWA must deal with;
2. The kind of problems with which our Union's leadership is faced, and
3. The role that CWA and the AFL-CIO play within the American economy.

First of all, however, we will be discussing the structure of our own industry.

Instructor Continue with -

Let's begin by asking the question:

Write on the blackboard -

"Who do you work for?"

NOTE If there are members in the group who work for an independent telephone company, place their company's name on the blackboard and then remind them that you will cover the independents later on in the course.

Instructor List on the blackboard the answers you receive until you either receive from the group or must offer yourself -

A. T. & T.

Then simply explain the nature of A. T. & T.

Instructor Continue with -

A. T. & T. Holding Company

1. Owns controlling stock in 20 associated Bell Companies, plus Western Electric Company, in the United States, and Bell Laboratories.
2. Influences policies of 2 additional U. S. Companies, for which it does not control the majority of stock.

   Cincinnati and Suburban Bell Telephone Company

   Southern New England Telephone Company
3. Owns minority stock in Canadian Bell and Northern Electric of Canada and influences policies.

HANDOUT Distribute the handout "Corporate Structure".

On March 14, 1957, Bell of Canada increased its ownership in Northern Electric Company from 56.4% to about 90%. To accomplish this, it purchased 272,000 shares of Northern Electric stock from the Western Electric Company, which still retains about 10% interest in Northern Electric. This shift in ownership took place, we think, due to a Canadian Royal Commission which recommended that Canadian corporations sell more stock to Canadians to reduce foreign control; the Commission recommended corporations limit foreign control to 25% of stock. It is anticipated that despite change in ownership, Northern Electric will continue to follow "Bell System Policies."

Instructor Review with the group stock ownership of the Bell System. With the group referring to the inside page of the corporate structure handout, explain in detail, the 4 phases of the Bell System and the percentage and manner by which the company controls the various subsidiary companies through common stock ownership. Point out that to own the majority of common stock means to control that company. That this ownership makes possible the singleness of control by the A. T. & T. Company. Examples to prove this are as follows:

Instructor (Use any examples), utilizing blackboard -

1. 1946 Settlement - Craig-Beirne Agreement
2. Attempts to withdraw recognition at the time of CIO affiliation
3. Bell System's November 1949 and 1952 pension changes
4. 1950 Senate Subcommittee Report, substantiating control of A. T. & T. over the collective bargaining policies of the Bell System
5. 1954 uniform negative response to CWA Health Insurance demand
6. 1956 uniform Life Insurance proposal and subsequent uniform settlements - S.W. Bell pilot negotiations
7. 1959 uniform pension and vacation improvements

Instructor Place on blackboard -

CWA represents 3/5 of the Bell System

Explain that this fact establishes CWA as the voice of the majority for the total Bell System.

Instructor Explain to the group that we will now take a look at the size and scope of the telephone industry and compare the Bell System with the independent telephone companies to get a realistic picture of the size and scope of the Bell System - A. T. & T. These figures are as of December 31, 1959.

Instructor Place on blackboard the following type chart:

	Bell System (Operating Cos. Only)	Independents U.S. Only	Total
No. of Companies	1	3,560	3,561
No. of Telephones	60,110,000	10,785,000	70,895,000
%	85%	15%	100%
Gross Revenues	$7,571,536,000	$881,832,200	$8,453,368,200
%	88%	12%	100%
No. of Employees	597,100	100,000	697,100
%	86%	14%	100%

Explain the chart with the following facts:

1. That the Bell System size can be revealed in relationship to the 3,560 independent telephone companies by the following facts:

   A. Bell System's gross revenue represents 88% of all money spent on telephone calls in the U.S.

   B. The Bell System owns 85% of all telephones in the U.S.A.

   C. There are 597,100 operating company employees in the Bell System, while there are only 100,000 workers in the independent telephone field.

Instructor We just compared the independents with the Bell System, now let us take a look at the value of the Bell System.

Ask:

Does anyone here know the value of the Bell System?

Instructor After asking this question, then place on the blackboard the value of A. T. & T. as of December 1959.

> It is $20,807,001,000
>
> Point out that this figure is the NET ASSETS.
>
> However, if they were to take the GROSS ASSETS of the A.T. & T. Company, the figure would be over $25 BILLION.

Point out to the group the fact that this is the largest single company in the world and has greater assets than some foreign powers, for example: Greece

Instructor Continue with -

After impressing the group with the mammoth size of the Bell System, spend a little time on showing that the pattern of "Bigness" is found even in the independent field, in which we find:

Instructor Place on the blackboard -

> "Little Bell Systems"
>
> Of the non-Bell independent holding companies, the largest one is the General Telephone Corporation. The General Telephone Corporation and the Sylvania Electric Products Co. combined in March 1959 to form a $1.8 Billion Corporation called the General Telephone and Electronic Corporation. The next largest independent is the United Utilities. General Tel. and Electronics has about 36% of all non-Bell telephones, over 42% of all non-Bell telephone revenue, and employs over 50% of all non-Bell employees.

Conclude discussion of "independents" by pointing out that much of what we have said and will say about Bell System applies almost identically to the "little Bell Systems", especially General Telephone and Electronics Corp. (General Tel. has about 86,000 employees -- almost 39,000 in operating companies and over 47,000 in Manufacturing & Sales.)

Instructor Continue with -

We have now seen the size and the scope of our industry and its nature. Let us take a look at the second page of our handout.

Instructor Place on blackboard -

Bell System Financial Connections

Have the group follow with you and mark, if they please, the various corporations that are interlocked with the Bell System in our total economic picture on Page 2 of handout.

Instructor Discuss fully the A. T. & T. control and influence over major corporations in American industry.

Make the following points:

Point out that a number of great corporations, such as United States Steel and General Electric, etc. are corporations whose employees are represented by other AFL-CIO unions.

That the wage patterns established by other AFL-CIO unions affect telephone workers and vice versa.

That the same people on Boards of Directors of these corporations are making collective bargaining decisions.

Instructor As an example of this, the Steel Pension Strike in 1949, and its effect on our pension plan:

In that strike $100 per month minimum pension.

Thirty days later the Bell System unilaterally instituted in our industry $100 minimum pension, including social security. You may recall that at the time the Bell System pension was $50 minimum per month. This is a striking example of the effect of collective bargaining decisions that one industry has on another where the interlocking Boards of Directors are usually the same individuals.

Instructor Recommend that students who are interested in following and doing more, read Senate Subcommittee Report #139, that can be obtained from the Education Department for 15 cents per copy. Display your copy.

Instructor Summarize this portion of this section of discussion by pinpointing the fact that this chart of the "Bell System Financial Connections" demonstrates the need and value of our affiliation with the AFL-CIO, how we play our part in helping the workers in the various industries shown on the chart, and how they in turn help us; how what affects them will affect us and vice versa, and only by working together can we achieve our just rewards.

Instructor Introduce this section of discussion by making the following points:

1. We have reviewed the development of CWA and the industry in which we work.
2. The next logical step is to discuss some of the immediate as well as long-range problems facing us as union members, as well as citizens of the world's leading democracy.

3. We will consider how we can prepare to meet some of these problems.

4. We will be exchanging ideas regarding the role that we think each of us as individuals, and CWA organizationally, can play in meeting current problems.

AUTOMATION

Instructor State that first broad subject we will be talking about is AUTOMATION. Ask class if anyone would care to define automation.

Try to develop following definitions:

"The integration of machines with each other into fully automatic, and, in some cases, self-regulating systems."

John Diebold, "The Challenge of Automation"

Public Affairs Press, Wash., D. C. 1955 - p. 15

"Automation brings in a new element which marks the beginning of the second phase of the industrial revolution. In addition to substituting mechanical power for human power, it substitutes mechanical judgment for human judgment except that the mechanical judgment can be made infallible and the human judgment which it replaces, is not infallible."

Walter P. Reuther

Ibid - p. 45

EXAMPLE: In your home a thermostat is automatic and self-correcting.

Instructor Ask the group the following two questions:

1. Who in the class has had 25 or more years service in the same job? After recognizing two or three volunteers, ask the second question. (If no one has that amount of service, recognize

the longest service person.)

2. Has your job changed much during that time?

1. Try to establish that during our current lifetime, there have already been significant changes in the basic job content in the industry because of introduction of machines and changes in procedures.
2. Point out that these changes may be relatively minor compared to what we can expect in the next 25 years for the following reasons:
   a. Automation is a more intensified and accelerated type of mechanization. One person has described it as "the automatic control of automatic machinery."
   b. Two world wars slowed down the introduction of automation, and production changes in many consumer goods industries. For example, in the telephone industry, very little mechanization, i.e. dial conversion, took place during World War II.

Instructor Ask the group for their opinions on automation. Ask them to cover the following points:

1. From a worker's standpoint, is automation good or bad?
2. How has automation affected you personally during the past 15 or 20 years, for example?
3. What do you think CWA's position should be regarding the introduction of labor-saving machines?

Instructor After getting three or four opinions, try to sum up the points which have been made. If any of the following points have not been made, the instructor should introduce them.

1. We must admit after centuries of industrial revolution, technological advancement and now automation, this country is more prosperous than ever and is providing employment for approximately 65 million workers.
2. Realistically, we know from experience that we need not necessarily fear machine operations; in the past, they have resulted in mass production, cheaper unit costs and a wider distribution of this country's abundance.
3. The telephone industy follows this general pattern. In 1920 there was only 2% local dial phones and no toll dial. Now in 1960 96% of all Bell System and about 80% of independent telephones are dial operated and over 80% of toll calls are operator-dial. Despite this increase in mechanization employment in Bell System Operating Companies alone increased from 229,000 in 1920 to over 597,000 in 1959. Wages, working conditions, profits, telephone service, etc. are better than ever.

Instructor Ask the group why they think it was possible for this country to have simultaneous expansion in automation, employment profits and living standards as well.

Try to get from the group the following points:

1. Increased production was accompanied by tremendous increase in consumption and living standards. In other words, increases in the use of old products and new ones more than made up for the loss of job resulting from the use of machines.

2. The American trade union movement, and other liberal forces, pressured for and were successful in introducing work-spreading programs such as:

   a. forty-hour work week;
   b. holidays and vacations
   c. lower retirement age;
   d. elimination of child labor
   e. compulsory education; and

   income producing programs such as:

   a. Unemployment compensation and Social Security;
   b. minimum wage and overtime legislation;
   c. termination pay, the guaranteed annual wage, etc.

IMPORTANT CONCLUSION

The American labor movement in other words, built into the economy income-producing and job-spreading procedures which helped offset job displacement.

The current fight for better pensions, lower voluntary retirement age, disability pensions, 35-hour work week, etc. are a continuation of these pressures.

Instructor Point out that CWA's position, expressed by President Beirne in publications, Congressional testimony, etc., is as follows:

"We should like to state quite clearly and emphatically that we have never resisted mechanization for the sole purpose of maintaining jobs for workers we represent. Our basic attitude has been twofold:

"First, that any employer, particularly one as large and as far-flung as the Bell System, has a responsibility to introduce conversion to machinery in such a way and at times that such changes will have the least possible detrimental effects upon the economy of the industry and the country.

"Second, it has been our position that benefits derived from mechanization should be shared by owners of the industry, employees in the industry, and the public at large.

"We feel these two basic attitudes have special merit in a government-regulated, guaranteed 'fair profit', monopoly industry."

Source: Statement, J. A. Beirne - October 25, 1955
84th Congress, First Session
Joint Committee on the Economic Report

Instructor Display CWA pamphlet "We Welcome Automation". Indicate copies are available to interested people. Have stack of them on your desk or table to be picked up by students at end of session or class.

CHANGES IN JOB CONTENT

Instructor Recap for the group some of the examples already brought out of changes in telephone job content in the past 20 years. If no one has mentioned station installers being required to "sell" extensions or colored sets, you introduce this. In addition, try to get from the group examples of how some jobs have become more

complicated and others less complicated. If you don't get from the group the example of the use of polyethylene cable, and key pulsing of toll calls, you introduce them.

The purpose of this recap is to start a discussion of how new procedures, new materials, new techniques, etc., independent of machine changes, help alter the basic content of old and familiar jobs.

Ask the group the following question:

> "What do you think the Union's attitude should be toward these changes in job content among people represented by the Union?"

During the discussion, try to have the following points made:

1. No union wants to be considered as standing in the way of progress or to be identified with a negative, obstructionist attitude.
2. Whether we like it or not, times and jobs change and people have to be flexible enough to make the most of these changes. Actually, the workers themselves frequently share the benefits of these changes.
3. Change in itself can be an advantage to a worker, rather than a disadvantage. For example, adding functions like merchandising to a job's content can be the basis for getting a higher rate of pay for a particular job.
4. It is very difficult to generalize on how to best meet changing job structures and changing job content. The job steward, local officers, as well as the members have to meet each situation as it arises and try to use each situation to improve wages and working conditions for the individual workers.

Instructor Get from the group the actual way in which some of them have met these problems. Try to get from the group situations in which the union has been able to negotiate informal or formal company agreement that when new functions are added to a job, more time will be allowed for the job to be performed. For example, those station installers required to do "selling" will not be required to install as many stations per day.

Where a company attempts to down-grade a job, such as the cable splicer's job, by the use of allegedly simplified cable, it is up to the union to prove, if it can, that the job functions are not less skilled and should command the same rate of pay.

Basically, what we are saying is that these seemingly new problems must be met in the same straight-forward trade union fashion as older and more familiar problems.

Tell group about recent arbitration awards in New Jersey Bell and New York Tel. Polyethylene Cases - Point out

1. The New Jersey Plant Union (IBEW Local 827) alleged that the company had violated the contract by unilaterally assigning Splicers' duties to Lineman, Installers and Repairmen (lower rated jobs).

   The arbitrator held that duties assigned to lower rated crafts were different from what they were previously - due to technological changes. The new duties entail work well within skills and capacities of lower crafts.

   The arbitrator implied that a case might have been made for payment of top craft rate to lower rated craftsmen while they are performing cable work, but IBEW did not ask for this.

2. The New York Plant - Downstate independent union initiated a case in which they claimed that the company violated the contract by paying Linemen their regular rate when they performed work on PIC cable and 49-A terminals which the union claimed was Splicer's work.

The arbitrator agreed with the union that this was a contract violation. This means that Linemen could be assigned this work but that they would receive a Splicer's rate while performing work on PIC cable.

The arbitrator relied heavily on two previous arbitration awards in the same company in which the arbitrators ruled that the company violated the contract in dispute involving the assignment of work.

A few months later, the union agreed to a full flexibility clause which largely voided the arbitrator's decision.

Instructor should read J.A. Beirne letter to all full-time staff dated May 16, 1958 - Subject: "Polyethylene Cable Arbitration Award - New Jersey Bell" in preparation for this discussion.

CHANGES IN JOB CONCENTRATION - "JOB MIX"

Instructor Put the following figures on the blackboard:

	Class A Telephones Percent of Total Employment	
Job Group	1945	1958
Officials	.9	.9
Professionals	4.3	7.0
Business and Sales	4.6	6.7
Clerical	16.3	21.0

Switchboard Operating	52.2	32.3
Construction, Installation and Maintenance	17.2	27.6
Other - (Building Supplies)	4.5	4.5
Total	100.0	100.0

Make the following points from the above figures:

1. Not only is individual job content changing in our industry but shift is taking place away from such jobs as switchboard operating jobs to clerical, professional, sales and craft jobs.
2. This shift away from so-called production workers is also found in outside industries.
3. In the past 13 years in the telephone industry alone, the number of professional employees increased 159%, construction, installation and maintenance workers increased 156%, business and sales employees 136%, clerical workers 106%, but switchboard operating employees <u>declined</u> 1%.
4. Ask the group how we can best take advantage of this situation, particularly in any area where layoffs may be necessary because of dial cut-overs.

   You should try to get the following suggestions:

   a. Arrange for transfers between departments.

   b. Get the company to offer re-training programs so that telephone operators are taught clerical or other jobs.

   c. Press for inter-company or geographical transfers wherever possible, and where employees are willing.

   d. Lower voluntary retirement age.

Instructor Emphasize that union representatives can be very helpful in convincing older workers that they can do other jobs than those which they have been performing for 20 or 30 years. A good union steward can help break down resistance to learning new skills and thus facilitate transfers between departments. Many workers accept termination payments; early retirement or just being fired for fear of learning new skills. We should not be reluctant to press for job re-training opportunities for mature workers.

SHORTER WORK WEEK

Instructor A special discussion should take place on the need for a reduced work week in the telephone industry. Point out that New York City Traffic Union -- an independent -- now has 7½-hour work day. They had to agree to lengthen certain 6 and 5½-hour evening tours to get this. This may indicate that a shorter work day for Traffic, at least, is not too far distant.

This discussion should further demonstrate that until such time as we are able to obtain a shorter work week to help offset possible large scale job displacement in the telephone industry, we can successfully accomplish other day-to-day things, such as department and inter-company transfers, policing changes in job content, etc. which are readily accessible to us immediately than some of of the longer term goals.

SENIORITY

Instructor Also initiate discussion on seriority.

Should application of seniority be broad or narrow?

Get the thinking of the group concerning the idea that CWA bargaining units be encouraged to faciliatate transfers from force surplus areas to areas where there are jobs open through

the broadest possible application of seniority.

Should the company pay for transfers and re-training?

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

Instructor — In this session we will be discussing collective bargaining and going into detail about our bargaining program -- how the program is developed; what are the items; some of the problems in determining those items; and some of the problems in bargaining with our employers and making those items a reality in the contract.

Instructor — Place on blackboard the STEPS IN COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

In your own words -

STEPS IN COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

Step I. Explain — The Communications Workers of America has the responsibility to act as the collective bargaining agent of employees represented by the Union. Collective bargaining is conducted under the direction of the Executive Board.

In the past, Convention delegates had authority to formulate the Union's bargaining policy or program. Now, however, this authority is in the hands of the Collective Bargaining Policy Committee members. The President is authorized to act for the Executive Board in devising bargaining strategy, planning the Union's bargaining program, and making decisions required to implement that program.

As a result of our desire to enhance the possibility for more realistic bargaining goals, and to realize a greater degree of efficiency and coordination in our bargaining efforts, the vitally important matter of establishment of a bargaining program was removed from the Convention floor by

appropriate amendment to our Constitution. Article XVII was amended in 1957 so as to prescribe the establishment, composition and function of a Collective Bargaining Policy Committee. Section 2 (f) thereof provides.

Step II.
Explain

> "The Collective Bargaining Policy Committee shall formulate a bargaining program or policy to apply to one employer, associated employers or a number of employers, and may designate items or matters to be negotiated or bargained for by any bargaining unit or units represented by the International Union."

Thus, the responsibility or the Collective Bargaining Policy Committee is very similar to the prior responsibility of the Convention. The authority vested in this Committee does not alter the authority and responsibility of the Executive Board, the President, the District and National Directors, the Special Representatives in Canada or their staff assistants with regard to matters pertaining to collective bargaining. The several Locals, their officers and members are charged with the duty and obligation of supporting the policy or program formulated by the Collective Bargaining Policy Committee and the Executive Board.

It is believed that each Union member will benefit from the desirable changes in the Union's collective bargaining procedures made possible by the 1957 constitutional amendment. We foresee improved labor-management relations in the industry

and are confident that we will realize increased effectiveness of our collective bargaining efforts. The general public will better understand the conditions in the industry, the role of the Union, and our collective bargaining goals. We feel certain that the change will result in wider acceptance and understanding among Union members themselves of their own collective bargaining program.

Step III. Explain — Research Department at International Headquarters then go over the Collective Bargaining Policy Committee's resolution, detail arguments, strategy, statistical report.

Executive Board receives the program after details have been filled in, supporting data included.

Step IV. Explain — Bargaining briefing conferences are the next step after Executive Board approval of the final program.

Step V. Explain — Bargaining unit caucuses are held well before actual negotiations get under way with a company. Delegates to such meetings list important local demands, learn about "National" portion of program.

Step VI. Explain — BARGAINING COMMITTEE MESHES NATIONAL AND LOCAL PORTIONS OF THE PROGRAM, TAILORS THE FINAL INDIVIDUAL PROPOSAL FOR THAT PARTICULAR BARGAINING UNIT TO THE SPECIAL NEEDS OF THE GROUP.

Step VII. — DEMANDS ARE SERVED ON THE COMPANY, NEGOTIATIONS GET UNDER WAY.

Instructor — After you have fully discussed our preparation, then go into each bargaining objective

Place on blackboard

BASIC WAGES

An equitable general wage increase.

Point out our position for a basic wage increase.

Also, discuss our support for a basic minimum wage through federal legislation of $1.25 and remind the group that the law of the land now is $1 minimum.

The summary on the BASIC WAGE increase should be that, to keep our nation prosperous, we need to have a constant increase in basic wages so that the majority of Americans are in a position to purchase the ever-increasing production of our economy.

Review a number of the arguments, such as we find our position as compared to other industries in 1959, was 45th and, in the same grouping in 1939 our position was 9th.

CWA, like other unions, generally withholds exact details of its wage demands, preferring to bargain these details out across the conference table rather than in the newspapers.

There is ample justification for a substantial wage increase this year. Industry profits can support one. CWA members need additional increases to restore their relationship to other workers.

Meanwhile, the telephone company continues to maintain that it follows its discredited community-wage theory. They preach about it more than they follow it since if they really followed a true community wage theory, the loss of place in relation to other workers would not have happened.

Productivity in the communications industry has advanced as much or more than in most other industries.

Higher wages to support an ever-improving standard of living are sought by all unions. CWA is no exception to this.

Instructor Place on blackboard -

VACATIONS

Two weeks' vacation after one year of service, three weeks' vacation after 10 years' service and four weeks' vacation after 15 years' service.

The Bell System at one time led the field in good working conditions. In 1938, the Bell System improved their vacation plan by providing three weeks' vacation after 15 years of service. This change was made at a time when a large number of employees in other industries were not even covered by paid vacation plans. While the Bell System has remained almost static in its vacation practices for the past 20 years, most industries have substantially liberalized their vacation plans. The 1959 change of 4 weeks after 30 years is but a small step in the right direction.

It is a common understanding that paid vacations for employees helps to:

1. Combat fatigue
2. Improve employee morale
3. Maintain good health
4. Reduces absenteeism
5. Provides as an effective aid in securing maximum individual and plant production
6. Reduces labor turnover

The report of the President's Emergency Board in the 1941 Railroad Case stated that "The right to a vacation with pay is a mark of social status and a recognition of the worth and dignity of the ordinary laboring man."

In discussing our proposal of four weeks' vacation after 15 years of service with the companies, we cannot successfully obtain our objective by only using recent statistics which are based exclusively on an industry or area practice. Studies by BLS and independent research organizations clearly indicate that more union agreements provide for four weeks' vacation after 15 years of service than ever before. Therefore, our best approach is to first review the tremendous progress which has been made in paid vacations for workers during the past 10 to 15 years. According to BLS, paid vacation provisions appeared in only 25% of the contracts surveyed in 1940. By 1959, this figure had increased to over 99%.

PENSIONS

Instructor Let us now take a look at our Pension Program in the Bell System. The language that the 1960 Policy Committee spelled out is as follows:

> "Elimination of all Social Security deductions from pension calculations; increase all minimum pensions to $125 a month; and the introduction of survivor's rights under pension plans. Where these items are inconsistent with the basic structure of existing plans, or impractical in terms of present benefit levels, the President and the Executive Board are directed to establish appropriate items for improvement. Also

the establishment of pension plans in those areas where none presently exist."

How do you compute the Bell System Pension Plan?

Instructor If unable to get this information from the group, then place the following examples on the blackboard:

EXAMPLES OF BELL SYSTEM PENSION PLAN INEQUITIES

	If Retired On or Before Aug. 31, 1952	If Retired After Aug. 31, 1952 but Before 1954 Soc. Sec. Amendments	After 1954 Soc. Sec. Amendments but Before Jan. '59 S.S. Amend.	
If calculated pension is above $115, such as:			(54-58)	(59+)
Average monthly base pay	$300.00	$300.00	$300.00	$300.00
1% (highest 5 years)	x .01	x .01	x .01	x .01
	$ 3.00	$ 3.00	$ 3.00	$ 3.00
Years of service	40	40	40	40
Calculated Company Pension	$120.00	$120.00	$120.00	$120.00
Subtract ½ Social Security Primary Insurance Benefit	- 40.00	- 42.50	- 49.25	- 52.50
Actual Company Pension	$ 80.00	$ 77.50	$ 70.75	$ 67.50
Total P.I.B. in this case is measured by benefits in effect after 1950 Social Security Amendments - hence $80.		Total P.I.B. in these cases is measured by level of benefits in effect at time of retirement; hence $85 for worker who retired after Aug. 31, 1952 but before 1954 Amendments, $98.50 for worker who retired after 1954 but before 1959 Amendments, and $105 for worker who retired after Jan. 1, '59		

Currently, the Bell System Pension Plan provides for at leat 4 different - basic levels of pension payments depending on the amount of Social Security deductions made from the employee's computed Bell System pension. People retired on or before Aug. 31, 1952, have deducted from their Bell System pension ½ Social

Security payments due them, frozen at the 1950 level. People retiring before September 1954 Social Security change, but after Aug. 31, 1952 have deducted from the Bell System pension ½ Social Security frozen at the level in effect at the time of their retirement. People retiring after Sept. 1954 but before Jan. 1959 have deducted from their pensions ½ Social Security amounts effective September 1, 1954. 1959 Social Security amounts are deducted from people retiring currently. As new Social Security levels are effective in the future, each one will result in still another level of Bell System Pension payments.

Effective November 1956, the Social Security Act was amended to permit women workers to retire on an optional basis at age 62, with reduced benefits. They can elect to wait until age 65 to retire and receive a full Social Security pension. However, if women choose to retire at age 62 or later, but before 65, their Social Security pension is calculated in the following manner: Monthly benefits are reduced depending on the number of months the woman will be getting benefits between age 62 and 65. If her benefits start at age 62, each month's benefit is 80% of what she would get if she were 65. If she waits until age 63 to apply, her Social Security payments are 86-2/3% of what she would receive at 65; taking Social Security at age 64, the amount would be 93-1/3. Social Security Pension is reduced by 5/9 of 1% for each month under age 65.

<u>Note</u>: Bell System pensions for women telephone workers will be reduced by one-half of any Social Security benefits to which they would be entitled at age 62, whether or not they elect to take their Social Security pension at that time. In other words, if a woman goes on Bell System pension at age 60 but waits until age

65 to apply for Social Security, her Bell System pension will be reduced, at age 62, by one-half of the Social Security amount to which she would be entitled. She need not actually be getting Social Security payments when this reduction takes place. This is a terrible inequity in the Bell System pension plan which CWA tried very hard to prevent, through negotiations, but has so far been unsuccessful.

NOTE: Any questions on Social Security P.I.B. - See Booklet.

Instructor To group -

Now that we have seen how the Bell System Plan is calculated for each individual employee, let us talk a little bit about the Pension Fund itself.

Does anyone have an idea of just how much the total Bell System Pension Fund is?

Instructor Present the following figures on the blackboard -

As of December 31, 1959, the total was:	$3,100,909,911
Interest on the Pension Fund, 1959	97,297,114
Payments from the Fund to Pensioners for 1959 were	78,155,893
Here we find that interest on the Fund exceeded payments to pensioners by:	19,141,221

Investment of the Pension Fund

The monies in the Pension Fund are invested in the following manner:

Comprised of:	% of Total
Bonds of Tel. Cos.	19.7%
U. S. Government obligations	3.9
Public Utility, Railroad & Industrial Bonds	57.8
Other Investments	13.2

Common Stock	4.0
Cash and accrued interest not due	1.4
	100.0%

Instructor Emphasize that -

Over 77% of the Pension Fund is invested in the Bell System itself and other telephone, utility and industrial enterprises. The nature of these investments has changed over the years. For example: In 1948, 42% of Fund was in Government Bonds, and only 39% in public utility and industrial bonds.

Instructor Let us discuss some facts about who are the pensioners.

Ask the question:

How many employees are now on pension? Give the class the fact that there are 729,000 employees in the Bell System.

Instructor Place on the blackboard whatever guesses are given by the group and then present the correct one.

(AS OF DECEMBER 1958)			
Total	53,339	Male	25,623
		Female	27,716

Of all the people who work for the Bell System, less than 10% ever go out on pension.

Instructor Make the following general conclusions:

1. The proportion of women on pension has been increasing steadily over the years; used to be 30-40% of total, now 52% of those on pension are women.

2. Less than 10 people out of every 100 who work for the telephone company will probably ever get a Bell System pension.

Instructor Continue with -

CWA's Position

The Bell System until 1959 consistently acted unilaterally on changes in pensions, disregarding the Union's position.

However, each of its unilateral actions were a direct result of

Union action.

EXAMPLE: CWA's unfair labor practice charges - 1949; Steel Board decision 1952; CWA's fight for pension improvement, Social Security changes.

1959 Pension Negotiations

1959 marked the first year of actual pension negotiations in Bell System:

1. CWA negotiated pattern settlement in Wisconsin Bell on January 27, 1959.
2. Within one month same improvements were extended to all CWA (and incidentally all non-CWA) units.
3. CWA won 2 out of 4 Policy Committee goals on Pensions
   a) Increased minimum from $75 to $85 and from $100 to $115 including ½ Social Security
   b) Reduced from highest 10 years to 5 years' earnings calculation in pension formula

Instructor Place on blackboard

TWO GOALS YET TO BE REALIZED

1. Elination of all Social Security deductions.
2. Survivor's benefits on death of pensioner.

Instructor Express in your own words the following summary:

CWA insists upon the Pension Plan being a matter of contract for many reasons. One of our first considerations is the welfare of the pensioners themselves. These are not nameless and faceless figures from the past; neither are they dry, lifeless units for an actuary to consider. These are human beings.

CWA believes the industry owes them a continuing return upon the only real investment they have ever had to make - their lifetime.

We do not believe this should be a return which provides bare subsistance.

These people have pride, they have dignity, and their transferral from the active list to the pension rolls does not alter in the slightest degree their sense of contribution and their desire to meet on something like even footing with their friends and neighbors who may still remain active.

For these reasons, we believe all pension matters should be negotiated as was the case for the first time this year.

Instructor Continue on blackboard with -

HEALTH INSURANCE

A company-paid-for plan providing for a comprehensive health insurance program for each communications worker, pensioner, his or her spouse, and other dependents. This plan shall include hospitalization, surgical and major medical coverage.

CWA has been trying to get such a plan as this agreed to by the companies since 1953 but has been unable to convince them, although the Union was successful in obtaining such agreements from about 30 independent companies. Meanwhile, a trend toward company-paid-for health insurance, started several years ago, has accelerated even more.

We did make one important gain, however, directly as a result of our bargaining pressure for company-paid-for health insurance. During 1956, we negotiated amendments to the Bell Benefit Plan providing some sickness absence payments to people with less than 2 years but more than 6 months' service. Heretofore, they received absolutely no extended sickness absence pay under the Benefit Plan.

Bell companies' basic argument against paying for health insurance can be summarized as follows:

Their plan of paying sickness benefits under certain conditions is better than a company-paid-for health insurance program.

It is true that wage payments continue for a limited period under sickness disability provisions of the Benefit Plan. However, these wages must be used to continue to pay the individual's living costs - rent, food, etc. Wage payments are not a substitute for adequate insurance. Even under the best of circumstances, costs go up during an illness or an accident. We are trying to insure against these additional expenses and not the kind of bills which are met by basic wages.

Under CWA's proposal, the telephone company would pay for hospitalization and surgical benefits for each worker, his or her spouse and unmarried children under 19 years of age. Complete "comprehensive" coverage is being sought.

Only a short time ago, fewer than 5 million people in industry groups were covered by health insurance plans. In the last 3 or 4 years, the number has increased to more than 20 million and is still going up. The telephone industry is far behind industry, particularly other public utilities in this worthwhile field.

The complete type of health insurance CWA seeks can be had for about 5 cents an hour under the plan proposed. It would cover all employees in a bargaining unit, pensioners, employees on leaves of absence and dependents.

CRITICAL BARGAINING UNIT DEMANDS

A. Any such demands are to be limited to only those items that represent the crucial needs of the members of the unit.

B. When bargaining unit meetings or Districts and National Directors consider any of the following to be of critical importance to the bargaining unit, such items shall be included in the bargaining program for such unit: progression schedule improvements, tour differential improvements, improved transfer provisions, wage structure improvements, and improved arbitration provisions.

(1) Demands of these items shall be according to standards developed by the office of the President.

C. Other demands shall be held to a reasonable minimum so long as the critical needs of CWA members are adequately represented in the Union's bargaining program.

Instructor Continue on blackboard -

NO LOWERING OF CONTRACT STANDARDS

A. The achievement of reasonable and satisfactory collective bargaining agreements without weakening the benefits presently afforded under existing contracts.

LIFE INSURANCE

If timely and feasible, in the opinion of the President and Executive Board, the Union shall include as a bargaining demand payment by the employer of the total cost of the life insurance program, where such programs exist and the introduction of such programs where none exist.

Instructor After this discussion on these items, raise the following questions:

WHAT CAN WE DO TO HELP SECURE THESE BENEFITS FOR OURSELVES?

Discuss this fully, making the following points, either from suggestions offered by the group, or present them questions for discussion and comment.

1. The bargaining committee must be given our full support, both by voice and action.
2. We should help our bargaining program by expressing our approval.
3. Let management know, through the lines of organization, that the Unions' bargaining program has our approval and that we are determined.
   A. Buzz sessions.
   B. Discussions during coffee breaks and rest periods.
   C. Chit-chat on the job concerning the demands and expressions of approval where management can overhear.
4. Concerted drive to sign up the nonmembers.
5. Increase all Union activity.

Instructor Summarize this section by emphasizing the need to build a solid Union spirit behind the bargaining program. The best way to do this is to make bargaining the No. 1 topic of conversation with unquestionable approval of the program emphasized.

FINAL SUMMARY

Instructor Summarize this section of the Course by stating:

1. The basic philosophy of CWA is to establish dignity for communications workers - by giving them a voice through

their Union, by which they can determine their own wages and working conditions.

2. That while gains and achievements have been outstanding, CWA realized the process of collective bargaining is a never-ending struggle to make Union progress, and we must continuously strive to translate each gain into building and strengthening our Union - to educating our members to understand their

rights

opportunities, and

their responsibilities

so that we may prepare ourselves to move forward to greater achievements.

<u>Instructor</u> You may wish to use as additional handouts

(1) CWA's Collective Bargaining Program

(2) CWA's Pension Program

(3) CWA Health Insurance Program

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WPPA COLLECTIVE BARGAINING INSTITUTE

STEWARD TRAINING: PREPARING THE CASE

I. Questioning the aggrieved

- The member's name, shift, badge number, rank, hiring date, address, phone number.
- Are there other members involved? Names?
- Name of supervisor, plus names of other supervisors who may be involved.
- What are the circumstances: what happened or failed to happen?
  - a. What did management do? Are there witnesses if needed?
  - b. What did management fail to do? Witnesses?
  - c. What did management say, and who said it? Witnesses?
- When did it happen (date and hour if needed)?
- What does the member say about his previous record?
  - a. Previous discipline record (similar or different cases)?
  - b. Attitude (has management made this an issue in past?)
  - c. Union activity (could this be a pretext to get rid of a union active?)
  - d. Other grievances filed in past?

II. Information from other Sources

- What section(s) of the contract applies?
- What section(s) of ordinances or rules apply?
- Do union records show similar cases in the past?
- Should you check with other union officers on how to proceed in this case?
- Should you check with other members?
- Should you ask the member to keep records (of particular instances)?
- Should you ask Management for records or statements?

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Pointers for Contract Negotiations

WHEN PREPARING FOR A STRIKE

1. Make sure that strike is timely - check to see whether federal and state agencies have been properly notified, and that contract expiration date is observed.

2. Notify Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service or Wisconsin Employment Relations Board that strike is imminent.

3. Take a strike ballot among membership (observe union constitution and bylaws).

4. Notify international union that strike is imminent (according to union constitution). Get international approval if necessary.

5. Arrange for strike benefits for membership - determine amount and who is eligible for same - notify membership.

6. Make arrangements with local merchants for credit to cover necessary food, fuel, essentials in case strike is prolonged.

7. Determine who is to handle strike and bargaining publicity (see Strike Publicity Guide for Local Unions). Set publicity policy.

8. Hold meetings with membership to inform about preparations taken for strike as well as to outline the union and company's last position in negotiations. Again, communicate to membership major areas of disagreement between union and employer. Stress importance of solidarity and concerted action.

9. Check with union attorney concerning procedure to be followed during picketing and behavior likely to get union strikers in trouble with the law.

10. Meet with local police chief and/or County Sheriff to determine whether problems in communication exist, or whether law enforcement agencies have special fears or problems that need to be considered.

11. Set up relations with other unions in area to get necessary cooperative efforts underway and to clear way for possible requests for financial support if the strike should be prolonged.

12. Talk to leaders of other unions in plant to clear up problems of crossing picket lines, performing maintenance work, jurisdictional work, subcontracting, constructions, etc.

13. Take financial membership rejection report back to management for last-ditch bargaining session.

14. Prepare picket signs, hand-lettered or printed, or both, informing public and workers that a strike is in progress.

15. Appoint picket captains. Assign striking workers to picket or related duty. Set up strike headquarters. Arrange for coffee, donuts, food for coverage. Set up tents or arrange for trailers, resting, toilet facilities near picket sites.

16. Brief pickets on legal rights and prohibitions on picketing. Where pickets may or may not stand, walk, cross or block. Inform pickets as to degree of legal and financial support they may expect from the local and international union. Explain prohibitions on numbers of pickets allowable at any one entrance or point.

17. Set up ladies' auxiliary to assist with work related to picketing and strike. Tie women into union efforts as much as possible. Explain financial assistance available to striking workers and families, including strike benefits, food, rent or payment assistance, or whatever has been decided upon.

18. Think about setting up entertainment programs if the strike becomes prolonged.

19. Meet with WERB or FMCS to arrange meetings with management, with or without presence of mediator or commissioner.

20. Issue press releases to local papers/news media as decided upon in advance.

21. Arrange for periodic meetings with membership/families to report on progress, strategy/lack of progress during strike. Place of meetings, time, agenda, changes to proposals, etc.

22. Review, with local officers and membership, likely tactics of employer during strike (lockout, strikebreakers, Pinkerton Detectives, photographers or TV cameras, deals with other employers, letters to strikers' wives, families, etc.)

March 12, 1968

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Pointers to Remember During Contract Negotiations

DURING ACTUAL NEGOTIATING SESSIONS

1. Let the Chairman of your committee handle the basic communication and negotiating role during meetings with the Company.

2. Arrive at meetings on time and observe scheduling agreements.

3. Set up an agenda for discussing items and stick to it - don't discuss proposals out of turn unless mutual agreement is reached to do so.

4. Take careful notes on management replies to union proposals, including their reasons for taking positions.

5. Determine who is taking what role on the management committee - who is the "table thumper," who "spreads oil on the troubled waters," or whatever bargaining types emerge on the other side. Make sure each union committee man understands the purpose of each individual to the negotiating process.

6. Each Union committee man should know prior to each meeting what his or her general contribution is to be in the session. To supply information on a specific point, to provide a "hard" or "soft" image to the other side, or whatever.

7. For each union proposal, the committee should be prepared to furnish reasoning or supporting facts related to the proposal. At the same time, however, it is not essential that the union carry the burden of proof as to the need for a specific contract change.

8. The Union should maintain the initiative in negotiations. The meeting is generally set up to discuss union proposals, not company or employer counter-proposals.

9. Recognize that management will, if possible, put the union in the position of giving up something in return for each concession made. The purpose of this strategy is again to put the union on the defensive as well as to secure management objectives.

10. Management will take advantage of individual committee members' backgrounds, weaknesses, and immediate interests to get them to go along with counter-proposals. The tactic serves to split up the union committee and make them more agreeable to management counter-proposals.

11. Keep calm. Maintain your poise. If something is to be gained by becoming emotional, wait until the proper psychological moment to show

12. Be aware that management prefers to maintain flexibility of operations by working to solve problem underlying union proposals without reducing solution to writing.

13. Know the strengths and weaknesses of the union. If you lack bargaining strength or the union is divided on some proposal, and management is aware of the weakness, keep this fact in mind when bargaining.

14. If management is making a sincere effort to arrive at a settlement, try to recognize this effort and return with a sincere effort on your side.

15. Make every effort to communicate with the other side. Recognize how conflicting interests easily lead to misunderstandings about what is proposed or has been said.

16. Remember that management will attempt to capitalize on pooor preparation or small mistakes in fact to get the union to drop important proposals. Act accordingly.

17. If a mediator or conciliator becomes involved, remember that he serves to help the parties to reach agreement by making suggestions regarding compromises and by acting as a go-between. Neither side is obligated to accept the mediator's suggestions.

18. Remember that both management and union have an obligation to bargain collectively with the other side at reasonable intervals. There is no obligation to arrive at agreement on particular issues, however.

19. Watch carefully for little "hints" regarding changes in management's position on union proposals. They are not always advertised loudly, since both sides are interested in saving face when a change in position is in order. Recognize that no one likes to be made a fool of, so respect the feelings of the bargainer on the other side.

20. If it becomes clear that it may be necessary to strike to enforce Union proposals, check the union's strength in this regard (back orders, assets of union, strike vote of membership, etc.).

March 12, 1968

PARLIAMENTARY LAW QUIZ

1. The chairman decides whether a motion can be put before the meeting and whether discussion is in order. Yes_____ No_____

2. In some cases the chairman can decide that a motion or the minutes can be adopted without a formal vote. Yes_____ No_____

3. The main points of discussion on a motion should be in the minutes. Yes_____ No_____

4. A member can interrupt a speaker discussing a motion to:
   a. Introduce a motion. Yes_____ No_____
   b. Make a point of order. Yes_____ No_____
   c. Make an amendment. Yes_____ No_____
   d. Make a motion to lay on the table. Yes_____ No_____
   e. Ask a point of information Yes_____ No_____
   f. Move to adjourn. Yes_____ No_____

5. The chairman has the duty of rephrasing motions if the original wording isn't clear. Yes_____ No_____

6. The chairman may ask a speaker whether he is going to speak for or against a motion. Yes_____ No_____

7. A motion is made to have a picnic. An amendment -- not to have a picnic -- is in order. Yes_____ No_____

8. Debate on a main motion is in order while an amendment is before the body. Yes_____ No_____

9. Most motions are voted on by Ayes and Noes. Any member can rightfully demand a show of hands or a vote by ballot. Yes_____ No_____

10. An appeal from the decision of the chair must have 2/3 majority to be sustained. Yes_____ No_____

11. A motion -- to have a picnic on Saturday -- is made. An amendment is offered -- to have the picnic on Sunday.

    a. The amendment is passed, therefore the motion is automatically passed.
    Yes_____ No_____

    b. The amendment is defeated, therefore no vote is necessary.
    Yes_____ No_____

12. A committee reports to the meeting. The report includes suggestions to send three delegates to a convention and two students to Wellesley. If the report is adopted the sending of the delegates must still be voted on. Yes _____ No _____

13. A committee member who disagrees with a committee report has the right to make his own report to the meeting with the consent of the body. Yes _____ No _____

14. If a member, speaking on a motion, doesn't stick to the truth, you can interrupt with a point of order. Yes _____ No _____

15. The chairman decides whether a point of order is right. Yes _____ No _____

16. The maker of a motion and his seconder can withdraw a motion after it is placed before the body, but before a vote is taken. Yes _____ No _____

17. On a question of privilege a member may interrupt a speaker but must be recognized by the chair. Yes _____ No _____

18. Passing motion to call the previous question ends all debate and forces an immediate vote on the motion. Yes _____ No _____

19. Nominations must be seconded in order to be O.K. Yes _____ No _____

20. A motion to adjourn can't be made until the agenda has been finished. Yes _____ No _____

Parl. Proc.

PARLIAMENTARY LAW WORKSHOP

OUTLINE

FIRST SECTION

1. Why we have parliamentary procedure.

   A. Need for standard "rules" for running meetings.

   B. If we follow the rules we get things done efficiently and democratically.

2. Some basic general principles.

   A. One subject at a time.

   B. Free debate on each proposal.

   C. Equal rights for all members at meetings.

   D. Will of majority prevails but minority has right to present its case.

3. Explanation of following basic points.

   A. Recognition (raising of hand, standing up).

   B. Addressing the chair.

   C. Making motions (only one main motion on floor at a time).

   D. Seconding of motions (every motion must be seconded).

   E. Discussion of motion.

   F. Vote on motion.

4. Practice on points listed in Number 3.

SECOND SECTION

1. How amendments are made -- where they fit it.

   A. Motions can be amended after the "second" and before the vote.

   B. The maker of the motion and the second can accept the amendment as part of the original motion if nobody else objects.

   C. Amendment must be discussed and voted on before motion is taken up. If amendment passes, motion as amended is voted on.

   D. An amendment to the amendment is permissible. However, never more than two amendments are allowed.

   E. Use of "substitute motion."

2. Examples and practice on making motions and amendments.

THIRD SECTION

1. Discussion and explanation of the following points:

   A. Point of order.

   B. Appeal from the decision of the Chair.

   C. Point of information.

   D. Parliamentary inquiry.

   E. Question of privilege.

FOURTH SECTION

1. Discussion and explanation of the following points:

   A. Previous question.

   B. To table -- to postpone.

   C. Reconsider -- rescind.

D. Withdrawing a motion.

E. Suspend the rules.

F. Move to adjourn.

FIFTH SECTION

1. How to conduct and plan union meetings (emphasis on planning).

A. Order of business.

B. Drawing up the agenda.

C. How to handle correspondence.

D. How to handle committee reports and reports of delegates.

E. Tips for a successful meeting:

1. Short business meetings planned in advance.

2. Starting and finishing on time.

3. Not getting bogged down in detailed discussion.

4. Encouraging participation by all members.

5. Closing debate when necessary.

F. How to use unanimous consent.

pb
oeiu 339
Typed August 25, 1964

The University of Wisconsin
University Extension Division
School for Workers

READING COMPANY FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

While financial statement interpretation is usually left to a union specialist, it is nonetheless important that everyone on the negotiating team should know how to look at the company's operating results and understand what he sees.

EXAMPLE

THE INCOME STATEMENT

	SALES	$100.00
(Minus)	COST OF GOODS SOLD	- 90.00
	OPERATING PROFIT	10.00
(Plus)	OTHER INCOME	+ 20.00
	GROSS INCOME	30.00
(Minus)	INTEREST AND OTHER EXPENSES	- 15.00
	PROFITS BEFORE TAXES	15.00
(Minus)	TAXES	- 7.50
	NET PROFIT	7.50
(Minus)	DIVIDENDS	- 5.00
	EARNED SURPLUS	2.50

THE INCOME STATEMENT

The company is in the business of making a product or providing a service which it sells to customers. The money it gets from these sales is called /SALES/ or /REVENUES/ by the accountant. The company has had to pay for labor, raw materials, overhead expenses, etc. in order to produce these goods or services. The accountant adds these all together and calls them /COST OF GOODS SOLD/. If you subtract "cost of goods sold" from "sales", you get a figure called /OPERATING PROFIT/ which is the amount of money the company made by producing and selling its product or service. Sometimes the company makes money from other sources too (it can collect rent on property it owns, or interest on bonds it holds, etc.) and the accountant calls this /OTHER INCOME/. When he adds "operating profits" and "other income" he arrives at what he calls the company's /GROSS INCOME/ which is everything they earned.

Companies usually have to borrow money to build buildings or acquire property or machines so they must pay interest on this money. The accountant subtracts /INTEREST AND OTHER EXPENSES/ ("other expenses" can be one-time special losses like fire) from "gross profits" and gets /PROFITS BEFORE TAXES/. Companies have to pay taxes so we subtract /TAXES/ from our "earnings before taxes" and get the company's /NET PROFIT/. This is the amount of money the company has earned for the year and will go a long way in determining just how large a wage increase you can ask for.

As you know, companies sell stock to get money to go into business and the people who own this stock bought it because they expected to receive some of the "net profits" every year so the company pays them /DIVIDENDS/ which is subtracted from "net profits" leaving a figure called /EARNED SURPLUS/ which is the money left for the company to put back into the business or into higher wages and better working conditions.

THE BALANCE SHEET

ASSETS		LIABILITIES & NET WORTH	
Cash, Inventories)		CURRENT LIABILITIES	$117.50
Accounts Receivable)	$100.00	LONG TERM LIABILITIES	200.00
Etc.)			
		TOTAL LIABILITIES	317.50
CURRENT ASSETS	$100.00		
Property, Plant,)		STOCKHOLDERS EQUITY	
and Equipment)	500.00	Common Stock	180.00
		Preferred Stock	100.00
		Retained Earnings	2.50
TOTAL ASSETS	$600.00		$600.00

The other financial statement you should be interested in is the balance sheet. This has two sections. The first is the /ASSETS/ section and tells you what the company has. The other is the /LIABILITIES AND NET WORTH/ section which tells you where they got the money to buy the things they have.

In the "assets" section there are /CURRENT ASSETS/ which are things like cash, money owed to them, inventories and investments which could be turned into cash in a short period of time if necessary. A second section are the things the company has which cannot be quickly turned into cash and these are generally its properties, its plants, and its equipment. When all these are added together, you get everything the company has and this is labelled /TOTAL ASSETS/. The "how they got it" section is broken into "liabilities" which means money they have borrowed and have to pay back. The borrowed money is shown as /CURRENT LIABILITIES/ which is what they have to pay pretty soon and /LONG TERM LIABILITIES/ which is money they won't have to pay for a while. The other two ways of getting money are selling stock and that is listed as /STOCKHOLDERS EQUITY/. Under "stockholders equity" is /CAPITAL STOCK/ which is how much money they got from selling stock, and /RETAINED EARNINGS/ which is where all the "earned surpluses" from the end of the income statement are put.

NOTE

It is important to be aware of the trend of earnings and assets, that is, the change over time. If the firm's earnings, assets and stockholders equity are increasing fairly steadily, it may indicate the company is in good financial health and a wage increase may be justifiably asked for. On the other hand, some firms may show little or no increase in earnings for many years, or earnings may be erratic, fluctuating with the ups and downs of the economy. There is a better case for asking for a wage increase when earnings are growing steadily than when they are erratic or fluctuating.

Other Important Measures

The Income Statement. There are two important tests to be made on the Income Statement that will help determine the soundness of the company's earnings.

1. Gross Margin. By dividing total sales into gross income - e. g. $\frac{30.00}{100.00} = 30.00\%$ we get the gross margin, or return on sales before taxes.

2. Net Margin. By dividing total sales into net profit, e.g. $\frac{7.50}{100.00} = 7.50\%$ we get the net margin, or return on sales after taxes.

   If margins are increasing over time, it shows that the basic profitability of the company is increasing. This is because the firm is able to retain a larger percentage of revenues as net income.

3. Margins vary between industries. For example, in the drug industry margins are usually very wide. In manufacturing, margins are generally narrower.

4. Sources. There are several good sources of financial material. The basic source must always be the Annual Report of the Company or government organization bargained with. It is useful, for comparative purposes, to

see the results of other firms in the same industry. To do this, check the July issue of Fortune magazine. This issue summarizes the financial results of the 500 largest manufacturing firms in the U. S. In addition, it summarizes results by industry so comparisons are easily made. In January of each year Forbes magazine issues an industry review for the U. S. which discusses financial data for the preceding 1-year and 5-year periods for the leading companies in each industry. The Forbes and Fortune surveys are handy yardsticks for measuring the performance of your firm.

Collective Barg
60-68

COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS OF AMERICA
1925 K Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

TO: All CWA Staff Instructors June 6, 1960

FROM: Jules Pagano, Education Director File: 1.13

SUBJECT: Course Outline - INDUSTRY ECONOMICS, PROBLEMS FACING CWA AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

Fraternal Greetings:

For those bargaining units where agreement has been reached with Bell System Companies in 1960 negotiations, you should make the following insertions and changes in your collective bargaining outline:

1. - Page 22 - At the end of BASIC WAGES and before VACATIONS
2. - Page 22 - Under VACATIONS, line 11
3. - Page 24 - Pension Table
4. - Page 27 - Box in middle of page showing number of people on pension should be as of December 1959.
5. - Page 28 - Before "TWO GOALS YET TO BE REALIZED"
6. - Page 30 - End of page.
7. - Page 31 - End of page.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Jules Pagano

Jules Pagano, Assistant to
Vice President and Director of
Education

NE-541 Rev.
6/6/60

Insert 1.
Page 22 - At the end of BASIC WAGES and before VACATIONS

1960 WAGE INCREASES

The pattern-making settlement took place in Northwestern Bell in 1960. Here wage increases ranging from $1.50 to $4.50 in Plant and from $1.50 to $2.50 in Traffic and Clerical were won. All other Bell System settlements that followed were in line with the Northwestern agreement. Over-all wage increases are averaging between 7¢ and 8¢ per hour. This appears to be about the same wage increase that other major unions have been negotiating this year.

Insert 2.
Page 22 - Under Vacations, Line 11

The 1959 change of 4 weeks after 30 years was but a small step in the right direction. The 1960 improvement of 4 weeks after 25 years, effective in January 1961, is another step toward our goal. CWA has now negotiated vacation improvements two years consecutively. It is a common understanding that paid vacations for employees helps to: (Continue with Outline)

Insert 3.
Page 24 - Pension Table

EXAMPLES OF BELL SYSTEM PENSION PLAN INEQUITIES

	If Retired On Or Before Aug. 31, 1952	If Retired After Aug. 31, 1952 but Before 1954 Soc. Sec. Amendments	If Retired After Aug. 31, 1952 but After 1954 Soc. Sec. Amendments But Before Jan. '59 S.S. Amend.	If Retired After Aug. 31, 1952 but After 1959 Soc. Sec. Amendment
If calculated pension is above $115, such as:			('54-'58)	('59+)
Average monthly base pay	$300.00	$300.00	$300.00	$300.00
1% (highest 5 years)	x .01	x .01	x .01	x .01
	$ 3.00	$ 3.00	$ 3.00	$ 3.00
Years of service	40	40	40	40
Calculated Company Pension	$120.00	$120.00	$120.00	$120.00
Adjustment to meet minimum				+5.00*
Subtract ½ Social Security				$125.00
Primary Insurance Benefit	-40.00	-42.50	-49.50	-52.50
Actual Company Pension	$ 80.00	$ 77.50	$ 70.75	$ 72.50

Total P.I.B. in this case is measured by benefits in effect after 1950 Social Security Amendments - hence $80.

Total P.I.B. in these cases is measured by level of benefits in effect at time of retirement; hence $85 for worker who retired after Aug. 31, 1952 but before 1954 Amendments, $98.50 for worker who retired after 1954 but before 1959 Amendments and $105 for worker who retired after Jan.1,'59.

*Assuming employee is age 65 and has 40 years of service.

Insert 5.
Page 28 - Before "TWO GOALS YET TO BE REALIZED"

1960 PENSION IMPROVEMENTS

For the second year in succession, CWA negotiated pension improvements in the Bell System. Our pattern-setting settlement with Northwestern Bell on April 30, 1960 established minimum pensions for regular full-time employees attaining 65 years of age that will vary in accordance with the employee's length of service, as follows:

Term of Employment	Monthly Minimum Pension
40 years or more	$125.00
30 years but less than 40	120.00
Less than 30 years	115.00

1960 MAJOR MEDICAL HEALTH INSURANCE PLAN

The Northwestern pattern also established a company paid for major medical insurance plan. While the Union was not successful in negotiating a comprehensive basic health insurance plan, we did get our foot in the door by negotiating a company paid for plan. By fall 1960, September 1, 1960 in Northwestern, the companies will establish and make effective and pay the costs of an Extraordinary Medical Expense Plan. After the deduction of specific amounts determined by certain hospital and surgical insurance coverage and 4% of an employee's annual salary (limited to a minimum of $100 and a maximum of $500), the Plan will pay 80% of the remaining medical and hospital expense up to the maximum amounts listed as follows:

The Plan will cover expenses of this type up to a maximum of $15,000 for regular employees and will apply to all dependent members of an employee's household under 65 years of age.

The Plan will cover expenses of this type up to a maximum of $2,500 for any dependent relatives, 65 years of age and over, who reside in the household of regular employees.

The Plan will also cover expenses of this type to a maximum of $2,500 for retired employees and their dependent relatives.

The Plan works this way:

Employee's Annual Wage		$ 4,000
Hospital and Medical Bill		$10,000
Deduct from Bill:		
1. Amount covered by basic insurance such as Blue Cross, Telephone Workers H-M Plan, etc.	$400	
2. 4% of annual wage	160	
Total	$560	
Subtract $560 from $10,000 bill		$ 560
		$ 9,440
Extraordinary Medical Expense Plan Pays 80% of $9,440 or		$ 7,552
Employee's Basic Insurance Pays		$ 400
Employee pays 4% of annual wage or $160 plus 20% of remainder after basic insurance or $1,888 for a total of $2,048		$ 2,048
Total Bill		$10,000

Insert 7.
Page 31 - End of page

1960 LIFE INSURANCE IMPROVEMENTS

Bell System companies with whom the Union has concluded 1960 negotiations have agreed to pay for the first $2,000 of Group Life Insurance that the employee has in force, instead of the first $1,000. The minimum amount of Group Life Insurance will be raised to $3,000 (formerly $2,000) and the cost to employees for the first $3,000 of Group Life Insurance is reduced to 50¢ (formerly 50¢ for the first $2,000).

Wisconsin Brick Corporation 238-2636

THIS AGREEMENT, made and entered into this 5th day of April, 19 65, by and between WISCONSIN BRICK CORPORATION, hereinafter referred to as the "EMPLOYER", and the DRIVERS, SALESMEN, WAREHOUSEMEN, MILK PROCESSORS, CANNERY, DAIRY EMPLOYEES AND HELPERS UNION, LOCAL NO. 695, Madison, Watertown, Waukesha, Wisconsin, affiliated with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen, and Helpers of America, hereinafter designated as the "UNION".

ARTICLE I. - INTENT - RECOGNITION - UNION SECURITY

Section 1. It is the intent and purpose of this Agreement to create a Collective Bargaining Agreement between the Employer and the Union relative to rates of pay, hours of work and conditions of employment to be observed by the Employer and the Union, and to provide a proceedure for the prompt and equitable adjustment of grievances and disputes which may arise from time to time between the Employer and employees.

Section 2. The Employer recognizes and acknowledges that Drivers, Salesman, Warehousemen, Milk Processors, Cannery, Dairy Employees, and Helpers Union Local No. 695 of the I. B. of T. C. W. and H. of A. is the exclusive representative of all truck drivers, warehousemen, yardmen, and helpers employed by the employer.

Section 3. All present employees who are members of the Local Union on the effective date of this Agreement shall remain members of the Local Union in good standing as a condition of employment. All present employees who are not members of the Local Union and all employees who are hired hereafter shall become and remain members in good standing of the Local Union as a condition of employment on and after the thirty-first (31st) day following the beginning of their employment or on and after the thirty-first (31st) day following the effective date of this sub-section, whichever is the later. This provision shall be made and become effective as of such time as it may be made and become effective under the provisions of the Wisconsin Employment Relations Act, but not retroactively.

ARTICLE II. - STRIKE - PICKETING - UNAUTHORIZED ACTIVITY

Section 1. PICKET LINE - It shall not be a violation of this Agreement, and it shall not be cause for discharge of disciplinary action in the event an employee refuses to enter upon any property involved in a primary labor dispute, or refuses to go through or work behind any primary picket line, including the primary picket

SUMMARY

TEAMSTER

KROGER AGREEMENTS

February, 1968

National Warehouse Division

International Brotherhood of Teamsters

CSRD

11-1-65 to 1-1-68

ANTIGO, WISCONSIN

AGREEMENT

PREAMBLE

This Agreement, made and entered into this 1st day of November, 1965, by and between KRAFT FOODS, ANTIGO, WISCONSIN, its successors and assigns, hereinafter referred to as the "EMPLOYER", and the Chauffeurs, Teamsters, Warehousemen, and Helpers, LOCAL NO. 446, Wausau, Wis., affiliated with the I. B. of T. C. W. & H. of A., hereinafter referred to as the "UNION".

RECOGNITION

ARTICLE 1: Section 1: This Agreement relates and is limited to all plant employees of the Employer working at Antigo, Wisconsin, who are within the jurisdiction of the Union, working on jobs listed and classified in the attached wage schedule.

Section 2: The Employer recognizes the Union as the exclusive bargaining agency for all employees covered by this Agreement.

CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT

ARTICLE 2: Section 1: Each employee shall, on his thirty-first (31st) day of employment or on the thirty-first (31st) day after the effective date of this Agreement, whichever is later, become and remain a member of the Union as a condition of employment.

Section 2: Should any member of the Union be suspended or expelled from the Union for the non-payment of initiation fee or dues, the Employer agrees to discharge such person within seven (7) days after receiving written notice from the officials of the Union.

KROGER

Step 3 Grievance Session

Palmer House Hotel
Chicago, Illinois
March 19, 1968

Case No.	City	Local	Party	Issue
POSTPONED CASES:				
685	Houston	968	O. Johnson	time claim
690	Ft. Wayne	414	C. Olsen	seniority violation
691	Ft. Wayne	414	G. Fisher	higher rated job
694	Nashville	327	J. Neal	hauling bakery products
697	Houston	968	L. Hanner	supervisors doing our work
698	Houston	968	O. Pipkin	supervisors doing our work
NEW CASES:				
699	Indianapolis	135	J. Williamson	overtime given another employee
700	Indianapolis	135	mechanics	doing repair work in warehouse
701	Indianapolis	135	D. Wright L. Miller, H. Croucher, O. Eastridge	overtime given to junior employees
702	Indianapolis	135	C. Potter	overtime given to junior employee
703	Indianapolis	135	blanket	premium pay for Sunday work
704	Indianapolis	135	W. Simonton	seniority violation
705	Indianapolis	135	W. Tindle	warehouse bid procedure
706	Roanoke	171	F. Pruitt	overtime
707	Roanoke	171	J. English	pulled off regular job
708	Roanoke	171	E. Mitchell	deprived of work
709	Roanoke	171	D. Martin B. Brickey	assigning work according to seniority
710	Roanoke	171	bakery	vacation according to seniority
711	Roanoke	171	R. Pridgen	vacation according to seniority
712	Roanoke	171	J. Zell	seniority violation

Case No.	City	Local	Party	Issue
713	Roanoke	171	E. Francisco	vacation according to seniority
714	Roanoke	171	H. Archer	car gang doing custodian work
715	Roanoke	171	F. Poff	relief during vacation
716	Roanoke	171	C. Hodges	machine operators working in freezer
717	Roanoke	171	G. McClammer	order clerks working in freezer
718	Roanoke	171	B. Hall	pay for work in freezer
719	Roanoke	171	W. Greenwood	machine operator taken off bid job
720	Charleston	175	M. Skeen	discharge
721	Nashville	327	J. Neal	run given to junior employee
722	Nashville	327	B. Burns	holiday pay
723	Nashville	327	J. Bay	back pay - two violations
724	Nashville	327	J. Watson	pay for 6th and 7th day
725	Nashville	327	S. Sullivan	overtime given to junior employee
726	Nashville	327	A. Stewart	work given to junior employee
727	Nashville	327	J. Kennedy	work given to junior employee
728	Nashville	327	M. Smith	holiday pay
729	Nashville	327	J. Neal, et al	hauling bakery products
730	Nashville	327	D. Poteet	pay for use of pallet jack
731	Detroit	337	F. Smith	discharge
732	Detroit	337	D. Baker	discharge
733	Detroit	337	E. McBeth	supervisor doing work
734	Detroit	337	K. Schumacher	suspended

Kroger Agenda
March 19, 1968
page 3

Case No.	City	Local	Party	Issue
735	Cleveland	407	C. Posey	discharge
736	Cincinnati	661	C. Walton K. Weaver, et al	vacation policy
737	Cincinnati	661	D. Rich, et al J. Schultz	work on 6th day
738	Cincinnati	661	J. Mastin, et al	work on 6th day
739	Dallas	745	B. Robertson C. George	overtime given other employees
740	Kansas City	955	H. Long F. Lambertson, C. Cross, Jr.	hauling manufactured products
741	Kansas City	955	F. Lambertson C. Cross, Jr	hauling cookies
742	Kansas City	955	H. Phillips	seniority violation
743	St. Louis	610	drivers	time off between work weeks
744	St. Louis	610	F. Wilson	seniority violation
745	St. Louis	610	J. Hogan A. Forrester	work given to non-union haulers
746	St. Louis	610	H. Harness F. Marler, R. Derickson	holiday pay
747	St. Louis	610	A. Rosen	weekly guarantee
748	St. Louis	610	D. Hanslick	run given to junior employee
749	St. Louis	610	A. Vaughn	lunch period
750	St. Louis	610	drivers	jurisdiction

(local union)
Nobody around who remembers days intent
days off before hol., or weekend following
drivers who get 48 hours off weekend following the holiday — overtime denied.

— postponed for further discussion — all links will stand — new issues will be filed — new

743 - Drivers were trying to get overtime as Men. prior to hol.
(Pittsburgh not deliverers as Men. — guarantee of work would
require Co. to bring 85% of drivers in)

Kroger - 736

Local Cartage -

CENTRAL STATES DRIVERS COUNCIL
29 EAST MADISON ST. • ROOM 400
TELEPHONE STATE 2-8705 CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60602

AFFILIATED WITH I.B. OF T.C.W. AND H. OF A.
355

FRANCIS J. MURTHA
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

JOINT AREA AGENDA

SUBMITTED BY THE

CENTRAL STATES DRIVERS COUNCIL

MEETINGS OF MARCH 19, 20 & 21, 1968

Case #1 Additional Riders, Supplements and Agreements to be approved by the Joint Area Committee:

a. Rider to the National Master Freight and C.S.A. Over-the-Road Supplemental Agreement between Local Unions 26, Danville; 56, Sheboygan; 120, St. Paul; 200, Milwaukee; 371, Rock Island; 75, Green Bay; 160, Red Wing; 238, Cedar Rapids; 695, Madison; 710, Chicago; 487, Mankato; 325, Rockford and L.C.L. Transit Company.
(Formerly Case # 1 - m on the 12/67 JAC Agenda).

b. Request of McBride's Express, Inc. to establish a special commodity and steel division from St. Louis and the St. Louis area, involving Local Union 26, Danville; 279, Decatur; 600, St. Louis and 916, Springfield.
(Formerly Case #1 - y on the 12/67 JAC Agenda).

c. Rider to the National Master Freight and C.S.A. Local Cartage Supplemental Agreement between Barber Transportation Co. and Local 749, Sioux Falls.
(Formerly Case #1-d on the 9/67 JAC Agenda and formerly Case #1 - kk on the 12/67 JAC Agenda).

d. Rider to the Mechanic and Body Shop Agreement between Barber Transportation Co. and Local 749, Sioux Falls.
(Formerly Case # 1 - m on the 9/67 JAC Agendaand formerly Case #1 - ll on the 12/67 JAC Agenda).

e. Mechanics and Body Shop Agreement at Rapid City S.D. between United Buckingham Freight and Local 749, Sioux Falls.
(Formerly Case No. 270 - a on the 9/67 JAC Agenda and formerly Case No. 1 - qq on the 12/67 JAC Agenda.)

f. Addendum to the National Master Freight and C.S.A. Local Cartage Supplemental Agreement between United Buckingham and Local 749, Sioux Falls.
(Formerly Case #270 - b on the 9/67 JAC Agenda and formerly Case #1 - rr on the 12/67 JAC Agenda.)

g. Rider to the C.S.A. Over-the-Road and Local Cartage Supplemental Agreements between West Nebraska Express and Locals 554, Omaha and 784, Grand Island.
(Formerly Case #270 - d on the 9/67 JAC Agenda and formerly Case #1 - ss on the 12/67 JAC Agenda).

Hawthorn-Mellody Farms Dairy of Wis. Inc.

January 1, 1967 to December 31, 1968

A G R E E M E N T

THIS AGREEMENT, made and entered into this _____day of _____1967, by and between the DRIVERS, SALESMEN, WAREHOUSEMEN, MILK PROCESSORS, CANNERY, DAIRY EMPLOYEES AND HELPERS UNION LOCAL NO. 695, affiliated with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen, and Helpers of America, Madison, Wisconsin, hereinafter referred to as the "UNION", and the HAWTHORN-MELLODY FARMS DAIRY OF WISCONSIN, INC., Whitewater, Wisconsin, its successors, and assigns, hereinafter referred to as the "EMPLOYER".

ARTICLE I.

RECOGNITION

Section 1. The Employer recognizes the Union as the sole and exclusive bargaining agent for all plant employees at the Employer's Whitewater, Wisconsin plants, excluding plant managers, office clerical employees, guards, fieldmen, quality control men, and supervisors as defined in the Labor Management Relations Act as amended.

Section 2. All new employees shall serve a probationary period of sixty (60) days during which time they shall not be considered regular employees, but during which time all the provisions, except the article titled Discharge in this Agreement shall apply to them.

ARTICLE II.

UNION SECURITY

Section 1. As a condition of continued employment all persons who are hereafter employed by the Employer in the units subject to this Agreement shall become members of the Union not later than the thirty first (31st) day following the beginning of their employment or the effective date of this Agreement, whichever is the later. The continued employment by the Employer in said units of employees who are already members of the Union shall be conditioned upon those persons maintaining their membership in the Union; and the continued employment of persons who were in the employ of the Employer prior to the date of this Agreement and who are not now members of the Union shall be conditioned upon those persons becoming members of the Union not later than the thirty-first (31st) day following the execution of this Agreement. Upon

LABOR AGREEMENT

July 1, 1966 - June 30, 1969

YAWKEY-BISSELL HARDWOOD FLOORING COMPANY

AND

INTERNATIONAL WOODWORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO

On Behalf Of

LOCAL UNION NO. IV-223

Collective Bargaining agreements 67-69

AGREEMENT

between

LOCAL NO IV-326

of the

INTERNATIONAL WOODWORKERS of AMERICA AFL-CIO

and

VULCAN CORPORATION

ANTIGO, WISCONSIN

1967-1969

CERTIFIED GROCERS CO-OP INC.

9/1/67 - 9/1/70

THIS AGREEMENT is made and entered into at Madison, Wisconsin, on this _____day of _____19____, by and between the CERTIFIED GROCERS CO-OP, INC., of Madison, Wisconsin, hereinafter designated as the "EMPLOYER", party of the first part, and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen, and Helpers of America, Local Union No. 695, hereinafter designated as the "UNION", party of the second part, as sole bargaining agent for all employees of the party of the first part engaged in work worked by this Agreement, all of Madison, Wisconsin.

ARTICLE I.

INTENT AND PURPOSE

Section 1. It is hereby agreed by and between the Certified Grocers Co-op, Inc., of Madison, Wisconsin, and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs,Warehousemen, and Helpers of America, Local Union No. 695, that the following rules and regulations are agreed to and shall govern the relations between the Certified Grocers Co-op, Inc. of Madison, Wisconsin, and their successors and Local Union No. 695.

Section 2. Whereas, both parties desire to prevent strikes and lockouts and to maintain a uniform minimum scale of wages, working hours and conditions among the members of the Union and to facilitate a peaceful adjustment of all grievances and disputes which may arise from time to time under the terms of this Agreement, between the employees and the Employer in the occupations described herein, the following conditions are set forth:

Introduction

BARGAINING AT RIVERVIEW

The village of Riverview, Wisconsin is a typical suburb in the Milwaukee area; a population of 16,000, a normal distribution of shops and supermarkets, middle income families with a high percentage of home ownership and a good school system. On the village payroll are 35 firefighters, 33 policemen and approximately 90 other municipal employees. The school board employs 125 teachers and 20 other employees.

The material which is included in this booklet covers village budget data, property values in Riverview, pay scales of village employees, teachers salaries and other information which might be used in the bargaining situation. (Additional bargaining data is available to each member of the two negotiating teams.) Negotiations will be between a three-man team from the village managers' office and a three-man team from the union which has been certified as the bargaining agent for the ~~municipal employees--~~ ~~exclu[illegible] and~~ police. The two teams will be negotiating on the terms of a new contract for 1968.

RIVERVIEW VILLAGE BUDGET,
SOURCES OF REVENUE, 1964 to 1967

Revenue Item	1964	1965	1966	1967[a]
TAXES:				
General Property Taxes	493,444.73	606,976.21	623,822.13	637,444.37
Utility Taxes	94,107.48	98,332.54	97,900.00	97,900.00
Wisconsin Income Tax	766,512.90	840,332.64	934,000.00	952,500.00
Income Tax Receipts from Municipalities	22,844.13	96,531.95	3,590.56	
2% Premium for Fire Insurance	1,692.22	1,664.29	1,990.00	1,990.00
Occupational Tax on Intoxicating Liquor	26,348.64	26,580.68	26,500.00	26,500.00
Milwaukee Library Charges	31,708.63	32,444.27	34,086.17	34,100.00
Highway Privilege Tax	30,361.07	30,361.07	30,361.07	30,361.07
TOTAL TAXES	1,467,019.80	1,733,223.65	1,752,249.93	1,780,795.44
LICENSES AND PERMITS	13,918.58	14,561.97	14,050.00	14,050.00
GRANTS AND GIFTS[b]	37,690.40	39,250.47	39,165.00	39,165.00
COURT FINES, FORFEITS AND PENALTIES	36,578.30	47,859.90	48,000.00	48,000.00
PUBLIC SERVICE ENTERPRISES	24,739.73	25,281.29	24,950.00	24,950.00
INTEREST ON DEPOSITS, INVESTMENTS, ETC.	16,953.14	13,938.07	16,000.00	15,000.00
DEPARTMENTAL EARNINGS[c]	30,137.96	9,269.00	12,950.00	13,550.00
TRANSFER FROM UNAPPROPRIATED SURPLUS	85,802.48	153,810.20	156,799.71	59,673.20
TOTAL REVENUE	1,712,840.39	2,037,194.55	2,064,164.64	1,995,183.64

[a]Anticipated

[b]Includes state aid for village streets and Federal Civil Defense Refunds

[c]Includes rental of village land, park revenue, library fines, etc.

RIVERVIEW VILLAGE BUDGET, SUMMARY OF EXPENDITURES, 1964 to 1967

Type of Expenditure	1964	1965	1966	1967[a]
GENERAL GOVERNMENT	181,289.94	196,884.49	210,201.42	220,175.95
PROTECTION OF PERSON & PROPERTY[b]	510,022.63	527,339.31	575,477.39	579,114.76
HEALTH, CONSERVATION AND SANITATION	333,917.17	340,692.17	357,448.46	366,695.96
HIGHWAYS AND BRIDGES	101,899.63	105,347.90	113,219.00	125,143.00
EDUCATION AND RECREATION	231,710.36	238,335.28	287,449.17	303,843.00
OTHER EXPENDITURES [c]	132,772.30	269,302.55	388,546.00	323,895.97
TOTAL BUDGET EXPENDITURES	1,530,446.83	1,750,896.90	2,004,491.44	1,995,183.64

[a]Appropriations.

[b]Includes police and fire departments, building inspectors, and civil defense.

[c]Includes payments for interest and principal on indebtedness, contributions to unclassified funds such as Wisconsin Retirement Fund and Social Security. Also included are monies assigned to the public improvement fund, building maintenance fund and equipment replacement fund.

RIVERVIEW SCHOOL BUDGET, 1966-67

Disbursements		Receipts	
Administration	$ 79,855	School District Levy	$1,771,982
Teachers' Salaries	1,229,026	Misc. Local Revenue Receipts	150,759
Other Instruction	133,696	County Aids	19,250
Transportation	8,500	General State Aid	109,400
Operation	192,745	State Handicapped Aid	33,288
Maintenance	115,276	Common School Income	2,100
Fixed Charges	57,003	State Driver Education Aid	3,000
Food Service	3,225	Total Federal Aid	2,300
Student Body Activities	7,600	Total Incoming Transfers	12,000
Non-Operational disbursements (Debt Service, Capital Outlay, etc.)	271,153		
Total Budget	$2,104,079	Total Receipts	$2,104,079

Source: Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, Room 148N, State Capitol Building, Madison, Wisconsin

LOCAL ASSESSED PROPERTY VALUATION, RIVERVIEW, WISCONSIN

1961-66, 1967 Estimated.

Year	Assessed Property Valuation	Amount of Increase	Percent Increase
1961	$45,529,006	-	-
1962	46,059,320	$ 530,314	1.2%
1963	46,885,900	725,580	1.6
1964	47,291,850	405,950	.9
1965	47,928,700	636,850	1.3
1966	49,147,600	1,318,900	2.8
Annual Average Increase			1.6
1967, Estimated	49,935,962	788,362	1.6

Source: Supervisor of Assessments, State Office Building, Milwaukee

SALIENT CHARACTERISTICS OF RIVERVIEW TAX STRUCTURE

	1966-67 Level
School District Levy[a]	1,771,982.00
Local Assessed Property Valuation[b]	49,147,600.00
School Tax Rate on Assessed Valuation (2) ÷ (3) x 1,000	36.05
Total Tax Rate on Assessed Property Valuation[c]	67.01
Tax Paid by Citizen with $20,000 Home[d]	670.10

[a]From local school budget.

[b]From Superintendent of Assessments, State Office Building, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

[c]This rate must be obtained from the local municipality or from an agency such as Citizens Governmental Research Bureau, 125 E. Wells Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

[d]Computed on the assumption that the assessment ratio is 50.0 percent.

AVERAGE DAILY MEMBERSHIP, EXPENDITURES PER PUPIL AND PER CAPITA FULL VALUE, SELECTED MILWAUKEE SUBURBS, 1965-66

Suburb	Average Daily Membership	Expenditures per Pupil: Teachers' Salaries	Expenditures per Pupil: Total Expenditures	Per Capita Full Value
Cedarburg	2,051	$302.94	$497.18	7,426
Cudahy	3,589	322.46	535.63	9,162
Greenfield	4,161	295.93	498.79	5,694
Oak Creek-Franklin	3,668	336.48	593.24	10,613
RIVERVIEW	2,395	413.23	690.06	6,461
So. Milwaukee	4,275	324.94	539.18	6,208
Waukesha	9,455	301.46	456.38	7,237
Wauwatosa	8,757	408.71	612.47	8,579
West Allis	11,772	356.41	593.91	7,556
Whitefish Bay	3,494	412.16	674.21	7,246
New Berlin	4,773	324.64	534.09	6,555

Source: Wisconsin Education Association, Bulletin Nos. 65-6 and 66-3.

SCHEDULE OF TEACHERS' SALARIES,
RIVERVIEW PUBLIC SCHOOLS,
1966-1967

Steps	BACHELOR'S DEGREE Base Salary	MASTER'DEGREE Base Salary	DEPENDENCY ALLOTMENT (1)	(2 or more)
1	$5,600	$6,048	$175	$350
2	5,824	6,272	150	300
3	6,048	6,496	125	250
4	6,317	6,821	100	200
5	6,586	7,146	75	150
6	6,855	7,471	50	100
7	7,124	7,796	25	50
8	7,393	8,121	0	0
9	7,662	8,446		
10	7,930	8,770		
11	8,199	9,095		
12	8,468	9,420		
13	8,737	9,745		
14	8,848	10,070		
15		10,192		
16				

TRENDS IN RIVERVIEW TEACHERS' SALARIES
1961-1967

School Year	With B. A. Minimum	With B. A. Maximum		With M.A. Minimum	With M.A. Maximum	
1961-1962	$4,600	$7,600	100	$5,150	$8,800	100
1962-63	4,700	7,760		5,215	8,888	
Percent Increase	2.2	2.1		1.3	1.0	
1963-64	5,050	7,979		5,454	9,191	
Percent Increase	7.4	2.8		4.6	3.4	
1964-65	5,200	8,216		5,616	9,464	
Percent Increase	3.0	3.0		3.0	3.0	
1965-66	5,400	8,532		5,832	9,828	
Percent Increase	3.8	3.8		3.8	3.8	
1966-67	5,600	8,848		6,048	10,192	
Percent Increase	3.7	3.7		3.7	3.7	
Annual Average Percent Increase	4.0	3.1		3.3	3.0	

PAY RANGES FOR RIVERVIEW EMPLOYEES

JANUARY 1, 1962

CLASS TITLE	STEP 1	STEP 2	STEP 3	STEP 4	STEP 5	1/2/62
Clerk Typist I	324	333	343	353	364	
Clerk Typist II	343	353	364	376	388	
Clerk Secretary I	364	376	388	400	411	
Clerk Secretary II	388	400	411	423	436	
Account Clerk I	364	376	388	400	411	
Account Clerk II	388	400	411	423	436	
Recep.-Swtchbd.-Operator	333	343	353	364	376	
Permit Clerk	388	400	411	423	436	
Senior Clerk	400	411	423	436	449	
Manager's Secretary	411	423	436	449	463	
Library Aide	1.82	1.87	1.92	1.98	2.04	
Assistant Librarian	388	400	411	423	436	
Children's Librarian	463	476	492	507	521	
Chief Librarian	567	584	601	619	637	
Dental Hygienist	423	436	449	463	476	
Public Health Nurse	436	449	463	476	492	(e)
Health Coordinator	567	584	601	619	637	(f)
Firefighter	476	492	507	521	537	(b)
Firefighter-Equip. Operator	507	521	537	551	567	(b)
Fire Lieutenant	537	551	567	584	601	(b)
Fire Captain	584	601	619	637	656	(b)
Senior Fire Captain	601	619	637	656	675	
Police Patrolman	476	492	507	521	537	(ch)
Police Patrolman-Operator	507	521	537	551	567	(c)
Police Sergeant	537	551	567	584	601	(ch)
Police Lieutenant	584	601	619	637	656	(ch)
Asst. Police & Fire Chief	656	675	695	716	737	
Police & Fire Chief	759	782	807	831	856	
Radio & Swtchbd. Operator	436	449	463	476	492	(d)
Asst.Engineer-Bldg.Inspr.	601	619	637	656	675	
Civil Engineer	507	521	537	551	567	
Stockkeeper	436	449	463	476	492	(g)
Bldg. Custodian	388	400	411	423	436	
Laborer	2.24	2.31	2.37	2.44	2.52	
Equip.Op.-Rte.Foreman	2.44	2.52	2.59	2.67	2.75	
Spec.Equip.Operator	2.52	2.59	2.67	2.75	2.84	
Incinerator Plant Operator	2.44	2.52	2.59	2.67	2.75	
Combustibles Laborer	2.31	2.37	2.44	2.52	2.59	
Combustibles Leadman	2.52	2.59	2.67	2.75	2.84	
Street Maintenance Leadman	2.52	2.59	2.67	2.75	2.84	
Street Foreman	2.67	2.75	2.84	2.93	3.01	
Sewer & Water Repairmn. I	2.52	2.59	2.67	2.75	2.84	
Sewer & Water Repairmn. II	2.67	2.75	2.84	2.93	3.01	

PAY RANGES FOR RIVERVIEW EMPLOYEES

January 1, 1962

CLASS TITLE	STEP 1	STEP 2	STEP 3	STEP 4	STEP 5
Tree Trimmer	2.44	2.52	2.59	2.67	2.75
Forestry Foreman	2.67	2.75	2.84	2.93	3.01
Water Meter Serviceman	436	449	463	476	492
Water Meter Supervisor	492	507	521	537	551
Water Superintendent	619	637	656	675	695
Electrician Helper	2.52	2.59	2.67	2.75	2.84
Electrical Supervisor	3.18	3.27	3.37	3.47	3.57
Auto. Mechanic Helper	2.52	2.59	2.67	2.75	2.84
Auto. Mechanic	2.75	2.84	2.93	3.01	3.10
Auto. Mechanic Foreman	2.93	3.01	3.10	3.18	3.27
Suprv. Auto. Mechanic	3.01	3.10	3.18	3.27	3.37
Sign Painter	2.67	2.75	2.84	2.93	3.01
Bldg. Maint. Mechanic	521	537	551	567	584
Asst. Comm. of Public Works	656	675	695	716	737
Comm. of Public Works	737	759	782	807	831
Clerk-Treasurer	716	737	759	782	807
Assessor	675	695	716	737	759
Sanitary Inspector					75 (a)
Plumbing Inspector					258 (a)
Health Officer					215 (a)
Dental Officer					25 (a)
Park Custodian					250
Sealer Weights & Measures					85 (a)
Police Court Clerk					35 (a)
Justice of the Peace					150 (a)
Village Attorney					600 (a)
Traffic Crossing Guards			90	100	110 (a)

(a) Part time employee
(b) 70 hour week
(c) 42 hour week
(d) 44 hr. week - no holidays
(e) Receives $15/mo. car allowance
(f) Receives $25/mo. car allowance
(g) Receives $40/mo. for weekend duties
(h) Court Attendance

PAY RANGES FOR RIVERVIEW EMPLOYEES

JANUARY 1, 1967

CLASS TITLE	STEP 1	STEP 2	STEP 3	STEP 4	STEP 5
Clerk-Typist I	383	395	408	420	432
Clerk-Typist II	408	420	432	444	458
Clerk-Secretary I	432	444	458	472	486
Clerk-Secretary II	458	472	486	500	517
Account Clerk I	432	444	458	472	486
Account Clerk II	458	472	486	500	517
Recep. Switchboard Opr.	395	408	420	432	444
Permit Clerk	458	472	486	500	517
Senior Clerk	472	486	500	517	533
Manager's Secretary	486	500	517	533	548
Assistant Librarian	458	472	486	500	517
Children's Librarian	564	579	595	613	631
Library Director	709	730	752	774	797
Dental Hygienist	500	517	533	548	564
Public Health Nurse	517	533	548	564	579 (c)
Public Health Nurse II	548	564	579	595	613 (c)
Health Coordinator	709	730	752	774	797 (b)
Fire Fighter	579	595	613	631	650
Fire Fighter - Equip. Opr.	613	631	650	669	688
Fire Lieutenant	650	669	688	709	730
Fire Captain	709	730	752	774	797
Senior Fire Captain	752	774	797	822	848
Police Patrolman	595	613	631	650	669 (d)
Police Patrolman - Opr.	631	650	669	688	709
Police Sergeant	669	688	709	730	752 (d)
Police Lieutenant	730	752	774	797	822 (d)
Asst. Police & Fire Chief	848	873	900	927	955
Police & Fire Chief	955	983	1013	1043	1074
Radio-Switchboard Opr.	548	564	579	595	613
Asst. Engr.-Bldg. Insp.	752	774	797	822	848
Planner	650	669	688	709	730 (f)
Stockkeeper	517	533	548	564	579
Bldg. Custodian	472	486	500	517	533
Laborer	2.72	2.80	2.88	2.98	3.07
Equip. Opr. Rt. Foreman	2.88	2.98	3.07	3.16	3.25
Spec. Equip. Opr.	2.98	3.07	3.16	3.25	3.34
Incinerator Plant Opr.	2.88	2.98	3.07	3.16	3.25
Street Maint. Leadman	2.98	3.07	3.16	3.25	3.34
Street Foreman	3.25	3.34	3.43	3.54	3.64
Sewer & Water Reprman I	2.98	3.07	3.16	3.25	3.34
Sewer & Water Reprman II	3.25	3.34	3.43	3.54	3.64

PAY RANGES FOR RIVERVIEW EMPLOYEES

January 1, 1967

CLASS TITLE	STEP 1	STEP 2	STEP 3	STEP 4	STEP 5
Tree Trimmer	2.88	2.98	3.07	3.16	3.25
Forestry Foreman	3.25	3.34	3.43	3.54	3.64
Water Meter Serviceman I	2.98	3.07	3.16	3.25	3.34
Water Meter Serviceman II	3.16	3.25	3.34	3.43	3.54
Supt. Water Dist. Pub. Works	730	752	774	797	822
Water Registrar	472	486	500	517	533
Accountant - Tax Auditor	669	688	709	730	752
Electrician	3.25	3.34	3.43	3.54	3.64
Automotive Mech. Helper	2.98	3.07	3.16	3.25	3.34
Automotive Mechanic	3.25	3.34	3.43	3.54	3.64
Auto-Mechanic Foreman	3.43	3.54	3.64	3.75	3.86
Sign Painter	3.16	3.25	3.34	3.43	3.54
Bldg. Maint. Mechanic	579	595	613	631	650
Comm. of Public Works	900	927	955	983	1013
Clerk-Treasurer	848	873	900	927	955
Assessor	797	822	848	873	900 (b)
Justifying Typist - Offset Opr.	2.49	2.56	2.64	2.72	2.80
Plumbing Inspector	300				
Health Officer	250				
Dental Officer	25				
Park Custodian	250				
Sealer, Weights, & Meas.	85				
Police Court Clerk	35				
Justice of the Peace	150				
Village Atty.-Asst. Mgr.	925				
Crossing Guards	90	100	110	120	130
Library Aide	1.50	2.00	2.06		
Committee Secretary	80 (e.f.)				

(a) Part time employee
(b) Car allowance $25.00/mo.
(c) Car allowance $15.00/mo.
(d) Court attendance
(e) Board meeting attendance
(f) Planning Committee meeting attendance.

Note: New employees automatically go to Step 2 at end of the six-months' probationary period. Progression to Steps 3, 4 and 5 is based on merit or is automatic after each year of employment.

FRINGE BENEFITS FOR RIVERVIEW EMPLOYEES

January 1, 1967

Vacation:	10 working days per year, after one full year. 3 calendar weeks for 10 years through 24 years of service. 4 calendar weeks for 25 years of service.
Sick Leave:	One working day for each month
Injury Leave:	To match sick leave; both accumulative to 120 days.
Holidays:	Salaried Employees: New Year's Day Good Friday (5 Hours) Memorial Day Fourth of July Labor Day Thanksgiving Day Veterans Day 1/2 Day before Christmas Eve and Christmas Day. Washington's Birthday Hourly Employees: New Year's Day Memorial Day Fourth of July Labor Day Thanksgiving Day Christmas Day Three Hours on Good Friday
Hospital & Major Medical Insurance:	The village pays one-half with a ceiling of $15.00 per month.
Group Life Insurance:	Employee pays 60¢ per thousand and the village pays 32% of employees premium.
Wisconsin Retirement Fund:	For all full time employees.
Uniform Allowance:	Police Department Uniform Allowance - $100.00 per year. Fire Department Uniform Allowance - $90.00 per year. Department of Public Works Employees - Uniforms furnished by the Village.

RIVERSIDE ORDINANCE RELATING TO

EMPLOYEE COMPLAINTS AND GRIEVANCES

Employee with complaints or grievances should follow the procedure as outlined below:

Step 1

(a) The employee and/or his representative will explain, orally, the situation to employee's immediate supervisor.

(b) The supervisor will, either alone or in collaboration with his superiors, reach a decision and communicate it orally to the employee and/or his representative within two working days of his being told of the situation causing the grievance.

Step 2

(a) If the grievance is not settled at the first step, the employee and/or his representative will write up the grievance on the Grievance Initiation Form, and will present the form to his supervisor.

(b) The Supervisor will write up within two working days, his decision on the Grievance Disposition Form, and give it to the employee.

Step 3

(a) If the grievance is not settled at the second step, the employee and/or his representative will send the Grievance Appeal Form to the Department Head.

(b) The Department Head will obtain from the department file the case up to that point and will hold hearings if he thinks it necessary.

(c) The Department Head will notify the employee of his decision on the Grievance Disposition Form within two working days of his receipt of Appeal Form.

Step 4

(a) If the grievance is not settled at the third step, the employee and/or his representative will send the Grievance Appeal Form to the Village Manager.

(b) The Village Manager will obtain from the department file the record of the case up to that point, and will hold hearings if he thinks it necessary.

(c) The Village Manager will notify the employee within two working days of his receipt of the Grievance Appeal Form, of his decision on the Grievance Disposition Form.

Step 5

(a) If the grievance is not settled at the fourth step, the employee and/or his representative will send the Grievance Appeal Form to the Civil Service Commission.

(b) The Commission will study the record, from the Village Manager's files, of the case, and shall hold a public hearing.

(c) Any case, or any part of a case, involving the expenditure of funds for supplies, services and/or equipment shall be referred by the Commission directly to the Village Manager for the necessary analysis and recommendation, and for any budget policy action prior to Civil Service Commission action.

(d) The Commission will notify, in writing, all interested parties of its decision as soon as possible. The notice will be made up in triplicate, and distributed the same as other forms in this procedure. The decision of the Civil Service Commission shall be final, except insofar as it may require the action of the Village Board or the Finance and Administration Committee for its effectuation.

General Provisions and Exceptions to this Procedure

Note: Any requests of individuals and groups regarding changes in:

1. Salaries and wages
2. Fringe benefits
3. Overtime and overtime allowances
4. Position classification
5. Employment status (discharge, suspension, reduction) shall not be handled by this procedure.

CONSUMER PRICE INDEX, MILWAUKEE
Quarterly, 1961 - 1967

(1957-59 = 100)

Month	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967
February	102.6	103.9	104.3	105.2	107.0	109.5	111.4
May	102.1	104.0	104.8	105.6	108.2	110.1	112.2
August	102.5	103.7	105.1	106.3	108.9	111.5	113.6
November	102.5	104.2	105.5	106.8	108.7	111.6	114.5
Average	102.5	103.9	104.9	106.0	108.2	110.6	112.9

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics
U. S. Department of Labor

MINIMUM INCOME NEEDED FOR "MODEST BUT ADEQUATE"
STANDARD OF LIVING, MAJOR CITIES,
Autumn, 1966[a]

City	Necessary Annual Income
U. S. Average	$9,191
MILWAUKEE	9,740
Atlanta	8,434
Baltimore	8,798
Boston	10,141
Chicago	9,506
Cincinnati	8,976
Cleveland	9,297
Detroit	8,981
Houston	8,387
Kansas City	9,189
Los Angeles	9,445
Minneapolis	9,495
New York	10,195
Philadelphia	9,193
Pittsburgh	8,919
St. Louis	9,241
San Francisco	9,886
Seattle	9,665
Washington, D. C.	9,381

[a]See the class handout from the Monthly Labor Review for explanation of "Modest But Adequate" standard of living.

Source: Monthly Labor Review, November, 1967, p. 3

CONSTITUTION

of the

INTERNATIONAL UNION

United Automobile, Aircraft

and

Agricultural Implement Workers

of America

UAW

CHARTER 1980

COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS OF AMERICA

CONSTITUTION

AS AMENDED, JUNE, 1959

5

Affiliated with AFL-CIO, U.S.A., – CLC, Canada

International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, Soft Drink and Distillery Workers of America

With Jurisdiction Over
Brewery, Malt, Flour, Cereal, Grain Elevator, Yeast, Syrup, Vinegar, Alcohol, Winery, Cider, Soft Drink, Beverage, Mineral Water, Tobacco, and Distillery Workers and Others

KARL F. FELLER
Int'l President

THOMAS RUSCH
Director of Organization

INTERNATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
2347-49-51 VINE ST., CINCINNATI 19, OHIO
ADDRESS COMMUNICATIONS
STATION E, BOX 28
TELEPHONE; PLAZA 1-5130-31-32-33

ARTHUR P. GILDEA
Sec'y–Treasurer

JOSEPH E. BRADY
Director of Legislation

May 2, 1960

TO: ALL LOCAL UNIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

RE: FOURTH AMENDED MODEL BYLAWS -
CHANGES CAUSED BY LANDRUM-GRIFFIN ACT

Dear Members:

The Labor Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 does not require that any specific provisions be included in the Bylaws of labor organizations. Instead, the Act makes null and void any provisions which are inconsistent with it, such as a bylaws clause which prohibits candidates for office from campaigning by means of cards or letters, and such provisions should be deleted. There are, however, certain things which unions can do under the Act, where they have established rules or regulations governing such provisions. Therefore, our Legal Department advises, it is important to spell out in the bylaws some of these "reasonable rules" in order to give the Union freedom to carry on its normal operations without running into legal complications. In addition, certain other provisions of the Act should be included in the bylaws so that the Local Union and its members will be aware of the requirements.

Enclosed please find 3 copies of Fourth Amended Model Bylaws which have been prepared by the Legal Department and approved by the International President. They include all of the provisions which we and the Legal Department believe necessary in order to protect the rights of the unions and the members under the requirements of the Labor Reform Act and to conform to the International Constitution. We have underscored those sections which constitute changes from our last publication of Model Bylaws, in October, 1959. (Locals using earlier editions of Model Bylaws will find that a few additional changes have been made). Local Unions are urged to conform with these changes in order that their rights under Landrum-Griffin will be protected to the fullest extent possible. All of the changes discussed below, except Sec. 3.5 (d), are related to the Landrum-Griffin Act and should be studied closely by all Local Unions.

Local Unions which have already adopted Model Bylaws are urged to compare their Bylaws with this new issue. In view of the extent of these changes, it is recommended that all Locals adopt the Model Bylaws, with whatever changes are required in order to conform with their local practices. We emphasize, however, that Local Unions will not be required to adopt the Model Bylaws.

Local Unions which have not adopted the Model Bylaws and which do not intend to adopt the Model Bylaws may incorporate the Landrum-Griffin sections into their existing bylaws and advise the International of the Article and Section number which each of the Landrum-Griffin changes will be given in its own bylaws. The reasons for the inclusion of many of the sections is explained below:

p. 2 of Model Bylaws

p. 2 – our

1.2 Purposes.

Section 501 of the Act provides that the funds of a labor union shall be expended "in accordance with its constitution and bylaws, and any resolutions of its governing bodies adopted thereunder". In order to permit the Local Union to expend funds for the purposes for which expenditures are customarily made by unions, it is desirable to enumerate, in general terms, all purposes for which Local Union funds may be spent.

2.1

The 1959 Convention amended the Constitution by barring discrimination against applicants or members because of race, creed, color or national origin (Article III, Sec. 4 (c)). Sec. 101 (a)(1) of the Act bars discrimination among members with respect to their participation in the affairs of the union and provides that all members shall have equal rights and privileges within the organization.

2.2 (d) and 8.2

Sec. 101(a)(1) of the Act provides that every member in good standing shall have equal rights to vote at union elections or referenda, to attend membership meetings and to participate in deliberations and voting upon the business of such meetings. Sec. 101 (a)(2) states that every member shall have the right to express his views at all times including union meetings, subject to reasonable rules governing the member's responsibility to be loyal to the Union, upon any business properly before the meetings; both of these rights are also subject to reasonable rules and regulations in the union's constitution pertaining to the conduct of meetings; hence, Section 8.2 of the Bylaws incorporates Robert's Rules of Order and spells out the order of business as provided for in Article IV, Section 43 of the International Constitution. Other reasonable rules of order may be substituted by a Local Union.

3.3 and 8.6

Section 101 (a)(3) of the Act provides that a Local Union may levy assessments or increase its initiation fees or dues only by a majority vote of the members by secret ballot, either (1) at a general or special membership meeting, after reasonable notice of the intention to vote upon the question, or (2) by membership referendum. The Model adopts the less cumbersome provision of permitting such action to be taken at a membership meeting. Note that under 8.6 dues and initiation fees may be increased without going through the normal procedure of repeated readings.

In view of the fact that Taft-Hartley permits discharge for failure to pay dues but does not permit discharge for failure to pay assessments, it is recommended that local unions adopt a policy of increasing dues for a temporary period of time instead of levying an assessment. In such case, Section 3.3 should be deleted.

3.5 (d)

Other reward systems for attending meetings are valid. The Local Union may change the amount of the reward and the conditions under which it is to be given. For example, a Local Union may provide for a reward of $_____ for attending 6 or 8, etc., meetings per year. Whichever system is used to accomplish this reward system, the Local Union may find it necessary to raise dues in an appropriate amount.

4.1

Section 3 (n) of the Act defines an officer of the Local Union as including the Local Executive Board.

4.2

We have made no provision in the Model Bylaws for the election of board members to represent separate departments or separate plants, where the Local Union represents more than one company. Section 101 (a) (1) provides that every member shall have equal rights to vote in an election subject to reasonable rules and regulations in the union's constitution and bylaws. A provision that Executive Board members shall be elected by only the members of a department or particular plant which they represent would not violate this Section, provided this procedure was clearly spelled out in the bylaws. Therefore, Local Unions which follow this procedure must check their bylaws to make sure that such procedure is clearly spelled out.

4.3

Section 401 (b) of the Act permits a maximum term for Local Union officers of 3 years. Article IV, Section 33 (b) of the International Constitution provides for a similar maximum but also provides that the minimum shall be 2 years. The Model Bylaws have adopted the 2-year term.

4.4

Section 401 (d) of the Act permits delegates to elect officers of a Joint Board, State Council or International Union, provided the delegates have been elected by secret ballot. If the delegates have not been elected by secret ballot, officers of Joint Board, State Councils and the International Union must be elected by referendum. Article X, Section 15 of the International Constitution provides for the election of delegates to the International Convention by secret ballot and the Constitution also provides for the delegates to elect the officers.

Since it is the practice of Joint Boards and State Councils to have the delegates elect the officers, it will be necessary that delegates to those bodies be elected by secret ballot. Article X, Section 15 of the International Constitution also permits but does not require the Local Union to provide that the President shall be a delegate to the International Convention *ex officio*. Local Unions which desire to do so could also provide that certain additional officers shall be delegates to the Joint Board or State Council *ex officio*. Since such officers are elected by secret ballot the requirements of the Landrum-Griffin Act would be met.

4.6

In order to conform with Section 101 (a) (1) of the Act, which requires that all members are entitled to vote in elections subject to reasonable rules in the Constitution, Local Unions which provide that Shop Stewards shall be elected by departments or shifts or plants must clearly spell out in the bylaws the group which shall be entitled to elect them.

4.7 (c) through (g)

Section 401 of the Act contains, among others, the following provisions, all of which are incorporated in these sections:

1. Reasonable opportunity shall be given for the nomination of candidates. (Sec. 101 (a) (1) provides that every member

in good standing shall have an equal right to nominate candidates).

2. Candidates shall be permitted to have an observer present at the polls and at the counting of ballots.

3. Adequate safeguards to insure a fair election shall be provided - this requires the spelling out of a fair procedure for conducting the election and a fair procedure for handling objections to the election.

4. Members must be given notice not only of the fact that nominations are taking place but of the specific offices which are to be filled.

5. At least 15 days prior to the election each member in good standing must be given notice by mail, either through a direct mailing or by publication prominently displayed in a labor newspaper which is mailed to him.

6. The vote must be by secret ballot, including those offices for which there is no contest.

7. The ballots must be preserved for 1 year.

8. The candidate has the right to campaign by use of written material distributed or mailed. He also has the right to have the literature distributed or mailed by the union, but at his own expense, provided he makes a reasonable request to have this done. A candidate has the right to inspect the membership list of members covered by union shop contracts once within 30 days prior to the election. No local union funds may be spent for any candidate nor may the local union discriminate with respect to the distribution of literature between candidates. The expense of all distribution must be paid for by the individual candidates out of their own personal funds.

4.9 and 7.1

Section 401 (h) and (i) of the Act provide that the Secretary of Labor may promulgate rules and regulations prescribing minimum standards and procedures for the removal of officers where the local union bylaws do not do so. It therefore is important, in order to avoid having the Secretary of Labor prescribe the procedures, that the bylaws make such provision. Article III, Section 9 and 10 of the International Constitution contain similar requirements.

4.11

The Act does not appear to require that the regular election procedure apply to the filling of vacancies which occur by resignation, death or other reasons. However, local unions which wish to do so may conduct special elections for vacant offices by means of the standard election procedure.

6.1 (c)

Section 101 (a) (1) of the Act in effect provides that if separate shop meetings are to be held a provision for that must be made in the Union Constitution.

7.1, 7.4 and 7.6

Article III, Section 9 and 10 provide that no disciplinary action, including fines, may be taken by a Local Union unless the accused has

been (1) served with specific charges, (2) given a reasonable time to prepare his defense, and (3) given a full and fair hearing. Section 101 (a) (5) of the Act contains a similar requirement.

8.1

Section 502 of the Act requires that officers and other persons handling local union funds, where the union's property (not including physical property such as buildings, furniture, etc.) and annual receipts exceed $5,000, and shall be bonded. The amount of the bond under the Act is at least 10% of the funds or property handled during the preceding year. Article IV, Section 30 of the International Constitution provides that officers and other persons handling finances of all local unions, regardless of their annual income, must be bonded in an amount sufficient to protect the local union, with the premium for said bond being paid for by the Local. Except where the General Executive Board gives specific approval, the minimum bond required by the International Union shall be $1,000 or 10% of the liquid assets plus annual receipts, whichever is the greater.

8.4

Section 104 of the Act requires the Union to furnish a copy of the collective bargaining agreement to any employee - - members and non-members - - who requests it. The Act does not require the furnishing of bylaws to members but this is recommended by the International Union.

PROCEDURE FOR SUBMISSION OF BYLAWS CHANGES

The International Constitution provides that bylaws of local unions shall not become effective until they have been approved by the International Union. This means that even if a Local Union adopts some of the provisions contained herein, the International must be advised and must approve them before they may be placed into effect. Local unions which adopt the Model Bylaws are requested not to retype the Bylaws prior to sending them to us - instead, you are requested to write stating that you have adopted the Fourth Amended Model Bylaws, with certain changes, for which you seek the approval of the International Union. The following is an example of the type letter to the International which will expedite our review of your Bylaws:

"TO: Karl F. Feller, President

"Our Local Union has adopted the Fourth Amended Model Bylaws, with the following changes, for which we request approval by the International Union:

"3.5 - Delete and substitute:

'In order to encourage attendance at meetings and participation by members in the affairs of the Union members shall receive a reward of $12.00 if they attended 6 regular or special meetings in the preceding calendar year. Said reward shall be paid to the members by the Financial Secretary, etc.'

"3.6 - Change 2 months to 1 month in first line. Rest of section same.

"3.3 - Delete. Our Local Union would prefer to take your suggestion and increase dues on a temporary basis rather than impose any assessments.

"5.3 and 5.4 - Our Local Union combines the office of Financial Secretary and Corresponding-Recording Secretary into the position of Secretary-Treasurer. Therefore, 5.3 will be headed 'Duties of the Secretary-Treasurer'. Section 5.4 will then be changed to Section 5.3 (e) and all remaining sections will then be renumbered. The title of this officer will be changed in all other sections which refer to him.

"8.1 - Add new section, reading: (set out new section). Renumber remaining sections of Section 8".

The above should give you an outline as to the proper method for submitting changes.

Inquiries concerning the need for or interpretations of any other provision in the Model should be directed to General Counsel Paradise.

After the Local Unions have revised their bylaws and such revisions have been approved, we shall honor requests to print or mimeograph bylaws for each Local, and bill the Local Union at our cost. If more copies of the Fourth Amended Model Bylaws are needed, they will be sent upon request.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Karl F. Feller

Karl F. Feller,
International President

Arthur P. Gildea

Arthur P. Gildea,
Secretary-Treasurer

J C Paradise

James C. Paradise,
General Counsel

FOURTH AMENDED May 2, 1960

MODEL LOCAL UNION BYLAWS

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SECTION 1
GENERAL PROVISIONS

1.1 Name and Affiliation.

The name of this organization shall be _____ _____, hereinafter called the Local Union. It shall be affiliated with the International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, Soft Drink and Distillery Workers of America, hereinafter called the International

1.2 Purposes.

The purposes and objectives of this local union include:

(a) To improve the wages, hours and working conditions of its members, to increase their job security, advance their economic, social and cultural interests and to defend and extend their civil rights and liberties.

(b) To disseminate information regarding economic, social, political and other matters affecting the lives and welfare of workers.

(c) To advance the interests of workers by advocating and endeavoring to secure the enactment of laws beneficial to them and advocating and endeavoring to obtain the defeat or repeal of laws detrimental to them.

(d) To give assistance and encouragement to other labor organizations, to engage in such other activities as may be necessary or proper to strengthen the labor movement and to extend the process of collective bargaining throughout all trades and industries.

(e) To aid charitable, educational and political organizations and institutions.

(f) To promote the objects and principles set forth in the Constitution of the International Union and the AFL-CIO.

(g) To organize corporate or other instrumentalities.

(h) To use all appropriate means for the accomplishment of any of the foregoing objects.

1.3 Supremacy of International Constitution.

The International Constitution shall at all times be controlling upon the Local Union and its provisions shall prevail in all matters not specifically provided for herein and in all cases of conflict between the International Constitution and these bylaws.

1.4 Continued Existence of Local Union.

The Local Union shall continue to exist as a Local of the International unless its charter is revoked or suspended, as long as seven or more members who are willing to comply with the International Constitution desire to remain members of the Local Union.

1.5 Jurisdiction of Local Union.

The jurisdiction of the Local Union shall be that specified in its charter from the International or as otherwise defined, modified, and interpreted from time to time by the General Executive Board of the International.

SECTION 2

MEMBERSHIP, ELIGIBILITY AND OBLIGATIONS

2.1 Eligibility for Membership.

All persons employed in industries within the jurisdiction of the Local Union shall be eligible for membership, and there shall be no discrimination against applicants or members because of race, creed, color or national origin.

2.2 Obligation and Rights of Members.

(a) Members shall comply with the requirements of the International Constitution, the Local Union bylaws and its collective agreements.

(b) Upon his being accepted into membership, a member shall take the obligation set forth in the

International Constitution and shall thereafter honor said obligation.

(c) Members shall report promptly all contract violations to their respective stewards or other union representatives; they shall not try to settle grievances in the absence of the steward or other union representative except where permission to do so has been granted or in an emergency. Members shall be bound by the action taken by authorized union representatives in the settlement or other disposition of grievances.

(d) Subject to the provisions of this Constitution, each member of the local union in good standing shall have equal rights to vote in union elections or referenda, to attend membership meetings, and to participate in the deliberations and voting upon the business of the meetings; however, no member shall engage in any speech or activity disloyal to the Local or International Union or to the AFL-CIO as an institution.

SECTION 3

INITIATION FEES AND DUES

3.1 Initiation Fees.

(a) The initiation fee of new members shall be $_____, of which five dollars ($5.00) shall be paid by the Local Union to the International. One half of this fee shall be paid on the date of initiation and the remainder within the next thirty (30) days.

(b) Members who have previously been expelled, or whose membership in the Local has been terminated for any reason, shall be required to pay a new initiation fee in the amount of $_____ plus any dues

which they owed at the time of the termination of their previous membership. Five dollars ($5.00) of said initiation fee shall be paid by the Local Union to the International. One half of said initiation fee and dues arrearage shall be paid on the date of intitation and the remainder within the next thirty (30) days.

3.2 Dues - when payable, allocation of.

(a) The monthly dues shall be $_____ per month and shall be payable during the calendar month to which they are applicable.

(b) Members shall be obligated to pay monthly dues except in those months in which they apply for and are entitled to receive out-of-work credits in accordance with Section 3.4 hereof, or for which they have been issued a valid withdrawal card.

3.3 Assessments.

A general assessment may be levied at a regular or special meeting after at least 7 days notice to all members, posted on plant bulletin boards or mailed to all members. A general assessment shall be added to and become part of the regular dues obligation of all members for the period of time for which it is imposed.

3.4 Out-of-Work Credits.

(a) Members who do not earn wages for 5 or more days or the equivalent number of hours in a given calendar month and who apply at the Local Union office for out-of-work credits during the last 4 working days of such given month or the first 5 working days of the succeeding month are exonerated from the payment of dues and are entitled to receive out-of-work credits for such given month. Members who fail to apply for out-of-work credits within the period specified shall not be entitled to out-of-work credit for that month and shall be obligated to pay the regular monthly dues.

(b) Members who have received out-of-work credits for 6 consecutive months and who do not earn wages for 5 days or the equivalent number of hours in the seventh month shall apply for a withdrawal card and tender the dues therefor during the last 4 working days of such seventh month, or the first 5 working days of the succeeding month. Upon their failure to tender such dues they shall be automatically expelled for non-payment of dues.

3.5 Monthly Dues - How Payable.

(a) Members employed under collective agreements providing for the check-off of Local Union dues are obligated to authorize such check-off. Any such member who fails to do so must pay his dues on or before the 1st day of the month directly to the Financial Secretary of the Local Union at the Local Union office, no one else being authorized to receive or accept such dues payments.

(b) Members employed in plants where Local Union dues are not checked off shall pay their dues to the Financial Secretary of the Local Union on or before the 1st day of the month in which they are due.

(c) For each payment of dues or for payments of any other character, members shall be given such proper receipt or evidence of payment as the International shall approve.

(d) In order to encourage attendance at meetings and participation by members in the affairs of the Union, members shall receive a reward of $1.00 for each regular or special meeting attended by them during the calendar year, not to exceed $12.00 for any calendar year. Said reward shall be paid to the members by the Financial Secretary during the month of January for meetings

attended during the preceding calendar year; wherever possible, the reward shall be paid to each member at the January meeting.

3.6 Loss of Good Standing and Expulsion.

Members 2 months in arrears in the payment of dues or other financial obligations to the Local Union shall cease to be in good standing as of the end of the second month. Such members shall have no voice or vote at Local Union meetings and shall be ineligible for nomination, election, or appointment to any position or office in the Local Union. Members 3 months in arrears in the payment of dues shall be automatically expelled from membership as of the end of the third month.

3.7 Withdrawal Cards.

(a) Members who are advanced to supervisory or other positions identified with management and members whose employment in industries within the jurisdiction of the Local Union has terminated shall apply for withdrawal cards within 30 days thereafter, failing which they shall be automatically expelled.

(b) Members who occupy other positions which are outside the coverage of the Union contract may apply for withdrawal cards or may continue as active members at their option, provided, however, that if such members continue as active members they shall not have voice or vote at Local Union meetings nor shall they be eligible to hold any elective or appointive position in the Local Union.

(c) Members holding withdrawal cards shall not attend meetings of the Local Union or participate in elections or any other business functions of the Local Union.

SECTION 4

OFFICERS, EXECUTIVE BOARD MEMBERS, DELEGATES, ETC., NOMINATIONS AND ELECTIONS

4.1 Local Union Officers.

The officers of the Local Union shall be President, Vice President, Financial Secretary, Corresponding-Recording Secretary, three Trustees, Sergeant-at-Arms, and members of Local Executive Board.

4.2 Local Executive Board.

The Local Executive Board shall consist of ____ members including the President, Financial Secretary and Corresponding-Recording Secretary, who shall serve as members of the Local Executive Board, ex officio.

4.3 Term of Office of Officers and Executive Board Members.

The term of office for officers and Local Executive Board members shall be 2 years, or until their successors have been elected and installed, whichever is later.

4.4 Delegates.

Delegates to the Joint Local Executive Board, State Councils, and to local and state central bodies shall be elected at large by secret ballot for 2 year terms. Delegates to the International Convention shall be elected by secret ballot vote in accordance with the International Constitution, provided that whenever delegates are sent to the International Convention, the President shall be a delegate, ex officio.

4.5 Negotiating Committee.

The Negotiating Committee shall be designated by the Local Executive Board subject to the approval of the membership, and, so far as practicable, all departments shall be represented on the Committee.

4.6 Shop Stewards

Shop Stewards shall be elected for 2 year terms by the

members in their respective departments on each shift. Such elections shall be arranged and conducted by the President within 30 days after the officers have been elected.

4.7 Nominations and Elections.

(a) To be eligible to be nominated or elected as an officer, member of the Local Executive Board or Joint Local Executive Board, a member must have been in continuous good standing for 2 years prior to the date of nominations, must not have been on a withdrawal card during said period, and must have attended at least 6 meetings in the year preceding the meeting at which nominations took place.

(b) The nomination of officers, Executive Board members, delegates to the Joint Local Executive Board, state and local central bodies shall take place at the regular November meeting every 2 years. All nominees must either be present to accept the nomination at the meeting or must have submitted a written letter of acceptance to the President not later than the call for nominations.

(c) Every member in good standing shall have the right to nominate candidates. The Secretary shall give notice of the offices to be filled and of the time and place of said meeting by posting on plant bulletin boards at least 7 days in advance of the nominating meeting.

(d) Upon the completion of the nominations and prior to the elections, the membership shall elect an Election Committee of three members, one of whom shall be designated as Chairman by the President but none of whom shall be a candidate for office. The Election Committee shall be charged with the responsibility of arranging and supervising the voting, distributing and counting the ballots, and announcing the results.

All candidates shall be permitted to have an observer present at the polls and at the counting of ballots.

(e) Elections shall take place at the regular December meeting. Notice of the election shall be mailed by the Secretary or shall be prominently published in a newspaper which is mailed to each member in good standing not less than 15 days prior to the date of the election. Such notice shall specify the time and place of the election and the offices to be filled, including those for which there is no contest.

(f) Voting shall be by secret ballot. Every member in good standing shall be entitled to one vote in all union elections. There shall be no absentee voting and no voting by proxy.

(g) Candidates for office shall have the right to distribute campaign literature by mail or otherwise at the candidate's expense. Every bona fide candidate shall be permitted once within 30 days prior to the election, upon request, to inspect the list of members of the local union who are covered by union shop contracts, but he shall not be permitted to copy the list. The Local Unions shall not discriminate among candidates with respect to the distribution of campaign literature or the charge therefor, or with respect to the use of membership lists. Local Union funds shall not be used to promote any candidacy for union office, but with prior authorization of the membership the Election Committee may use union funds for notices or other expenses necessary for the holding of an election.

(h) The candidates for each office or position who receive the largest number of valid votes cast shall be declared elected. In the event of a tie vote, a run-off election shall be held between the two tied candidates either at the same meeting, if practicable, or at the next regular or special meeting.

(i) The Election Committee shall promptly announce the results of the election and post the same at the Union office and on the plant bulletin boards customarily used by the Local Union.

(j) Charges of irregularities in the manner of conducting the election must be submitted in writing to the Chairman of the Election Committee within 48 hours after the close of the balloting. The Election Committee shall investigate such charges promptly and shall make a report to the Local Executive Board. The Local Executive Board shall act upon such report with all reasonable speed at a special meeting called for that purpose by the President. Any candidate aggrieved by the action of the Local Executive Board may file an appeal with the General Executive Board of the International. Such appeal must be deposited in the mail within 5 days following the date of the decision of the Local Executive Board. The ballots and tally sheets and all other records pertaining to the election shall be preserved until the charges of irregularities have been finally acted upon, or for one year, whichever is later. The installation of any candidate whose election has been challenged pursuant to this section shall be deferred until the charges have been disposed of by the Executive Board.

4.8 Installation of Officers. Newly elected officers and Local Executive Board members shall be obligated at the December meeting, at which time they shall take the obligation as prescribed in the International Constitution. They shall assume the duties of their respective offices on January 1.

4.9 Removal of Officers and Others for Failure to Attend Meetings.

Except in case of illness or other excuse which is accepted by the Local Executive Board, any officer or member of the Local Executive Board who is absent from either 3 Local Executive Board or 3 Local Union meetings during any 12 month period, and any delegate to the Joint Local Executive Board or to a local or state central body who fails to attend 3 meetings of such body during a 12 month period shall be automatically removed from office as of the first day of the month following such third meeting.

4.10 Removal of Shop Stewards; Filling Vacancies.

Shop stewards may be removed by a majority vote of the members in their respective departments at special departmental meetings called for that purpose by the President or Local Executive Board and vacancies in the position of Shop Steward shall be filled in the same manner.

4.11 Vacancies in Position of Officers, Local Executive Board, etc.

Vacancies occurring between regular elections in any of the elected positions provided for herein, other than shop steward, due to resignation, death, incapacitation, or removal from office, shall be filled for the remainder of the unexpired term by appointment by the Local Executive Board provided, however, that the Vice President shall automatically complete the unexpired term of the President if a vacancy occurs in that office.

4.12 Delivering Property to Successors.

All officers shall, at the expiration of their term of office or upon their resignation or removal from office, deliver to their successors all documents, funds and other property belonging to the Union which may be in their possession at such time, and shall be given a receipt therefor.

4.13 Compensation of Officers, etc.

The compensation of officers or other persons holding elective positions shall be fixed prior to the holding of nominations.

SECTION 5

DUTIES OF OFFICERS, LOCAL EXECUTIVE BOARD MEMBERS AND STEWARDS

The Officers, Local Executive Board members and Stewards shall perform the duties prescribed for them herein and such other duties as may be incidental thereto.

5.1 Duties of the President.

(a) The President shall be the chief executive officer of the Local Union. He shall preside at all regular and special meetings of the Local Union and of the Local Executive Board. He shall enforce the provisions of the bylaws and the International Constitution and of the collective agreements of the Local Union. He shall co-sign all checks properly issued by the Financial Secretary. He shall be a member, ex officio, of all committees and shall appoint all committees except as otherwise provided herein. He shall promptly investigate and attempt to settle all grievances referred to him by a Steward or the Chief Steward or a member, and all complaints of the employers. He shall give a complete report of his official activities at each regular meeting of the Local Executive Board and same shall be reported at the next regular meeting of the Local Union.

(b) The President may call special meetings of the Local Union and the Local Executive Board and he shall call such meetings when requested to do so pursuant to Section 6.1 and 6.3. He may, with the consent of a majority of the Local Executive Board, change the time and place of a regular Local Union or Local Executive Board meeting, provided, however, that he may not cancel the regular monthly meeting of the Local Union or the Local Executive Board.

5.2 Duties of the Vice President.

He shall assist the President in the discharge of his duties and shall carry out such other assignments as the President and Local Executive Board may deem necessary. When the President is absent or unable to perform his duties due to death, illness, resignation, or removal, or any other cause, he shall perform the duties of President.

5.3 Duties of the Financial Secretary.

(a) The Financial Secretary shall receive and give proper receipt, as provided in the International Constitution, for all dues, initiation fees, assessments, fines and other income of the Local Union. He shall issue and co-sign all checks drawn on the Local Union funds, shall maintain proper permanent records of all income and expenditures and report at the regular monthly meeting of the Local Union the sources and amount of all receipts and the amounts and purposes of all disbursements during the previous calendar month. He shall deposit to the account of the Local Union all funds received by him as soon as practicable following the receipt thereof. He shall keep a complete and up-to-date record of all members, including those initiated, suspended, expelled, deceased, transferred, reinstated, out-of-work, or on withdrawal card and shall notify the International Secretary-Treasurer of the same.

(b) He shall keep a permanent proper record of all property of the Local Union including the date of purchase, the name of the seller, and the amount paid. He shall make available his books and records to the Trustees or to the proper representative of the International, upon their request, for the purpose of inspection or audit and shall cooperate with them in such audits. He shall make such reports to the International Union as may be required by the International Constitution and such other reports

and shall remit to the International the full amount of per capita tax and other payments required by the International Constitution and such other reports and information as the International may require. He shall have custody of all financial records of the Local Union.

(c) All payments out of Local Union funds shall be subject to the prior approval of the membership and shall be made by check excepting minor incidental disbursements normally made out of petty cash. The funds of the Local Union shall be used solely for the payment of the legitimate and authorized expenses incidental to the operation of the Local Union.

(d) He shall retain for a period of not less than five years all books, accounts and records of the Local Union's financial transactions.

5.4 Duties of the Corresponding-Recording Secretary.

He shall read all communications addressed to or sent by the Local Union at the next regular meeting following their receipt or issuance. He shall keep a permanent minute book containing an accurate account of the procedings of all meetings of the Local Union and the Local Executive Board. He shall have custody of the correspondence, contracts and seal of the Local Union. He shall affix the Local Union seal to all official letters and documents which require it.

5.5 Duties of Trustees.

The Trustees shall audit the records of the Financial Secretary quarterly and shall either prepare an annual audit for the year ending December 31, or cause such annual audit to be made by a Certified Public Accountant or other independent auditor selected by the Local Executive Board. The results of such audits shall be reported at the next meeting of the Local Executive Board and of the Local Union. The annual audit shall also be made available to all members and a copy shall be filed with the Secretary-Treasurer of the International Union.

5.6 Duties of the Sergeant-at-Arms.

The Sergeant-at-Arms shall be responsible for admitting to Local Union meetings only members in good standing, representatives of the International and other authorized persons. He shall assist the President in preserving order at meetings when called upon to do so.

5.7 Local Executive Board.

The Local Executive Board shall be the governing body of the Local Union between membership meetings. It shall carry out the instructions of the membership and shall act on all matters which are referred to it by the Local Union. Except as otherwise provided herein, its actions shall be reported to the next membership meeting for approval or disapproval. It shall at each Local Executive Board meeting receive and act upon the report of the actions of the officers and committee chairmen. It shall determine the manner of the investment of the funds of the Local Union but shall not cause or permit such funds to be invested in any business property or securities of any Employer with whom the Local Union or the International has a contract, or in which any officer or Local Executive Board member is directly or indirectly interested.

5.8 Shop Stewards.

(a) Shop Stewards, acting under the supervision of the President shall promptly investigate all grievances of employees working in their departments and shall otherwise enforce the provisions of the contract where it applies to their departments; they shall refer to the President any grievance or complaint which concerns more than one department; they shall advise members of their rights under the contract and of contract violations which may affect them. Wherever necessary, they shall seek advice from the President in the settlement of grievances and shall promptly report the status of all grievances to the President, including those which have been settled and those which they are referring to the President for further action.

(b) They shall call and conduct meetings of the members of their department when instructed to do so by the President or the Local Executive Board and shall attend meetings of Shop Stewards as required.

(c) They shall post authorized meeting notices in their departments; they shall report at least weekly to the Financial Secretary the names of all employees terminated, laid off or hired; and upon request by the President or the Local Executive Board, shall report on their activities to the Local Union meeting and the Local Executive Board.

SECTION 6

MEETINGS OF THE LOCAL UNION AND THE LOCAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

6.1 Regular and Special Meetings.

(a) Regular Local Union meetings shall take place on the 1st Sunday of each month, except as otherwise provided in Section 5.1 (b).

(b) Special Local Union meetings may be called by the President, and shall be called by him when requested by a majority of the Local Executive Board or by petition signed by 25 per cent of the members in good standing. Reasonable written notice of the time, place and purpose of special meetings must be given at all times. No business not coming within the scope of the announced purpose shall be transacted at special meetings.

(c) Upon authorization of the Local Executive Board, separate meetings of the members employed in a particular plant or department shall be called by the President for the purpose of considering or acting upon such matters as the Local Executive Board shall certify, provided that all actions taken at such meetings shall be in accordance with

the policies and constitution of the Local and International Unions.

6.2 Quorum.

A quorum of the Local Union shall consist of 10 per cent of the membership, excluding the officers. A quorum of the Local Executive Board shall be a majority of its members. Questions coming before the Local Union and the Local Executive Board shall be decided by a majority of its members present, except as otherwise provided herein.

6.3 Local Executive Board Meetings.

The Local Executive Board shall regularly meet at least once each month and at such other times as the President or a majority of its members deem advisable.

SECTION 7

CHARGES, TRIALS AND APPEALS

7.1 Charges, Trials and Appeals.

(a) Charges. Any member in good standing shall have the right to prefer charges of violation of the oath of office, these bylaws or the International Constitution, financial malpractice, corruption, misappropriation of union funds, conduct unbecoming an officer or member of the union, or any activity or course of conduct which is detrimental to the best interests of the Local or International. Such charges must be filed in writing with the Corresponding-Recording Secretary of the Local Union, unless he is the subject of the charges in which case they shall be filed with the President.

7.2 Notice and Hearing.

(a) The officer with whom the charges are filed shall cause a copy of the charges to be served upon the accused member or officer in person or by Registered

Mail, together with reasonable notice of the time and place of the trial. The accused shall be accorded a fair trial before the Local Executive Board or a Trial Committee designated by it. The charging party and the accused shall be allowed to be represented by another member in good standing as counsel and shall have the right to cross-examine and produce relevant testimony and witnesses.

(b) No member who is a party to the charge or who is a witness at a trial may participate in the trial or disposition of the charges by the Trial Committee or the Local Executive Board.

(c) The hearing may proceed in the absence of the accused, if he fails to appear.

7.3 Decision on Charges.

The Local Executive Board, or its designated Trial Committee, shall report its findings, together with its recommendations to the next meeting of the Local Union for final action, which shall require a majority vote of those present and voting at the Local Union meeting.

7.4 Penalties.

A member or officer who has been found guilty of violating the Bylaws of the Local Union or the Constitution of the International Union may be punished by reprimand, fine, suspension, removal from office, expulsion, loss of good standing or any other penalty short of expulsion, according to the severity of the offense. If such punishment includes loss of good standing it may, in the discretion of the Local Executive Board, or its Trial Committee, include disqualification from attending and/or participating or voting in Union meetings and/or holding office in the Union for a specified period. Members who lose their good standing but are not expelled shall be obligated to continue to maintain their membership by the payment of regular and periodic dues.

7.5 Loss of Good Standing.

Members who fail to pay fines within 30 days after they are imposed or assessments in the month in which they are levied shall be in bad standing and shall not be entitled to participate in meetings of the Local.

7.6 Appeals following Trials.

The accused member or officer may appeal the decision of the Local Union to the Joint Local Executive Board and the General Executive Board as provided in the International Constitution. Appeals, if any, to the International Convention shall be governed by the International Constitution.

7.7 Other Appeals.

Any member who claims that his rights as a member or as an employee have been denied or abridged shall have the right to appeal to the General Executive Board, as provided in the International Constitution.

SECTION 8

MISCELLANEOUS

8.1 Bonding.

The President, Financial Secretary and any other persons who handle funds or other property of the Local Union shall be bonded in such amount as may be fixed by the Local Executive Board but not less than an amount equal to ten percentum of the funds handled by them and/or their predecessors during the preceding year. Such bonds shall be in conformity with applicable federal statutes. Premiums shall be paid by the Local Union. Officers or members shall immediately report to the Local Executive Board any irregularity or deficiency in the accounts or financial transactions of the Local.

8.2 Parliamentary Procedure and Order of Business.

Proceedings at Local Union meetings, where not specifically provided for in these Bylaws or in the International Constitution, shall be governed by Roberts Rules of Order. The order of business of the Local Union shall be that set forth below:

1. Calling meeting to order.

2. Roll call of officers.

3. Reading minutes of previous meeting.

4. Proposals for membership.

5. Initiation of new members.

6. Election of officers.

7. Reading of correspondence and bills.

8. Reports of delegates, stewards, committees, and officers.

9. Unfinished business.

10. New business.

11. For the welfare of the organization.

12. Reading of receipts and expenditures.

13. Adjournment.

8.3 Exhaustion of Remedies.

Subject to the requirements of applicable Federal laws, members and officers must exhaust all remedies provided for under these Bylaws and the International Constitution before resorting to any other agency or tribunal.

8.4 Bylaws and Collective Bargaining Agreements to be Furnished.

A copy of the collective bargaining agreement which affects each employee and a copy of the Local Union Bylaws shall be furnished to each member or made available to him upon his request.

8.5 Safety Deposit Box.

If a safety deposit box is used by the Local Union, it shall be in the name of the Local Union and its securities and other valuable documents shall be deposited therein. Access to such box shall require the signature of the President and the Financial Secretary.

8.6 Amendments.

Amendments to these Bylaws must be proposed at a regular or special meeting of the Local Union. Such proposed amendments shall be voted on at the next regular meeting or at a special meeting called for that purpose, and shall require a two-thirds vote of those present and voting in

order to be adopted; provided, however, that Section 3.1 and 3.2 may be amended at a regular or special meeting after at least seven days' notice to all members, by a majority of those present and voting by secret ballot. Amendments shall not become effective until after they have been endorsed by the General Executive Board of the International.

Basic patterns *in union contracts*

April 1961

I think it fair
& reasonable to keep
these two items
together

Guy

Labor - Gen

A NATIONAL DISGRACE:

WHAT UNIONS DO TO BLACKS

For nearly a century, most unions have forced Negroes into Jim Crow locals, given them dirty jobs or refused to admit them at all. New laws and repeated union promises are not stopping prejudice. By Jack Star LOOK Senior Editor

IN 1866, THE NEWLY FORMED National Labor Union faced the question of how to treat Negro members. Its answer at the 1869 convention was to ask black delegates to form their own all-Negro organization.

In 1890, the American Federation of Labor came out against discrimination, but in 1895, it admitted to membership the Machinists; in 1896, the Boiler Makers; and in 1897, the Blacksmiths—three unions that absolutely barred Negroes.

In 1902, a union official named Grant induced the AFL Stationary Engineers to amend its constitution and exclude blacks, saying, "the Negro belongs in Africa."

In 1943, the four railroad brotherhoods defied the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practices and refused to remove "Caucasian only" clauses from their constitutions. Four years ago, the Locomotive Firemen finally took the clause out, but there still aren't any Negro firemen. Negroes, by the way, had traditionally been firemen in the coal-burning days, but the unions forced them out when diesel locomotives were introduced.

It would be inaccurate to say that since 1869, the Negro's lot in American labor unions has not improved—but it is disgraceful to have to list, in 1968, examples of how much prejudice remains:

- Negroes continue to be excluded from many unions solely because of color.
- There are still several hundred all-Negro union locals in existence.
- Union contracts often perpetuate racially separate seniority lines, with the dirtier, dead-end and lesser paid jobs relegated to the Negro members.
- Union-controlled apprenticeship programs admit far less than token numbers of Negroes (only 2.7 percent—an increase of one percent in ten years).
- Unions (especially in the booming building trades) continue to turn away qualified Negro journeymen or give them bottom jobs. In San Francisco, for example, Negroes make up 25 percent of the work force on the $1.2 billion Bay Area Rapid Transit System, but they are mostly in the so-called "mud trades." Of 169 ironworkers, only two are Negroes; of 96 electricians, just three are Negroes; of 27 plumbers, one is a Negro.
- Since union hiring halls control job assignments, nonunion Negro craftsmen often work for one-third the money that whites make.

Unions are doggedly battling civil rights complaints that are before the courts and Government agencies. Despite landmark court decisions in 1967-68, the unions seem determined to fight a rear-guard holding action reminiscent of the one fought by Southern school districts after the Supreme Court's 1954 school-desegregation decision.

Herbert Hill, labor director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who for 21 years has been in the forefront of the struggle, told me: "Many American labor unions have become narrow, restrictive, protective associations, and the white American working class is predominantly racist. This is a time of unparalleled high employment. There should be a job for everyone—in many cities, there is a labor shortage. But Negroes are still excluded because of the white worker's obsession with race and job status."

Hill hastens to add that not all unions are bad. He cites the United Packinghouse Workers of America, which revoked charters of locals in the South rather than compromise on discrimination, and the United Auto Workers, which continues its fight for racial justice. And there are good locals, such as New York City's Local 1199 of the Hospital Workers and District 65 of the Distributive Workers, which welcome the unskilled and members of minorities.

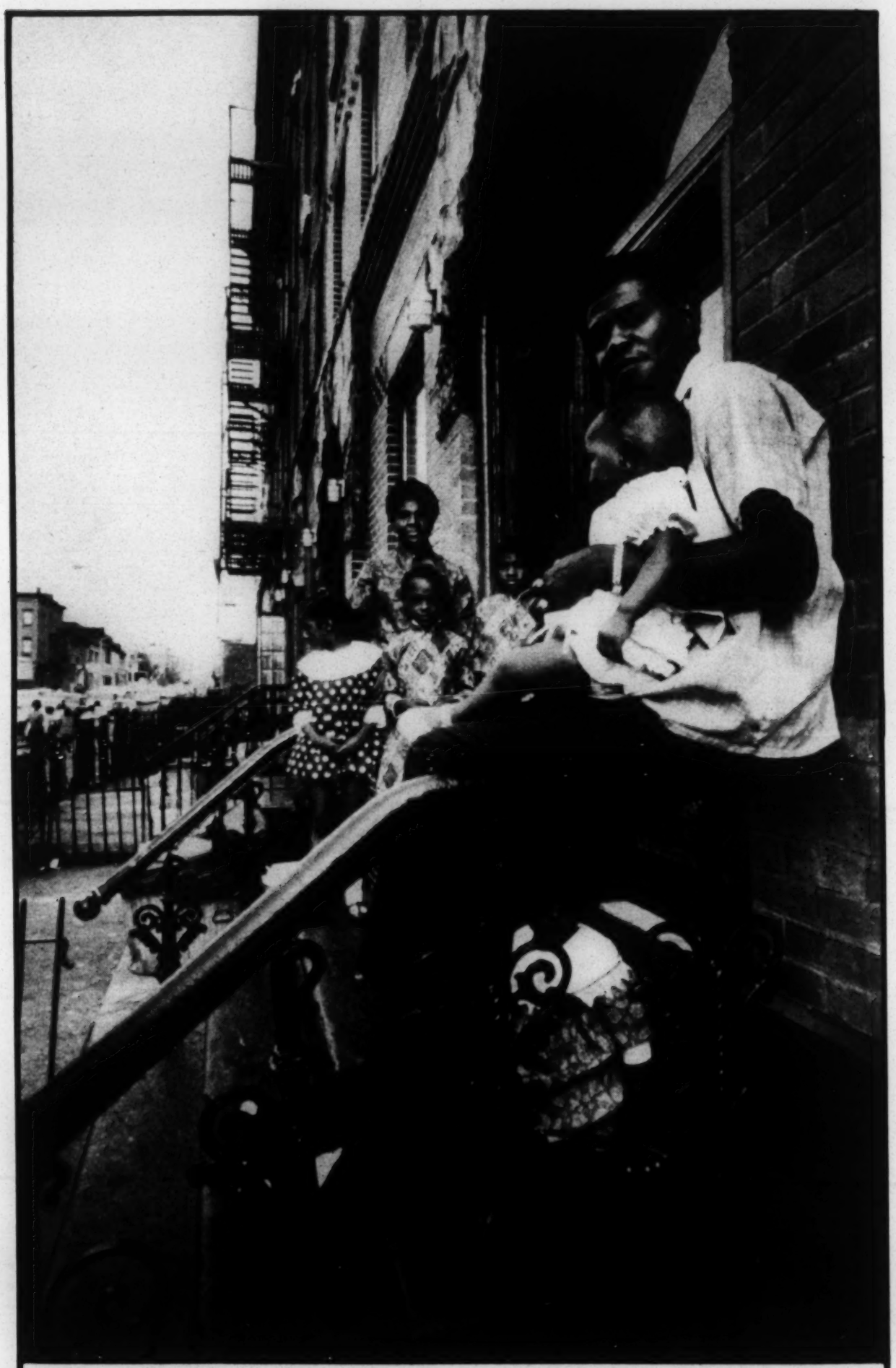
But the NAACP's list of discriminatory unions is far longer. Executive Director Roy Wilkins angrily told the last AFL-CIO convention how unions have rendered protests and legal actions futile:

"In the summer of 1963, the NAACP and other civil rights organizations picketed the construction site of Barringer High School in Newark, N.J., protesting the exclusion of Negro workers there. A year later, they picketed also the Rutgers University Law School Extension construction site in Newark. Finally, the State University of New Jersey on February 9, 1965, filed formal complaints against the five locals of the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers. The local unions eventually entered into a [legal] stipulation with the [state] Civil Rights Commission . . . in December of 1966 and agreed to admit Negroes for the first time into the union-controlled apprenticeship training programs.

"But four years after the initial demonstrations, three years after the filing of complaints . . .

continued

In Brooklyn, a union lather from Florida cannot transfer to a job under the same union



Vincent V. Whylie, *30, of Brooklyn, father of five young daughters, belonged to an integrated local of the Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers,* AFL-CIO, *in Daytona Beach, Fla. A Federal suit charges that when he moved up north two years ago, New York Local 46 (with only a single, inactive Negro among its 6,000 members) refused to accept his transfer card.* NAACP *pressure got him a job working on a post office project, but he was fired on grounds that a layoff was necessary and was immediately replaced by a white union member. Because of the resulting furor, says* NAACP, *"the union has accepted 12 Negroes as members—less than tokenism—but they still won't admit Whylie and many other Negroes."*

PHOTOGRAPHS BY JAMES HANSEN

and a year after stipulation that the locals would admit Negroes, *not a single Negro* has been admitted into any of the five locals. Nor is there a single Negro employed within this union's jurisdiction in the extensive public and private construction in northern New Jersey."

Wilkins told the hushed delegates that the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks has been doing away with black segregated locals:

"But they did this by reclassifying the traditional Negro job classifications and declaring them to be within the jurisdiction of the white locals. In practice, this meant, for example, that Negro freight handlers were replaced by less senior white workers who had been in the all-white baggage clerks seniority line. In other words, we will abolish the segregated local, but now everybody's seniority will count, and the whites who had seniority over here in their separate local have more than the seniority of Negroes that have just been taken in. The Negroes have no seniority in the white local, and therefore their jobs are out." A Wilkins aide adds: "It is no accident that no American ever bought a railroad ticket from a Negro clerk. The ticket seller's job is in the white seniority line."

Union control of apprenticeship programs remains a major bar to black progress—today, there are fewer union Negro plumbers or electricians than Negro Ph.D.'s. In testimony before the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Joseph Mazzola, business manager of Plumbers Local 38 in San Francisco, explained why 50 percent of his journeymen were the sons of men in the union: "It is just that the 50 percent had a better privilege . . . every father wants his son to be pretty much what he was."

In Chicago, where there are a million Negroes, the taxpayers pay for the Washburne Trade School, but the unions decide what students can enter this public school as part of their apprentice training. For years, Negroes made up less than one percent of the student body because the unions denied them entry. Today, after court contests, civil rights protests, newspaper exposés and herculean efforts by the school board, there are 167 Negro students among the 2,958 pupils, but 37 were brought in under so-called "open enrollment"—they are not part of the union apprenticeship program and get a diploma instead of a union job.

The situation in Massachusetts is typical of what such exclusionary practices achieve: of 137 structural-iron-worker apprentices in the Bay State, none is black; of 661 electrician apprentices, eight are black; of 300 plumber apprentices, seven are black; of 353 sheet-metal-worker apprentices, none is black; of 265 pipe fitters, one is black; of 167 newspaper-compositor apprentices, one is black.

Can it be, as some whites allege, that blacks are "too lazy to work"? While it is true that many Negroes are crippled by long years of discrimination, the majority want to work and are denied the chance. There are 1.2 million Negro members among the 18 million unionists in America, but the Massachusetts figures testify that blacks are kept out of the better paying jobs. Society keeps Negroes out of ordinary jobs too: last year, unemployment reached 34 percent in Watts—higher than America's general rate of unemployment in the Great Depression of the 1930's.

Even the "most egalitarian" unions may discriminate. The International Ladies' Garment Workers, long-considered a leader in the fight for social

justice, stands accused by the Harlem chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality:

"For years, [the ILGWU] permitted conditions to exist which keep the vast majority of black workers in the lowest paying jobs and has denied black workers a policy-making voice in the union through restrictive constitutional provisions."

The NAACP's Herbert Hill says the ILGWU negotiates generous pay raises for cutters and pressers, most of whom are white, while it obtains hourly wages just a few cents above the Federal minimum wage for its nonwhite members, who constitute some 150,000 of the 450,000 members.

In New York, for example, the pressers are in Local 60, which has an appendage called 60A that Hill says was never chartered by the International and contains mostly Negroes and Puerto Ricans who are shipping clerks, "push boys" and deliverymen. Hill says that the manager of Local 60 also runs 60A, although the latter has twice as many members.

More laws than ever prohibit job discrimination, but even the vast power of the Federal Government seems ineffectual. The Labor Department has a stiff regulation that authorizes its Bureau of Apprenticeship to penalize discriminatory apprentice programs. Over 700 such programs have been cited for violations by other public agencies, but none has been decertified by the Bureau in the more than five years since the regulation went into effect.

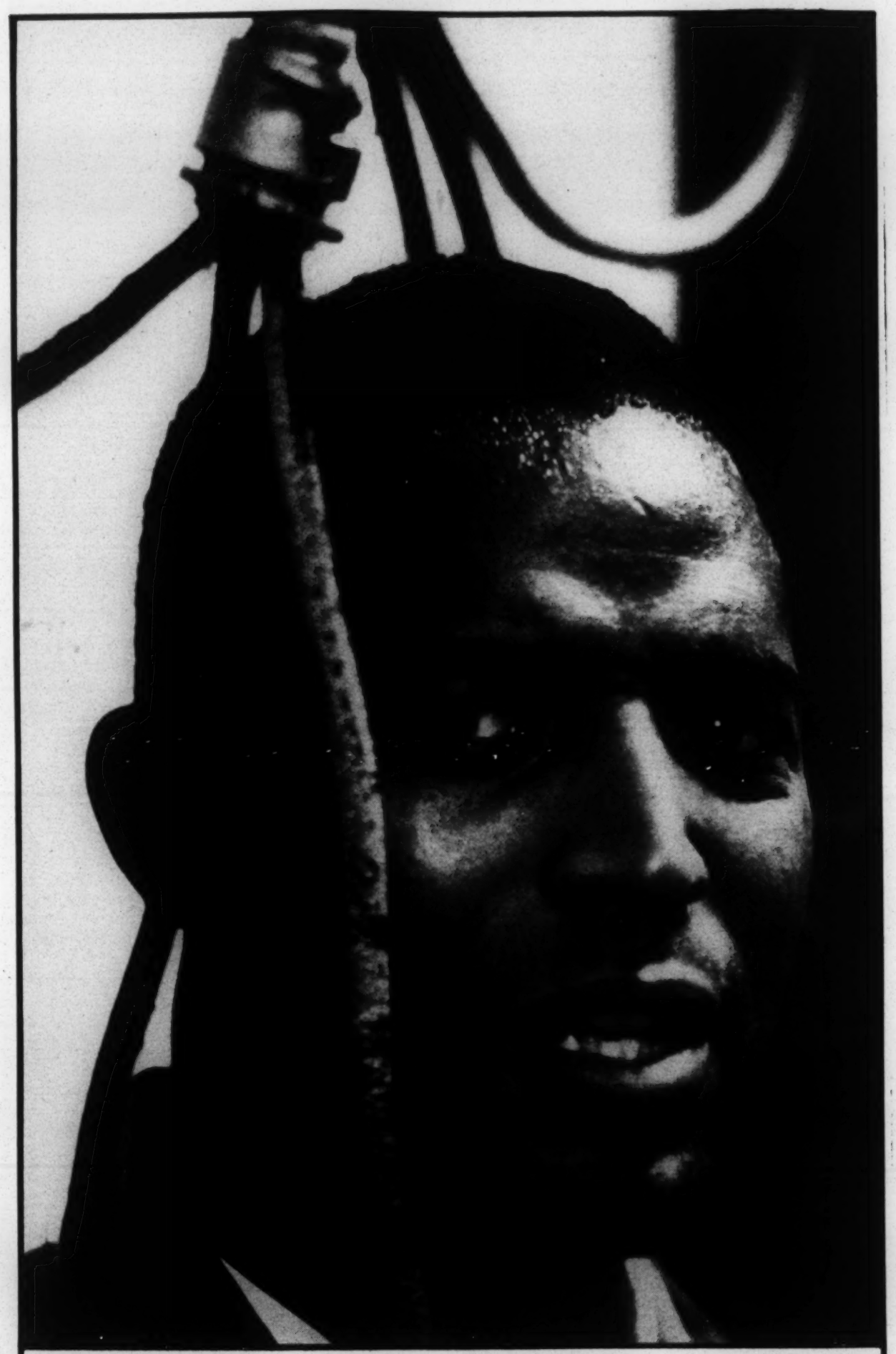
Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits racial discrimination in employment. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, set up under the law, has in three years of operation heard some 4,200 complaints against unions and "found cause" in over 60 percent of those probed. But the Commission is powerless, except for the threat that its found-cause cases might end up in Federal court. So far, the Justice Department has taken ten unions to court, while over 150 U.S. suits have been filed privately, mostly by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. The results have been skimpy.

In two landmark decisions, Federal courts ruled emphatically that race must not be a factor in promotions, assignments, seniority or other job matters. But the decisions have not moved other offending unions. In Bogalusa, La., two unions that lost their cases—the Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers and the United Paper Makers and Paper Workers—angrily threatened to strike after an employer agreed to end discrimination. The Paper Makers then sought an injunction to prevent enforcement of the signed agreement. Hill says the Asbestos Workers, the Steelworkers and the Aluminum Workers are all busily raising scores of procedural legal questions, dragging out the cases.

"In reality, the AFL-CIO has a public position on civil rights and a private position," he charges. "The public position is one of ostensible support for equality; the private position—and the more important one as revealed by court challenges and threatened strikes—is that of bitter resistance."

The odd thing about the unions' resistance is their public posture of consistently promising reforms. Last February, the New York *Times* headlined on Page 1: "18 Unions Pledge to Seek Negroes for Building Jobs—Assure Labor Department They Will Try to Prevent Discrimination by Locals." Hill says that nine months later, there are few signs the promises are being kept. He recalls that in 1963, an agreement using virtually the same words was signed by the 18 presidents of the Building and

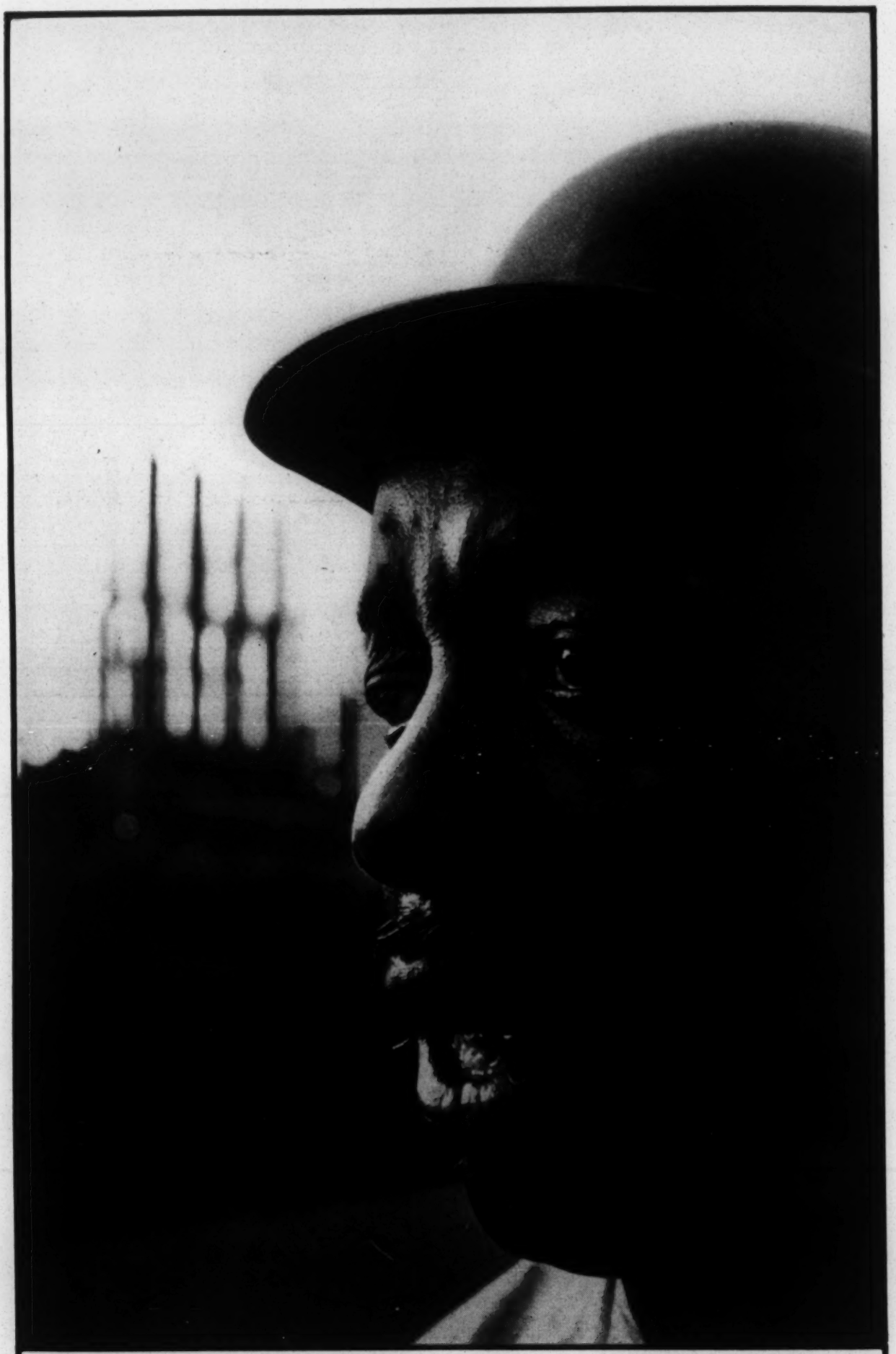
In Cincinnati, a college-educated electrician can't join the electricians union



Anderson L. Dobbins, *37, of Cincinnati, has a B.S. degree in trade education from Hampton Institute, with college courses in electricity, but nets only $4,500 a year as a nonunion electrician. Dobbins has been unsuccessful for years in attempts to join the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers,* AFL-CIO, *whose 800 all-white journeymen in Cincinnati earn three times as much as Negro electricians. The union is the sole avenue for a man seeking a job with any of the larger contractors, 75 percent of whose work is publicly financed. "I don't want to move next door to a white man," says Dobbins. "I don't want to marry anybody's daughter. All I want is to be allowed to work at my trade."*

continued

In Birmingham, there are jobs for white men and other jobs for black men



Robert J. Hubbard, *42, who started as a hooker with the U.S. Steel Corp. nearly 25 years ago, charges he will always be a hooker in a steel mill outside Birmingham because of discriminatory provisions in his union contract. A hooker is the man who directs the movements of a giant crane from the ground; the craneman earns more money. In a Federal suit against both U.S. Steel and the* AFL-CIO *United Steel Workers Union, Hubbard says that the hooker's job classification is reserved for black men, while cranemen are usually white. Hubbard adds: "There are jobs for white men and other jobs for black men." Many more cases now pending in Federal courts charge union bias in job assignments.*

Construction Unions. He also recalls that in 1962, the heads of 120 AFL-CIO unions signed an anti-bias pledge at the White House.

White prejudice causes black unionists to pull together. In Chicago, 80 percent of the city's bus drivers, who belong to the AFL-CIO Amalgamated Transit Workers, are Negroes; they have formed their own black caucus, the Concerned Transit Workers. The black drivers twice went out on strike in recent months because, although they constitute a majority of the union's active membership, they are outvoted by pensioned-off drivers who are white.

Other black caucuses are operating in the ILGWU and the United Steelworkers. Negroes are also forming all-black unions such as the Maryland Freedom Labor Union and the Independent Alliance of Skilled Crafts. The latter, an Ohio group, is flourishing because of a Federal-court decision that millions of dollars worth of public construction projects in the state be opened to black workers; since the construction unions won't supply them, the Alliance is happy to do so.

Donald Slaiman, who is the AFL-CIO's civil rights department director, told me vehemently that most unions are trying to improve the black man's lot. He says: "Equality can't be attained overnight. The movement of the unskilled and the poorly educated to our cities in the last decade is greater than the whole Irish migration to the U.S. in the 1800's. This country in the last decade has made more progress in eliminating racial discrimination than any other country in the world."

Slaiman believes top AFL-CIO leaders have been fearless in speaking out against prejudice even though "backlash *is* a problem. Throughout the country, there are blue-collar workers who feel civil rights—fair employment and open housing—threaten them. The AFL-CIO has to justify its cooperating with the law . . . in places where many members are pro-Wallace [or, he adds, sometimes even Klansmen]."

The building trades are still slow to admit Negro journeymen, Slaiman says, but the apprenticeship situation is showing marked improvement. "It's an oversimplification," he insists, "to say that prejudice alone is what keeps Negroes out of apprenticeships. You have to work hard to get Negroes. . . . The Negro kids are out there, but they don't come forward by themselves; they need to be found, motivated and helped to pass exams. We're doing this in every major city." As proof, Slaiman points to Outreach Apprenticeship Programs, which, he says, seek and train minority youngsters in 35 cities.

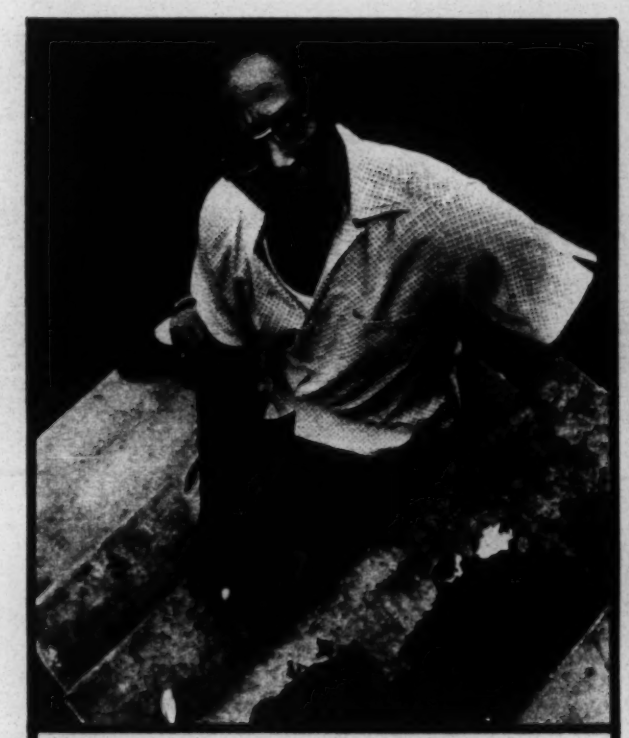
As for all-black union locals, Slaiman claims: ". . . It's the Negro local that doesn't want to merge; [Negroes] would be a minority in a merged local." As for separate seniority lines: "It's not a simple yes or no." In some cases, he believes, eliminating separate seniority lines might give Negroes an advantage over whites, "and Negroes shouldn't get different standards than whites."

Herbert Hill thinks that this is just an alibi that blames the victim for the crime. He says: "Thirteen years after the merger between the AFL and CIO, it is clear that unions are unwilling or unable to eliminate broad national patterns of racial discrimination. At best, there is conspicuous tokenism, but the Jim Crow patterns remain intact."

In Hill's harsh judgment, the tragedy is that labor "could have been a force helping to liberate the American Negro—instead, most unions have become instruments of racial oppression."

In Los Angeles, Negroes charge that their union sends black waiters out to segregated jobs

***James F. Smith,** 46, complains that in Los Angeles, black waiters are dispatched solely to regular jobs for ~~which only~~ Negroes are employed; the dispatcher is Local 17 of the Hotel & Restaurant Employees and Bartenders. As a result, he says, black waiters earn far less money than whites—mostly serving an occasional banquet.*



***Willie W. Simpson,** 54, wonders why there are two locals of the United Paper Makers and Paper Workers Union, AFL-CIO, in the plant where he works in Richmond. One of the locals is for whites; the other, for blacks. "Maybe it's just to keep us Negroes down," Simpson suggests. "I can't see any other reason in this day and age."*

In Birmingham, there are also unions for black men and unions for white men

***James C. Dent,** 47, has worked for the St. Louis-San Francisco Railway Co. for 26 years, mostly as a laborer. Last March, after filing a Federal suit and much agitation, he was finally promoted to car inspector. "If I had been a white man," Dent says, "I would have been an inspector after just four years on the job." But the Birmingham railroad yard where Dent works has two locals of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen—No. 750, which is all-black, and No. 60, which is all-white. And separating the races kept black men in the lower jobs. Now that he has been promoted, Dent has lost over 25 years' seniority—at his union's insistence—and could be among the first laid off in event of a recession.*

END

[redacted]

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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

PHONE: NATIONAL 8-3870

Labor - General

December 6, 1968

Mr. William B. Arthur, Editor
Look Magazine
488 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Arthur:

LOOK's November 12th article, "A National Disgrace: What Unions Do to Blacks", is itself a disgrace, full of distortions, misinformation, and just plain sloppy reporting.

Your headline falsely charges that most unions have excluded Negroes, forced them into Jim Crow locals when admitted and given them "dirty jobs."

The facts are: Most unions never had any Jim Crow locals; most have always admitted Negroes; almost none hire any workers--black or white--for any jobs, dirty or otherwise.

LOOK in its zeal to back up its rediculous headline published six untrue, sweeping allegations. The truth about each allegation is:

1. There are more than 1.5 million Negroes in unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO.

2. Of the more than 60,000 local unions in the AFL-CIO, less than 150 are now all-Negro and the campaign to merge all-Negro and all-white unions continues, even where some black locals are reluctant to change.

3. Negroes now constitute 3.6% of the apprenticeship force today, which is an increase of more than 100% in ten years. Labor Department figures, before your article was published, showed that Negro participation in apprenticeship has nearly doubled in the past 18 months. In addition to using an outdated figure (an increase from 1.7 to 2.7%), you also used deceptive arithmetic. Such an increase, as any high school math student would tell you, is not a 1% but a 60% increase. And speaking of "tokenism," do you dare tell your readers the percentage of senior editors--or just plain reporters--on LOOK who are black?

4. Unions, including building trades, not only have an open-door policy for apprentices but are engaged in programs to recruit Negro journeymen, among them the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the Plumbers.

5. Non-union craftsmen, black and white, make considerably less money than organized workers do. That is why unions exist. That is why, according to BUSINESS WEEK, unorganized workers--black and white--are flocking to trade unions.

6. Long before the 1964 Civil Rights Act--for which organized labor fought as far back as World War II--unions had sought to eliminate segregated seniority and they continue to do so. Remember, seniority is a contract item and it takes two parties to write a contract. Also, management often balks at union attempts to improve seniority systems.

These six items cover only about one-third of the distortions in the LOOK article. It would take the same amount of space allotted to Mr. Star to answer them all.

I refer to such statements as "Not a single Negro has been admitted into any of the five (construction) locals in Newark, N.J." and the charge that there are no Negro locomotive firemen. Both are absolutely untrue, were untrue when Mr. Star wrote them, and could have been easily checked by an editor interested in honest reporting.

Further, the article also deceives by what it omits. No mention is made of the successful program to seek out and recruit minority group youngsters for building trades apprenticeship now being conducted in 44 major cities. In Cleveland, for instance, 150 Negro apprentices are now in training, of these 15 are Iron Workers and more than 25 are in the Plumbers program. In Washington, 160 Negro youths are training for highly paid construction jobs.

Mr. Star apparently used his research time to find six cases of alleged discrimination. By using six photographs with cleverly written captions, LOOK implies that these experiences are typical. In some cases the caption is untrue. (For instance, the two Richmond locals of the United Paper Makers Union had voted to merge before your issue was published--a fact any cub reporter could have discovered.) He also could have learned that the union here wiped out wage differentials between blacks and whites (common to non-union plants) at the bargaining table more than 15 years ago.

Or take the case of Mr. Dobbins, who incidentally is now a union electrician. The implication is that the IBEW has a policy of discrimination. The fact is that the vast majority of IBEW locals are now implementing the policy of involvement in a cooperative recruiting program to interest black workers in becoming union electricians.

We make no claim to perfection and would welcome a constructive critique of our progress in civil rights. For there has been progress and we intend that it continue despite attempts such as Mr. Star's to discourage young Negroes from looking for work. Labor is not and has not been the foe of the quest for a better life. Indeed, it has often been the only group fighting for this goal. And invariably, it has succeeeded despite the hostility of that segment of the press, which cares neither for the truth nor the cause--and would sacrifice both for sensational headlines.

Yours truly,

William F. Schnitzler
Secretary-Treasurer
Chairman
AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee

DENNIS ASKS RETRACTION

'Look' Accused of Falsehoods In Article on Unions and Blacks

"Libelous misstatements" were charged to Look Magazine last week by President C. L. Dennis of the Railway and Airline Clerks—and he strongly demanded a retraction.

Dennis blasted a highly sensationalized article carried in the Nov. 12 issue of Look entitled "A National Disgrace: What Unions Do to Blacks." The magazine appeared on the newsstands Oct. 29.

The Clerks' leader declared that the article "completely misstates the facts as they relate" to alleged discrimination in his Brotherhood; also, its publication just before the election constituted "a dishonest attempt to influence voters."

Dennis called upon Look to publish a "complete retraction" of the article, correcting the record as it relates to the Railway Clerks. He provided facts for such a correction.

For example, the article said that in the Brotherhood "Negro freight handlers were replaced by less senior white workers who had been in the all-white baggage clerks seniority line."

Answered Dennis: "There is not one known instance under any of our more than 200 rules and working conditions agreements where one Negro freight handler was displaced by a white employe with less seniority."

"In no instance," he continued, "can an individual covered by our agreements displace a senior employee—and race, creed, color or sex has absolutely nothing to do with seniority under our agreements."

Another claim in the article that "Negroes have no seniority" in a white local and "therefore their jobs are out" was blasted by Dennis as "patently untrue and pure fantasy."

Further, the article says there are no Negro ticket clerks, and this was branded by Dennis as "completely untrue."

"I personally know of quite a few Negro ticket sellers working in several major passenger terminals in the United States," Dennis declared. He went to list names of some of them and the place where they work.

"It is always disturbing," the Clerks' leader went on, "that a magazine of the stature and circulation of Look constantly and consistently reports on the negative aspects of a story.

"Once in a while, it would be nice to read about the good work that is being done to solve some of the social ills of this nation instead of reading outright lies designed to weaken the labor movement.

"Our Brotherhood has participated in many joint ventures establishing on-the-job training programs designed to upgrade the arts, talents and skills of its membership. These agreements are open to all members regardless of race, creed, color or sex."

Dennis closed by saying he hoped that "an appropriate retraction" to the article would be published in an "early issue" of Look.

'Labor'

'Labor' is the weekly paper of 18 unions representing railroad, airline and other workers in the U.S.

Brotherhood of Locomotive
Firemen and Enginemen
PUBLICATIONS DEPARTMENT
W. C. MIDDLETON
EDITOR AND MANAGER
1564 DETROIT AVENUE
CLEVELAND, OHIO 44107

Rough draft

October 25, 1968

Mr. Jack Star
Senior Editor
LOOK MAGAZINE
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

I have just read the first four paragraphs of your feature--A National Disgrace--WHAT UNIONS DO TO BLACKS and I am compelled already to charge you not only with outright bias, but with outright lies.

Mr. Star, at such a crucial period in our history, when lack of understanding, lack of objectivity, is causing unprecedented chaos in our land, such distorted reporting as you presented in the November 12 issue of LOOK is outright criminal. One can only conclude that it has for its motive the aim of driving away black voters from the political party which has worked so long and arduously to bring about needed changes in our society.

You wrote, "Four years ago, the Locomotive Firemen finally took the clause out, but there still aren't any Negro Firemen. Negroes, by the way, had traditionally been firemen in the coal-burning days, but the unions forced them out when diesel locomotives were introduced."

Mr. Star, although the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen has yet to hire the first railroad fireman, I want you to know that railroads all over this country have hired and are hiring railroad firemen, in the North, East, West and, yes, in the South.

Furthermore, when these men are hired they have the privilege of joining this organization, which most of them do immediately. Only recently I met negro firemen, members of the BLF&E, at a function in Little Rock, Arkansas. Before that several joined in meetings in Buffalo, New York, where I was

Mr. Jack Star October 25, 1968

privileged to speak to them and other members of the BLF&E. In these two specific instances the railroads on which these negro firemen are employed are the Missouri Pacific and Penn Central Railroads.

You state categorically that "unions forced them (black firemen) out when diesel locomotives were introduced."

There is not a shred of truth in this statement.

Mr. Star, I am sure you do not care to know the truth, otherwise you would have researched your subject before sitting down to your typewriter, but here is the truth of the matter, anyway.

If any negro firemen were forced out, as you say, as a result of the diesel revolution in our industry, I am unaware of it. But, if you mean that they lost out as a result of the infamous arbitration award which took firemen--black and white--from their posts in locomotives, I suggest to you that this is still another story. More than 20,000 lost out--black and white.

And while we are on this subject, let me tell you that we have fought as no other organization has ever fought big business to bring back those needed firemen--black or white--with publications such as yours often joining to block our efforts.

Mr. Star, the need for understanding, the need for racial peace, the need for objectivity has never been greater than it is right now. Such warped reasoning and unfounded statements as appear in this article should be suspect at any time. But, coming at a time like this proves beyond any question that your interests lie not in informing for the sake of informing, but rather writing for the sake of sensationalism.

You have done your readers and our country a great disservice by publishing such unfounded statements that appear at the beginning of your article. But, what is worse, you may have sown the seeds of yet another disorder, yet another riot.

This to me seems to be a terrible price for sensationalism.

Sincerely,

Alex Rey

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October 28, 1968

Mr. Leonard Rubin
Look Magazine
488 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10022

Dear Mr. Rubin:

I find it regrettable that you did not bother to check with us about references made to United Papermakers and Paperworkers in the November 12 issue of Look, which will be on the stands, as you state, tomorrow.

The picture of Brother Willie W. Simpson on Page 37 is a member of Local 528, which was merged with Local 548 by voluntary vote of the membership sometime ago.

Further, I can advise you that the issues which concern the Crown Zellerbach case at Bogalusa have been almost totally resolved by stipulation and agreement among the parties, but endless reference to these difficult circumstances in a national magazine do not make our task easier, unless the intent is to discredit unions generally.

Finally, I can advise you that through collective bargaining over fifteen years ago this Union wiped out the racial wage differential in the paper industry, which today remains common in unorganized plants. The fact is the negro members of UPP working in the southern paper industry are probably the highest paid industrial manufacturing workers, with the possible exception of Birmingham steel workers and Atlanta auto workers. We are rather proud of these achievements, and are more than somewhat weary of being included in the general stoning by people like Herbert Hill.

Harry D. Sayre
President

HDS:IBK

cc Executive Board

LOOK

A PUBLICATION OF COWLES COMMUNICATIONS, INC. 488 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK NY 10022 MU 8-0300

Public Relations
and Information Services

RECD OCT 28 1968

Your union is mentioned in an article (enclosed) in the forthcoming issue of Look, "What Unions Do to Blacks." I thought you might be interested in commenting on this piece, or mentioning it in your publication.

This will appear in Look's November 12 issue -- out nationally on Tuesday, October 29.

Leonard Rubin
Look Magazine

Black militants protesting at Mahwah, N. J., against Ford and UAW reflect unrest in labor.

Unions — Black Dissent

LABOR

'A plague on both your houses!'

That seems to be the message of black militants directing their fury over alleged race bias at companies and unions alike. Both fear that radicals pose an explosive problem

Slogans on leaflets handed out by militant black unionists at auto plant gates in recent weeks have been impartial. "Behead the Redhead," said one directed at Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers; "Get Rid of Townsend and Put In a Black Cat," said another aimed at Lynn A. Townsend, chairman of Chrysler Corp.

The literature varies from plant to plant. But the basic message, usually expressed in harsh and obscene language, is that industry and organized labor are totally controlled by "the white establishment." To the black militants, labor's traditional rallying song, Solidarity Forever, means "labor heads and plant owners solidly together against the black worker," as a Detroit militant explains it.

The black militants say they can't be bought off by civil rights speeches by a corporation executive or the televised picture of a white union leader marching with blacks—a reference to Reuther in Charleston, S. C., in support of hospital workers on strike. Nothing like that can alter the hard facts of "the yoke of oppression that holds all of us in the chains of slavery to this country's exploitative system," says the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM), one of the most radical of the black militant organizations inside labor.

DRUM calls for "revolutionary struggles" by blacks and "ruthless and vicious tactics, where necessary." And it calls for blacks to "support everything the enemy opposes and oppose everything the honky supports."

Future problem? Black militancy isn't a major problem for most employers yet, but many fear that it could be disruptive and potentially explosive for years to come.

From what has already happened, such worries appear justified. For instance, black militants have disrupted production for short periods in plant demonstrations in several industries. There also has been sabotage. While Chrysler won't comment on reports that DRUM members and sympathizers engaging in guerrilla warfare have scratched paint on new cars and have left nuts and bolts untightened, the company admits that production machinery has been sabotaged. And UAW recently warned auto unionists, "Sabotage can be deadly." The warning was aimed primarily at DRUM sympathizers who may find sabotage preferable to open advocacy as a means of venting wrath.

Finally, demands are beginning to be heard for multi-million-dollar "reparations" from industry for "exploited blacks." Among the suggestions is one that corporations turn over up to 10% of their common stock to be used to improve the blacks' lot.

Ferment. At the Ford Motor Co.'s plant in Mahwah, N. J., a small but militant group—the United Black Brothers of Ford-Mahwah (UBB)—walked out and began mass picketing two weeks ago in a vain attempt to halt Ford's production. They charged that "white racists" in the supervisory force had committed "repeated acts of discrimination and abuse of black workers." The UBB also criticized the UAW for "not truly representing the black man."

The UBB action shut down production on a night shift and caused a few disruptions of work during the next several days. But most white workers and an estimated half or more of all blacks heeded Ford and UAW urgings to ignore picketing.

Black militancy is obvious in many other places and in many ways. It is at the heart of the campaign for union representation and a contract in Charleston hospitals. It is apparent, too, in growing pressures by Negro caucuses for more power in UAW, the United Steelworkers, and other major unions with large black memberships. And it is reflected in so far unsuccessful separatist proposals for Negro unions.

The stand ?

But the type of black militancy that worries industry and labor the most is the kind that manifested itself at Ford's Mahwah plant, at General Electric's Hotpoint Div. in Chicago in 1968, in incidents in steel mill centers, and in the big auto plants around Detroit.

This militancy is concentrated equally

against the major companies and UAW—the employers and union that perhaps more than any others have been in the front ranks in civil rights and anti-poverty crusades.

Why it happened. Many UAW leaders profess to find auto black militancy hard to understand. However, the size of auto plants and the close relationship of men on assembly lines make organization easier than in many other settings. And for a quarter-century the auto union has had a background of ideological and ad hoc groups that rise to fight for a cause—and then fade away.

Additionally, Northern members of UAW include large numbers of Southern whites and Southern blacks, with still-unreconciled antagonisms; in the last Presidential election, George Wallace had considerable support in UAW's rank and file—notably in the New Jersey area of the most recent black conflict.

Marcellius Ivory, a Negro member of UAW's executive board, has acknowledged "a polarization of extremist black and white positions" in the auto union. He said bluntly, "I'm scared of it. I don't know where the hell this will lead us."

Ivory had in mind DRUM, which, though small, has been a troublemaker in Dodge plants. It has since spawned a number of other loosely associated groups: Ford has a FRUM, a so-far nebulous organization in the Detroit area; General Motors has a GRUM, and there's an ELDRUM formed by black militants at Chrysler's Eldon Avenue plant in Detroit.

What it is. DRUM's constitution is generally copied by other groups. Its preamble says: " . . . We do here proclaim our solemn duty to take this the first step on the road to final victory over the great common enemy of humanity: i.e. the monstrous U. S. A. and the . . . system of exploitation and degradation."

Its purpose and objective, it says, is "to break the bonds of white racist control over the lives and destiny of black workers," as a step toward eventual "relief" for "people all over the world oppressed by our common enemy." In this connection, it says it will be necessary to "get rid of the racist, tyrannical, and unrepresentative UAW as representation for black workers, so that . . . we can deal directly with our main adversary, the white racists, owners of the means of production," and "bring down this exploitative system."

It bars from membership "all honkies . . . the historic enemy, betrayer, and exploiter of black people." But it will allow "coalition over issues" with whites. And it calls for action "to help organize DRUM-type organizations wherever there are black workers, be it in Lynn Townsend's kitchen, the White House, White Castle, Ford Rouge, the Mississippi delta, the plains of Wyoming, the mines of Bolivia, the rubber plantations of Indonesia, the oilfields of Biafra, or the Chrysler plant in South Africa."

Generally, DRUM-type groups echo this ideology if not the actual words. Although there is no demonstrated connection between DRUM and the United Black Brothers of Ford-Mahwah, there was clear-cut similarity in the attack on UAW. And the Afro-American Employees at Hotpoint Electric used similar language against GE and the AFL-CIO Sheet Metal Workers.

Demands. In common with many protest groups today, the black militants' demands in industry and labor are hard to define.

At a recent DRUM meeting, for instance, a member complained that whenever a black worker is promoted, his former white superior moves up a notch before him. "No matter how high I get, that same rotten racist . . . is still picking on me at every opportunity and making me feel like a damn fool," he said, voicing a common demand that blacks should get opportunities to leapfrog over white superiors.

Ken Bannon, UAW's Ford head, accuses black militants of intimidation.

At the same DRUM conference, another black said it was time to get away from a system under which "everywhere I look there sits some honky, looking down on me, even when I go to church there hangs a white cat from a cross telling me to pray for my problems."

The extremists don't want black foremen and supervisors ("What good is a black foreman who thinks he's white and takes orders from a white cat?"), but top-to-bottom control by blacks (in the case of Chrysler this would include replacing Townsend with "a black cat").

Exaggerated as the demands are, what worries businessmen so much is that even a small radical hard-core of activists can make big trouble—as they have on just as far-fetched issues in ghettos and on university campuses across the country.

Warning. UAW says that DRUM's membership may be only 100 or so and that some of these are "outsiders," including "troublemakers" and "young black intellectuals, from the colleges." Memberships in similar groups at "a few other plants" of the Big Three are small, too, says UAW.

But UAW is well aware that relatively few activists can be utilized to get mass action by picking issues and grievances or capitalizing on disputes: Unions have done it in organizing and to apply economic pressure on employers, and UAW has now seen the strategy turned against the union by black militants.

Recently, the auto union sent letters to its 350,000 members in the Detroit area, citing knifings and physical assaults at two Chrysler plants, arson, and intimidation of local union leaders—the majority Negroes. The union warned that it would not protect workers "who resort to violence and intimidation with the conscious purpose of dividing our union along racial lines." This was a direct attack on DRUM—and a warning against support for the self-styled revolutionary group.

UAW is seriously worried by the willingness of DRUM, UBB, and other black militant groups to turn against blacks or the union as quickly as against whites and employers. A black industrial relations man was stabbed in a Chrysler plant for "Tomism" when he notified a black militant that he was suspended. And DRUM boasts of a contingent of 200 "storming a union hall and taking over the executive board meeting" and of "a sit-down protest by 50 black workers at Solidarity House, headquarters of the UAW." Ken Bannon, director of the union's Ford Dept., charges that at Mahwah the militants "threatened to beat up wives and children of Negro workers, including union leaders, if they refused to cooperate."

Nelson Jack Edwards, another Negro on UAW's executive board, blames young black followers of Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael for some of the troubles.

"They've got the idea of using violence for gains," he says. A white staff man adds that troubles are partly invited by the reaction of whites "who've pretty much had it, because of all of the rioting everywhere."

Search for cures. For auto managements, the black militants bring back uneasy memories of sit-down strikes in plants staged by UAW radicals in the 1930's. They deny that there is blatant discrimination and maintain that supervisory personnel are handling race questions "better all the time."

Henry Ford II recently told a Yale audience that the actual problem is "a variety of practices and procedures which have the effect of discriminating [against Negroes] even though their purpose is pure"—for example, the seniority system that can take jobs away from workers recruited in the ghetto. **End**

EU — Unions — Criticism & Dissent

WALL STREET JOURNAL, TUESDAY, JUNE 3, 1969

The Labor Movement: Sinew Turned Fat

By JAMES P. GANNON

WASHINGTON—The view from the paneled executive dining room was a picture-book scene: The light-bathed dome of the U.S. Capitol gleaming against a black sky while, below, the sparkling water danced in the giant fountain of the Capitol's north lawn.

Inside, at the linen-draped table bedecked with fragrant floral displays, the tuxedo-clad waiters decanted four varieties of fine French wines into exquisite crystal, served five gourmet's-delight courses, poured coffee into elegant china demitasse cups and offered the best of brandies and cigars. The two dozen dinner guests, who earlier had enjoyed cocktails and canapes in the airy penthouse one floor above, sank into that euphoric after-dinner fog that seems the particular luxury of the overfed upper class.

Yet the setting was not some corporate hideaway nor exclusive executives' club. It was the marble temple of America's truck drivers—the Teamsters Union national headquarters here. The occasion: A get-acquainted evening presided over by teamster chief Frank E. Fitzsimmons, who apparently is bent on repairing his union's relations with the press, which have ranged from poor to awful in recent years.

Disturbing Hospitality

Perhaps a freeloading reporter is an ingrate and a boor to belittle the hospitality of his hosts. But this type of hospitality is somehow disturbing, at least to one reporter trying, as he winds up a three-year stint covering labor affairs, to sort out some parting thoughts on the state of the American labor movement.

Organized labor, probably more than any other group, has the potential for significantly advancing the welfare of working people—and that's nearly everyone. But today's labor leaders seem less interested in fulfilling that potential than entrenching themselves in positions of power and enjoying those positions to the fullest.

What did the lavish dinner cost those dues-paying truck drivers, warehouse hands, shipping clerks and others who call themselves Teamsters? Whatever the sum, it was a pittance for an organization that last year took in $8.2 million more than it managed to spend—despite its freewheeling spending style.

The evening was reminiscent of others at those deliberately drawn-out meetings of the AFL-CIO in garish Miami Beach hotels, where the rooms in February retail at $40 and $50 a night and more (but the AFL-CIO gets them wholesale). Those are the meetings where the labor chieftains put out stern statements blasting rich folks' tax loopholes and sometimes send a check for $10,000 (the cost of one big Miami Beach cocktail party?) to some struggling group of striking garbage haulers or hospital workers who are doing what the union presidents used to do so long, long ago.

The penthouse parties and the Miami Beach junkets are significant in their symbol-

labor, it will be the healthy effect of competition between the AFL-CIO and the Alliance for Labor Action, the UAW-Teamster joint venture. To the extent that the rival groups try to outdo each other in organizing, bargaining, social action and other constructive projects, the labor movement will be re-invigorated; but to the extent they waste time and energy issuing press release blasts, raiding each other's members and competing for political influence, the labor movement will be further disgraced.

Sweeping changes are occurring in the composition of organized labor that the unions' structure and hierarchy have failed to reflect. The new generation of workers has little or no recollection of that profound shaper of the labor movement, the Great Depression; by best estimates, nearly half of all union members are under 40, and one-fourth under 30. Furthermore, these younger members are predominantly suburbanites, property-owners and taxpayers with a political and psychological orientation quite unlike that of their aged leaders. The new union members are much more interested in air-pollution control and property-tax relief than in such old-line legislative goals as repealing right-to-work laws or broadening construction unions' picketing rights. Yet labor's lobbying aims, while beginning to show some updating, still concentrate overmuch on those worn-out symbols dear to the hearts of the traditionalist leaders.

Perhaps more serious, the younger ranks wield scant influence in making policy. At the typical union convention, few delegates look like representatives of the new youthful constituency. Among officialdom, the senior citizenry is in overwhelming dominance. In some unions, such as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, a whole generation of middle-echelon officials has grown old and bitter waiting for leaders now in their 70s and 80s to step down.

Business management has long known that talented, ambitious young men cannot be expected to idle away their best years waiting for death's hand to clear a path of advancement. Corporations have imposed mandatory retirement on even the highest officials, and have accelerated the delegation of responsibility to young men. Such thinking would prove a boon to labor.

The labor movement, through success at the bargaining table, shrewdness in political action and lobbying, and the past work of its current crop of leaders, has become an entrenched pillar of the American establishment. This is no criticism; indeed, it is more of a tribute, in light of labor's humble, blood-soaked beginning. But other establishment pillars are shaking. Churches, universities, political machines and government institutions are under social siege. If the bishops, deans, bosses and bureaucrats are in danger, so are labor's luminaries.

Evidence of internal discontent is obvious. The turnover among elected union officers is accelerating. More and more tentative contract settlements, billed by the leadership as "the best ever," are voted down by the rank and file. A Gallup Poll funds that only 56% of union members voted "right," by their leaders' evaluation, in last fall's Presidential election. A little-known staff attorney challenges one of the AFL-CIO's big names—Steelworkers Union chief I. W. Abel—and captures an amazing 41% of the membership vote.

Are these isolated, unconnected events that can be brushed off as passing phenomena? Or are they scattered yet complexly interwoven strains within the labor establishment that demand a response? To criticism, the predictable reaction from labor's hierarchy is: "We've been written off as dead before, yet we're stronger than ever." Just possibly that is correct. But if the Pope and Charles de Gaulle can be made targets of today's anti-institution upheaval, should George Meany presume to be immune?

It's far-fetched to envision radical rank-and-filers seizing their union halls, laying siege to the AFL-CIO headquarters or rioting at labor conventions. But a less-spectacular deterioration of union structure and solidarity may be under way, unrecognized by a leadership too insulated from its constituents.

Potential Is Immense

Organized labor's potential for doing good is immense; its historic achievements in collective bargaining, lobbying for social legislation and political action are testament to that. But as long as its aging leaders indulge in senseless feuding, clutch the reins of power until death and disdain to bring their younger constituency into more active involvement, labor's potential will be unfulfilled.

A warning to all organized labor is evident in the current plight of the once-proud United Mine Workers of America. The union made great by John L. Lewis has fallen into decline —in membership, in spirit, in structure. Its leaders now tour the coal fields attempting to bank the fires of discontent among the rank and file.

At a Pittsburgh miners' rally not long ago, John Owens, the 78-year-old secretary-treasurer who has been a UMW official since the 1920s, defended the hierarchy and pleaded for unity in the membership. Summing up the incumbents' achievement, he told the miners how poor the union was when he became secretary-treasurer in 1948, and proudly added: "Now we are a $100-million-dollar institution."

When labor leaders begin measuring themselves and their unions in dollars, then the ideals and aspirations of the labor movement lose their meaning.

selves Teamsters? Whatever the sum, it was a pittance for an organization that last year took in $8.2 million more than it managed to spend—despite its freewheeling spending style.

The evening was reminiscent of others at those deliberately drawn-out meetings of the AFL-CIO in garish Miami Beach hotels, where the rooms in February retail at $40 and $50 a night and more (but the AFL-CIO gets them wholesale). Those are the meetings where the labor chieftains put out stern statements blasting rich folks' tax loopholes and sometimes send a check for $10,000 (the cost of one big Miami Beach cocktail party?) to some struggling group of striking garbage haulers or hospital workers who are doing what the union presidents used to do so long, long ago.

The penthouse parties and the Miami Beach junkets are significant in their symbolism. They testify to the vast distance that separates the working union member and the highly paid hierarchy. Is there any reason for a $9,000-a-year factory worker to believe that his problems are keenly felt by his $50,000-a-year union president cutting an expense-account swath through the shakedown jungle of Florida's Gold Coast?

The trappings of affluence also symbolize a transformation of organized labor's position in American society. The labor movement today is much less a movement than an institution. It bears little resemblance to the industrial union organizing crusade of th 1930s, the civil rights campaign of the late '50s and early '60s, the student protest movement of today. Organized labor's focus is increasingly inward, toward improving and conserving its institutional position, rather than outward, toward extending its sway, as a "movement" must do.

So meager has the union leaders' commitment to organizing been in recent years that the labor movement has practically stopped growing. In 1956, total union membership stood at 18.5 million workers; in 1966, when the Labor Department last counted, membership was up only 3%, to 19.1 million. Meantime, the entire labor force grew so much that union membership accounted for only 28% of the nonfarm workforce, down from 33% a decade earlier.

True, there are some dynamic, growing unions that could give the now-static labor movement a new thrust—if the hierarchy were determined to commit the resources to the job. Teachers, local government servants and a few other groups are practically begging to get in, but the unions' response has been insufficient. Indeed, an official of a major public-employe union concedes that his outfit is so strapped for money that it is actually turning down requests from government workers to help them organize. Yet there seems to be no shortage of labor spenders in Florida at midwinter, nor a scarcity of cash for them to spend there.

Vital Work Left Undone

While the vital work of organizing goes largely undone, a tremendous amount of the labor leaders' attention and energy is devoted to the non-productive, self-serving task of publicly flogging each other. For three years the George Meany wing and the Walter Reuther crowd have been preoccupied with their internal squabble. United Auto Workers chief Reuther, blasting the status quo mentality of the AFL-CIO and boss Meany, demands sweeping reforms in the labor federation—and then refuses to show up for meetings where his proposals might be aired. He quits the AFL-CIO because he claims it lacks social conscience and true democracy—and then turns around and forms an alliance with the Teamsters, a union thrown out of the AFL-CIO for corruption, a union whose last two presidents wound up in Federal prison.

For a while Mr. Meany seemed to be getting the better of the battle by pretending he really didn't care what Mr. Reuther did. But lately the pretense has become transparent. In February, Mr. Meany yanked the AFL-CIO out of the "united nations" of the free world labor movement, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, because the ICFTU wouldn't let him blackball the UAW's bid for separate confederation membership. In April, the AFL-CIO fired off a book-length, 40,000-word blast at Mr. Reuther, a project Mr. Meany carefully supervised. What the book said seems less important than the staggering amount of staff time and leadership attention the AFL-CIO expended on it.

It is no longer possible to converse rationally with either side about their fundamental differences. Both Meany partisans and Reuther advocates tend to launch into emotional tirades. Meantime, the adversaries of organized labor gleefully watch the union brethren dissipate their energies in reciprocal flagellation.

If any good can come from the split in have accelerated the delegation of responsibility to young men. Such thinking would prove a boon to labor.

The labor movement, through success at the bargaining table, shrewdness in political action and lobbying, and the past work of its current crop of leaders, has become an entrenched pillar of the American establishment. This is no criticism; indeed, it is more of a tribute, in light of labor's humble, bloodsoaked beginning. But other establishment pillars are shaking. Churches, universities, political machines and government institutions are under social siege. If the bishops, deans,

At a Pittsburgh miners' rally not long ago, John Owens, the 78-year-old secretary-treasurer who has been a UMW official since the 1920s, defended the hierarchy and pleaded for unity in the membership. Summing up the incumbents' achievement, he told the miners how poor the union was when he became secretary-treasurer in 1948, and proudly added: "Now we are a $100-million-dollar institution."

When labor leaders begin measuring themselves and their unions in dollars, then the ideals and aspirations of the labor movement lose their meaning.

Unions — Social Change

THE NEW UNIONISM / In Hawaii In the Nation

Getting The Move Back Into The Movement

This special background paper on new developments in labor is designed to show that the labor movement is far from being as dead as its critics assert.

Every institution is subjected to iron laws of bureaucracy and labor is no exception. And while there is a tired quality and an unwillingness to change with the times in some quarters the fact remains that no other major American institution so well serves the underdog of the nation.

Instead of carping on what labor has not done in the past it is far more fruitful to look and see what labor is doing today and what it can and should do in the future. We need new visions to meet new needs in new times. Where there is no vision, says the Bible, the people perish.

The union member and his needs have changed over the years. He is no longer starving and oppressed because unions won't let this happen to him. But he is also not affluent and his struggle is a hard one to make ends meet so that he can do things undreamed of by his father.

The most dramatic change is the heavy influx of public workers into unions. The 1960s have been likened to the 1930s when the industrial work-

Negotiation Of Social Action Funds Part Of Unionism's Dynamic Future

Unions of the future will probably be negotiating funds to build low income homes, to create liberal arts and vocational education programs, provide for full time union counsellors and community actionists, and make resorts and recreation centers for workers of modest means. Hawaii carpenters and electricians by negotiating apprenticeship training programs are in the forefront of what should become a national trend if unions are to recapture their historic role as agents of social change.

If all the unions affiliated to the Hawaii State Federation of Labor negotiated just 1¢ per hour per member in the state to be put in a joint labor-management social action fund to which companies contributed a matching 1¢ there would be a yearly sum of $800,000 to do the things that needed to be done here in the islands. If we took 5¢ out of a future wage increase and equalled it with a 5¢ management contribution, we would have $4,000,000 to build a better Hawaii.

If the entire Hawaiian labor movement negotiated such funds at a 5¢-5¢ ratio there would be a whopping $16,000,000 a year to make things happen. The figures are arrived at by taking 10¢ an hour and multiplying it by 2,000 hours a year worked by the average worker. This sum is then multiplyed by 80,000 union members.

This theory comes from an idea by University of Hawaii Labor-Management Education Program Director Guy Nunn, who argues that a union member would not at all mind giving up a small part of a future wage increase if he could see some tangible good works resulting from his sacrifice. Management could write off its contributions in taxes and could take credit for doing the right thing by Hawaii.

Since the union would be making the proposals it would have the say as to how the money was spent. Most employers could never by themselves undertake social action programs for they function in a conservative environment. Also, stockholders want to see as much profit as possible on their investment dollar and engaging in non-profit programs would lift many an eye brow. But the new style business managers are themselves employees who often can see beyond the dollar bill to projects which would help people lead more live-

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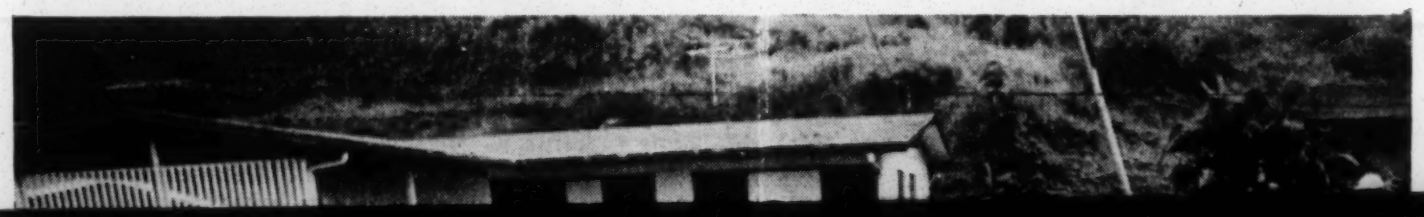

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The most dramatic change is the heavy influx of public workers into unions. The 1960s have been likened to the 1930s when the industrial worker revolted against the factory system. The strident militancy of teachers, social workers, policemen, firemen, sanitation and transport workers show there is movement and plenty of it within the ranks of labor. The new revolt is against Big Government which has become so impersonal and computorized that human beings either as employees or clients are counting for less and less in the system.

The local union is fast changing. More time is consumed by officers of an increasing number of locals helping to solve the problems of members off the job than problem-solving on the job. The new labor leader must know about resources in the community and how to get these resources and the member in need of help together. Members expect the union to satisfy their health, welfare, social and recreation needs. While the local union is not yet the working man's home as was the case of the Medieval guild and is the case today in Scandinavian countries, it is becoming a social recreation and education center and an important place for self-expression.

Critics have announced the end of the historic liberal-labor coalition. But the grape strike showed the coalition was marching together on picket lines in communities throughout the nation. The strain between liberals and certain national union leaders on approaches to foreign affairs cannot be denied, but on domestic policies the positions of the two groups are nearly identical. Neither labor nor the liberals have any other place to go; they have only each other. Credit the grape strike-boycott for bettering the eye sight of both parties.

We are witnessing a great institution undergoing some profound changes. What is important is not the pain of child birth – which is what labor's critics focus on – but the nature of the new born child.

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(Continued on Page 4A)

Firefighters to the rescue. Fires are not the only problems Hawaii firefighters mus tackle as this fire shows. Firefighters are typical of new government employee unions who take on an ever widening area of work in the service of society.

New Directions Seen For Government Workers

In 1960, a small AFL-CIO teachers union took New York's Mayor Wagner at his word after he said he favored collective bargaining for city employees. The union told the Mayor it represented all of New York's 40,000 teachers and it was ready to sign a contract.

The City sputtered and stalled. A strike proded it into action. But, said government officials, what about the giant National Education Association which outnumbered the union 30,000 to 5,200? The NEA said it did not believe in collective bargaining for teachers. The City held an election to decide the matter. To the shocked amazement of nearly everybody the tiny union David routed the massive NEA Goliath. It won the issue of whether teachers wanted collective bargaining and again the union won on who teachers wanted to represent them.

Whereas the old unionism had been content to let management worry about the product it was producing, the new unionism is concerned about the people government workers serve. The Baltimore teachers union asked the public to a series of meetings to help it make up bargaining demands. Teachers unions are asking for smaller size classrooms, better schools, special programs for the disadvantaged, and more teachers to give more pupils personal attention.

This incident triggered an explosion which rattled school systems across the nation. The American Federation of Teachers marched through many major American cities with relative ease winning election after election. In areas like Hawaii where there was no procedure for collective bargaining, the Hawaii Federation of Teachers, kept attracting more members on the basis of its outstanding performance in bringing a greater measure of justice and better working conditions to the classroom teacher.

The AFT, AFL-CIO, went from a modest 50,000 members in 1957 to a robust 175,000 in 1969. Union militancy caused teacher salaries to rise 16 percent, although incomes in the field still average less than those of many industrial and construction workers who have been unionized for a longer time.

Social workers who struck Mayor Dayley's Chicago governmental complex listed among their collective bargaining demands humane and dignified treatment of welfare recipients. They wanted to reform the welfare system. (cont. on P. 3A)

Cope's Hawaii Record: One Of The Best In The Nation

The Hawaii State Federation of Labor was founded in 1966 and it immediately had a job on its hands in trying to elect the men and women it had endorsed to public office. Under the Coordinator for AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education, Betty Lunceford, the fledgling labor federation amazed the political pros by scoring way high in the election of its endorsees.

Under COPE Coordinator Mrs. Fumi Ige, the AFL-CIO in 1968 elected an impressive 81.4 percent of its endorsed candidates. It just about topped the nation in union political muscle.

While the nation was turning conservative, thanks to labor's involvement in politics Hawaii kept going liberal.

The doubling of AFL-CIO's membership in the 1960s made the infant State Federation of Labor an up-and-coming political power. Unionists went door to door to persuade citizens to vote for their candidates. Volunteers manned telephone brigades and they spent long, weary hours stuffing and addressing envelopes. Volunteers still work keeping lists of union members up to date to see whether or not they are registered to vote.

Labor is in politics to get things done. It has programs to build low income homes, schools, hospitals, highways, to raise income levels of the poor, to fight for equal rights and private rights against such things as employer snooping, to preserve our natural resources, to replace regressive taxes with fair, progressive taxes, to help the aged with more adequate Social Security benefits and to help us all get a national health insurance program. It goes to bat for the consumer by getting legislation passed to make loan sharks and packagers more honest, and it is working hard to clear our air and streams of pollution.

Labor is the only mass based non-partisan organization in the country which consistently fights for the underdog, those people of low and moderate incomes.

COPE looks at the voting records of candidates before it makes up its mind to endorse them. If they have anti-public interest votes on measures of interest to the nation and the state they are not endorsed. A "labor issue" is any issue which affects people as workers, consumers, or simply as citizens.

Delegates attend a special COPE convention for it is the people representing the local unions that make the final decision as to who is and who is not endorsed. It is done by a democratic vote.

The Taft-Hartley Act prohibits giving money from union treasuries to candidates for federal office. COPE therefore conducts yearly voluntary dollar drives to permit union members to contribute to labor-backed candidates.

Extreme right-wing legislators have at times tried to ban labor from conducting political activities but before anybody joins them it might be well to consider this point: if we keep labor out of politics just what have we left to effectively battle the big monied interests and to speak for the man-in-the-street?

Community Services Unite All Isle Unions

In 1969 something totally new happend on Oahu. All of the islands' unions, AFL-CIO and independent, agreed to form a joint Community Services Program. Heading up the program is Revocato Medina from Laborers' Local #368. He is the labor representative on the Aloha United Fund.

The national program was the brainchild of Leo Perlis who sold the CIO on it right after World War II. The concept of "Citizen CIO" which affirmed that what was good for the community was good for labor was adopted as an integral part of the merged AFL-CIO in 1955.

Community Services democratized the health and welfare scene. Before World War II there were less than 100 labor representatives serving on agency boards throughout the nation; today there are over 75,000 such people.

About 200 full time labor leaders are on the payroll of local social agency councils and the answer to why the community would hire them is obvious when you realize that union members are among the largest contributors to our Red Feather drives. Also, these unionists have certain skills in dealing with working people which make them extremely effective in helping to solve personal problems.

The program trains union counselors who can handle the problems of their fellow union members and refer them to the service that can give them the most help.

The modern local union is becoming more involved in personal services to members by the day. Some local union officers say they spend more time handling members' off the job problems than their job problems.

1934 Elections: Before Labor Got Into Politics

Mamoru Yamane, Kauai. He said company cars delivered voters who were directly escorted to the ballot box by company supervisors.

Louis Nobriga, Hawaii: He said his relatives didn't dare recognize him on the street because he was a Democrat.

James Koyanagi, Hawaii: Worked in a garage and was told by his employer to stop his Democratic Party activities or quit his job.

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A Sharing Of Power Is What Unions Really Want

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A Sharing Of Power Is What Unions Really Want

If a word could sum up the ultimate goal of the typical union member that word would be "power." But this is a power quite different from the kind of power that we know corrupts. The corrupting kind is the power of a few over the many, even the power of one person over another.

The power sought by those men and women throughout history who have had the gumption to revolt against the people lording over them is self-power, the power to be able to determine how to live their own life without others bossing them around or trying to manipulate them like a puppet on a string.

The union contract takes power away from the employer and gives some of it to his employees. Collective bargaining is the process of the transfer of power from the powerful to the powerless. It is the equalizer.

Nobody willingly gives up the power he has and so the powerless must use the strike weapon if necessary to force men of power to surrender some of their right, to absolute power over other people. In a democracy power must be spread around and shared by all.

The union Utopia is therefore a society where every man is his own boss. He can't, however, reach paradise alone. To get there he has to march forward with his fellows – as equals – and together as brothers.

A noted French historian, Prosper Boisonnade, credits the workers' guilds of the Middle Ages with spawning our modern democracy. Here the idea that one man was just as good as another took root. Here workers and peasants revolted against the nobility and before armies smashed them they smelled the sweet air of self-government. In Florence, the wool union ruled for a period of years extending the vote and giving the common people representation in government. The guilds took on forms at times much like our modern labor unions and here workers learned to run meetings, and to conduct activities where the majority of members participated. The guilds usually became conservative and business-minded and then a new revolt was needed to protect the workers they were now exploiting.

Although the common man has been ruthlessly beaten down by the powerful whenever he tried to assert himself, the marvelous thing about the human spirit is that it perseveres. It never gives up.

The healthy spirit wants freedom. And freedom to a workingman is a very specific thing. He wants to, in the words of an old I.W.W. song, dump the bosses off his back. He wants to be free to do as he sees fit to do, to grow in mind and spirit, to develop his potentialities to the fullest. He wants to be his own man and the union has been the only vehicle he has ever found to set him off in the freedom direction.

For the first time in history we may be able to attain genuine human freedom if the new technology doesn't enchain us first. Automation and cybernation where machines not only regulate themselves but give orders to each other means that we will have to reorient ourselves toward the concept of work and prepare for the day when few of us will be working in the sense we know work today. The machine can either be our slave or we will be its slave. So far it is dominating us and even killing us with its pollutants, but if man is intelligent enough to invent a machine he ought to have the brains to control it.

The worker wants freedom to be able to live the good life. Unions are preparing him for an ever better life by winning the 13 week vacation in the steel industry, the 6 week vacation in the rubber industry, the 35 and 30 hour week as a goal in the building trades. Together with the long vacations and shorter hours must come recreation and education centers and unions are beginning to form their own programs or work with universities and other institutions in helping union members to meaningfully fill their leisure time. To win the Good Life, unions still have to fight hard every step of the way.

"Power" is a dirty word if we are talking about the power of some people over others. This kind of power is obscene because it degrades and enslaves people. It is an insult to the human race.

But power to determine the course of our own life is the most beautiful dream a man can have for his inner power builds self-confidence, self respect and healthy equality relationships with other people. It takes the chains off the human personality and lets him breathe the air of freedom where he can become the kind of man he always wanted to be.

Men have never gained this inner power, however, except in concert with their fellow man. You have to respect your fellow man before you can respect yourself. You have to liberate your fellow man before you can liberate yourself. This, in essence, is what unionism is all about.

How universally accepted is this philosophy? The most popular of all labor songs which has become the anthem of the American labor movement is "Solidarity Forever," written by Ralph Chaplin after he participated in a coal strike in 1915. It speaks of nothing but power and like the song "John Brown's Body" from which it borrowed the tune it's truth goes marching on.

Solidarity Forever

When the union's inspiration through the workers' blood shall run
There can be no power greater anywhere beneath the sun.
Yet what force on earth is weaker than the feeble strength of one?
But the union makes us strong.

CHORUS Solidarity Forever!
Solidarity Forever!
Solidarity Forever!
For the union makes us strong.

They have taken untold millions that they never toiled to earn,
But without our brain and muscle not a single wheel could turn.
We can break their haughty power, gain our freedom when we learn
That the union makes us strong.

In our hands is placed a power greater than their hoarded gold,
Greater than the might of armies magnified a thousand fold,
We can bring to birth a new world from the ashes of the old,
For the Union makes us strong.

Into Politics

Mamoru Yamane, Kauai. He said company cars delivered voters who were directly escorted to the ballot box by company supervisors.

Louis Nobriga, Hawaii: He said his relatives didn't dare recognize him on the street because he was a Democrat.

James Koyanagi, Hawaii: Worked in a garage and was told by his employer to stop his Democratic Party activities or quit his job.

Tom Cunningham, Hawaii: Campaigned by visiting homes around eleven p.m., "after the lunas were asleep."

W. Kawamoto, Hawaii: He said the Democrats had to stop holding meetings at Papaikou because "there are suckers going around with a piece of paper writing down all the names of the boys and taking it to the boss."

Henry A. Rudin, former Plantation Personnel Director, Oahu: "No man dares on any plantation to exercise his constitutional right of stating publicly that he is a Democrat . . . Intimidation, coercion, and interference drill into the minds of all employees that the prosperity of the sugar industry depends upon a Republican administration in Washington."

Jackson A. Ah Chin, United Public Workers, Hawaii: A worker told him, "You go inside mark the ballot. When you come outside, the boss give you hell, say you no need come back to work . . . Pencil she hang from ceiling . . . boss watch the string." So workers marked the ballot upside down. Their employer thought they were voting for his candidate when they were actually voting for his opponent.

"The saddest object in civilization and to my mind the greatest confession of its failure, is the man who can work, and wants to work, and is not allowed to work." – Robert Louis Stevenson.

Union Members Not Affluent . . . Yet!

Unions have transformed the face of America, turning our class structure around from the point where nearly everybody was poor to where today only about 20 percent of the population is very poor.

This does not mean, however, that the American union member is today a rich man. He still has some distance to go.

In 1890, the average American family made $380 a year. This was low income even for those days. There were eleven million poor families, one million three hundred thousand middle class families, and 200,000 wealthy families. In Hawaii, after deductions the average Japanese worker netted about $100 a year.

We have changed all that.

University of Hawaii political analyst Tom Dinell, credits unions for bringing about profound social change in the islands. He said they brought the immigrant groups "wealth, power, respect and enlightenment."

Nationally as well, unions have scored a great impact on American society. The union member profile of today shows that 32 percent of union families make between $5,000 and $7,500 a year. 46 percent make between $7,500 and $15,000

moonlighting. That modest but adequate budget the U.S. Department of Labor has figured out for a family of four goes way up to $11,190 a year here in the islands. If you make anything less than that, and most people do, you are having to struggle to make ends meet.

What about that plumber who is supposed to cost so much? Is he rolling in dollar bills? The median earnings of skilled craftsmen in 1966 were only $6,981. No affluence for the trades. Many of us forget that while a roofer may make $5.00 an hour he doesn't work and get paid when it rains. While his hourly rate is high his annual income is relatively low. He would be near destitution if his hourly rate wasn't a good one and here the union contract makes all the difference in the world to him.

The workingman also gets hit hardest by regressive sales and other taxes. 33 percent of the income of those earning $3,000 to $5,000 a year goes for taxes whereas 28 percent of the income of those making $15,000 or more is taken away in taxation.

He is also at the mercy of being unemployed through no fault of his own. On Oahu, about one out of every three jobs depend upon military

(Continued from Page 1A)

The State, County and Municipal Employees Union has grown from 150,000 members to nearly 400,000 today. Milwaukee's former Mayor, Frank P. Zeilder, sees the possibility of this union forcing long overdue reform on America's 80,000 units of government. If the union considers the Chicago metropolitan area as one unit instead of as 1,000 separate units of government this could well help bring about a more efficient and responsive regional government united by one union contract.

The union has a great potential. State and local governments employing 4.5 million people in 1953 employed over 8 million in 1965 and the figure is expected to go over 11 million in the not too distant future.

While the union has progressive leadership the very conditions municipal workers must face would force the leadership to a new height in public responsibility. For the cities are going broke. New York faces a huge deficit. Its expenses have gone from $2 billion to $6 billion. Philadelphia was hard put to just keep functioning. Newark closed its library and museum for lack of funds and Youngstown, Ohio

lity to those it hires even after it lays them off. It has a responsibility to find them jobs After all, there is a Full Employment Act still on the books; full employment is supposed to be our national policy.

Firefighters play a significant role in Hawaii not only because they keep down the fire rate but because they perform vital life saving functions along our coastline.

The grandfathers of government employee unions are those dealing with our mail service. The National Association of Letter Carriers and the National Association of Post Office Clerks were organized in 1890. Despite attempts by government to silence them, they persevered and many of the techniques they pioneered are used by all government employee unions today.

Union-State Cooperation. Carpenter's Local 745 is conducting a unique apprenticeship training program in the depressed Waimanalo area. With the use of state funds the union is training disadvantaged young men in carpentry. Here apprentices present a Sherwood Forest shirt to Governor John Burns (left) for his cooperation in making the program a success.—Star-Bulletin Photo.

What The Guaranteed Annual Income Is All About

Time magazine estimates it costs taxpayers $140,000 to support a man on welfare from the age 17 until he reaches the age of 57. Our welfare rolls are growing and so are our

With automation knocking out jobs or making jobs meaningless to individual workers and with an economy that cannot create full employment, Theobald says the goal of

adequate" living level. Giving money for children is a fact of life in 62 different nations. In Canada, a Gallup poll said 90 percent of all Canadians felt children allowances were a

three hundred thousand middle class families, and 200,000 wealthy families. In Hawaii, after deductions the average Japanese worker netted about $100 a year.

We have changed all that.

University of Hawaii political analyst Tom Dinell, credits unions for bringing about profound social change in the islands. He said they brought the immigrant groups "wealth, power, respect and enlightenment."

Nationally as well, unions have scored a great impact on American society. The union member profile of today shows that 32 percent of union families make between $5,000 and $7,500 a year. 46 percent make between $7,500 and $15,000.

But you are not considered "affluent" today unless you make more than $15,000 a year. Only 22 percent of all union members are therefore in the affluent category. Yes, there are millionaire union members in the entertainment unions.

Nearly eighty percent of all unionists are somewhere in between being dirt poor and well off. The U.S. Department of Labor feels it takes over $9,000 for a family of four to live moderately. A family with a $7,500 income is below what the experts say is needed to live with any degree of well being.

In Hawaii, with our 22 percent higher cost of living the worker is even more hard pressed. This accounts for the high percentage of working wives and get that while a roofer may make $5.00 an hour he doesn't work and get paid when it rains. While his hourly rate is high his annual income is relatively low. He would be near destitution if his hourly rate wasn't a good one and here the union contract makes all the difference in the world to him.

The workingman also gets hit hardest by regressive sales and other taxes. 33 percent of the income of those earning $3,000 to $5,000 a year goes for taxes whereas 28 percent of the income of those making $15,000 or more is taken away in taxation.

He is also at the mercy of being unemployed through no fault of his own. On Oahu, about one out of every three jobs depend upon military spending. If we have defense spending cutbacks hundreds, even thousands, could be thrown out of work. And no plans are being made by Congress to escalate spending for roads, homes, hospitals and schools, as war spending is de-escalated.

Here a "Freedom Budget" could be of great help. Labor Leader A. Philip Randolph proposes that we budget one thirteenth of future increased revenues to provide jobs for the jobless. He feels that in ten years' time this sum will accumulate to $185 billion. This is a portion of future growth in revenues, not what we have today. As the economy expands government revenues will likewise expand. Earmark a percentage of this money now to meet our social needs and provide jobs, Randolph urges.

ernment united by one union contract.

The union has a great potential. State and local governments employing 4.5 million people in 1953 employed over 8 million in 1965 and the figure is expected to go over 11 million in the not too distant future.

While the union has progressive leadership the very conditions municipal workers must face would force the leadership to a new height in public responsibility. For the cities are going broke. New York faces a huge deficit. Its expenses have gone from $2 billion to $6 billion. Philadelphia was hard put to just keep functioning. Newark closed its library and museum for lack of funds and Youngstown, Ohio, closed down the schools for the same reason. In any future bargaining the union must consider where is the city going to get the money?

The American Federation of Government Employees went from a membership of 64,000 in 1957 to more than 260,000 today. Because of the large number of federal workers in Hawaii this union assumes a key importance here. It has come up with the belief that the government has a responsibi-

> "A community is democratic only when the humblest and weakest person can enjoy the highest civil, economic and social rights that the biggest and most powerful possess."
> – A. Philip Randolph

unions are those dealing with our mail service. The National Association of Letter Carriers and the National Association of Post Office Clerks were organized in 1890. Despite attempts by government to silence them, they persevered and many of the techniques they pioneered are used by all government employee unions today.

Union-State Cooperation. Carpenter's Local 745 is conducting a unique apprenticeship training program in the depressed Waimanalo area. With the use of state funds the union is training disadvantaged young men in carpentry. Here apprentices present a Sherwood Forest shirt to Governor John Burns (left) for his cooperation in making the program a success.—Star-Bulletin Photo.

What The Guaranteed Annual Income Is All About

Time magazine estimates it costs taxpayers $140,000 to support a man on welfare from the age 17 until he reaches the age of 57. Our welfare rolls are growing and so are our welfare costs. Since tax money must go to help the disadvantaged might it not be better just to make it in the form of a direct payment and save the expense of administrative overhead and the humiliation the poor currently have to undergo when they get relief?

The problem of poverty is that the poor lack money.

Here are some plans to give it to them:

The Guaranteed Annual Income in the form of direct payments to the poor.

Robert Theobald, a leading proponent of the guaranteed annual income, would take the poverty level of a family of four – in Hawaii it's $4,200 – and guarantee families this basic income. The plan would provide for an annual five percent increase.

With automation knocking out jobs or making jobs meaningless to individual workers and with an economy that cannot create full employment, Theobald says the goal of America should be "full unemployment rather than full employment – a socioeconomy where choices are made on the basis of individual values rather than constrained obedience."

The Guaranteed Annual Income through the Negative Income Tax

A family would add up its income and subtract its exemptions. If the result is negative, that is, if it falls below that $4,200 poverty level then the government pays the family to raise to the poverty line.

Children Allowances

Of the 34.5 million Americans living in poverty in 1963, nearly one half were children. An even greater amount of children – about 20 million – were from families living below what the Department of Labor says is a "modest but adequate" living level. Giving money for children is a fact of life in 62 different nations. In Canada, a Gallup poll said 90 percent of all Canadians felt children allowances were a "good thing."

And for workers already employed . . .

The Guaranteed Annual Wage

This would eventually abolish the wage system and put workers on a yearly salary. If management can be on a salary why not workers? Lay offs in many industries are frequent in occurance and this program would force companies to plan their labor needs more efficiently.

Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) supplement your income if you are laid off. If you make $100 a week and are laid off and unemployment compensation only pays you $40, your SUB from the company would be $60. This is a first big step to the guaranteed annual wage or salary.

Hawaii State Federation of Labor President and Executive Board: L. to R. (front row): Jack Copess, V.P.; I.B. Peterson, V.P.; Yukio Arashiro, V.P.; Elmo Samson, V.P.; Tommy Sing, V.P.; Arthur Kam, V.P.; James Crane, VIP.; John Haleamau, V.P.; Walter H. Kupau, President; Dorian Gustaveson, V.P.; and John Cabral, V.P.

Founding Of The State Fed

The Hawaii State Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO, was founded in 1966, after the disolution of the Central Labor Council of Honolulu, formed in 1938.

Over fifty local unions are affiliated with the State AFL-CIO and they support the Federation by paying a monthly per capita tax for each member. Total State membership is over 20,000.

In addition to the State organization there are special trade councils which coordinate activities in their various fields of interest. There is the Building Trades Council, The Metal Trades Council, The Honolulu Port Council, and the Letter Carriers Association.

Grassroots participation in State AFL-CIO activities comes through the different island divisions of Oahu, Hawaii, Maui and Kauai. The largest is the Oahu Division which meets regularly, has functioning committees, and is headed by the Boilermakers' Jack Copess.

The State AFL-CIO is affiliated to the 14 million member National AFL-CIO with headquarters in Washington D.C. Policies of both the national and state labor bodies are made at conventions held once every two years.

Interim policies are made by executive boards such as the members of the Hawaii AFL-CIO Board pictured at left.

Why We Are Losing The

War On Poverty

By WILLIAM L. ABBOTT

We are losing the War on Poverty because our values are upside down.

This year the Federal Government is spending $335 million on public housing for poor people and $390 million to make 10,000 wealthy farmers and farm corporations richer.

In Mississippi, welfare payments to dependent children are limited to $114 a year but Senator James O. Eastland received $116,000 in government subsidies for his plantation.

About 15 million Americans go to bed hungry every night, and many are literally starving because we won't help them, but we pay $8.5 billion in subsidies to giant corporations and we give tax bonanzas like the oil depletion allowance to make billionaires out of millionaires.

The General Accounting Office has up to eighty people investigating funds spent on the poor but only five people checking military spending which is over thirty times the amount for all anti-poverty programs.

As a matter of fact, this nation's $63 billion military budget in 1966 cost $1,280 annually for

in infant mortality, 18th in life expectancy for males and our death rate is higher than that of any Western European country.

Government welfare costs have skyrocketed from $2 billion ten years ago to $7 billion. If you add private welfare the total comes up to $15 billion. People on welfare have swelled from 5.3 million in 1957 to 7.7 million in 1967.

But the poor are not being benefitted. The average monthly welfare payment in 1967 was $37. If there is a lot of money in poverty not much is getting to the poor.

President Nixon's welfare program doesn't scratch the surface. In Hawaii, the estimated allowance under his plan for one week amounts to $4.33. This is for food, personal and household items. It comes to about 21¢ per meal. Try to eat in Hawaii for 21¢. From this budget the poor must also pay for transportation, household operations, telephone, school lunches, baby sitting, and any spending money for their children.

And yet what outrages the average American is to hear about some wel-

individual has failed, not a system which if properly planned could provide an honorable income to all Americans.

We feel the poor are lazy leeches living off the fat of our tax money and that if they got out and did an honest day's work we would save all those millions in welfare.

Look at the facts: about 9.1 million people receive benefits under major public assistance programs. More than 4.5 million are children. Nearly two million are mothers with young children. Almost two million are aged. About 800,000 are blind. Only 80,700 of the total of 9.1 million are able-bodied employable males.

And observe the poor who do work. A Texas grapefruit picker makes a yearly income of $1,500. A California lemon picker was paid $10.37 for nine hours of lemon picking. But his net income for the day was only $1.12 after the employers association deducted for transportation, glove rental, housing and other items. The Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, President of Notre Dame who made a first-hand study of the plight of Mexican-American

vidual instead of on the social system.

We behave the way we do because it is hard to change the mental habits drilled into us by our culture. Class hate and race hate have in the past probably been more pronounced in Hawaii than on the mainland.

The white upper class divided the other races and classes in order to rule them with a stern hand. The technique was borrowed from the aristocratic alii who used the slave Kauwa class in the same way that Southern Negroes were used by the planter aristocracy to keep poor whites in line. Lower class whites felt less oppressed and exploited if they could feel superior to blacks. When the whites took over Hawaii they used different pay rates to perpetuate hostility of group against group. On the plantations at the beginning of the Century, Japanese were paid $13 a month and Portuguese doing identical work made $22.50 a month. Portuguese were not considered "Caucasian" and this kept the whites divided and resentful of each other.

Here is how skilled tradesmen were paid in 1910:

Caucasian, $3.85 a day; Hawaiian, $1.56; Portuguese, $1.49; Chinese, $1.27; and Japanese, $1.05.

The white employers based a man's value on money and money also determined the worth of

The poor are forced to live in homes like these because of society's failure to provide decent housing for all and also because the poor are not organized.

the different races and nationalities of Hawaii cured themselves. They united and through collective action told the persons running society that people were more important than money and that the people of every race and nationality were now going to have a say in running their own affairs. The people discovered they could only better themselves if everybody else bettered themselves as well.

Why We're Worried About Automation

The U.S. Census Bureau now uses 50 statisticians where it required 4,100 of them to do identical work in 1950. Bell Telephone increased its business by 50 percent; its workforce by only 10 percent.

In the rubber industry, the Akron Goodyear

ing more tires than ever before. The same process is taking place in all our basic industries.

In 1970, between 3 and 4 million young people will be looking for jobs. In 1960, the figure was 2 million. With fewer jobs facing us and more people entering the work force we need

subsidies for his plantation.

About 15 million Americans go to bed hungry every night, and many are literally starving because we won't help them, but we pay $8.5 billion in subsidies to giant corporations and we give tax bonanzas like the oil depletion allowance to make billionaires out of millionaires.

The General Accounting Office has up to eighty people investigating funds spent on the poor but only five people checking military spending which is over thirty times the amount for all anti-poverty programs.

As a matter of fact, this nation's $63 billion military budget in 1966 cost $1,280 annually for a family of four. Two-thirds of our Federal tax dollar goes for war spending. Relatively little goes for the health and welfare of people.

On the health question, 6 out of our 91 medical schools are on the point of closing for lack of funds. Only 7,400 physicians are graduated each year in the United States. We get another 7,000 per year in foreign trained physicians. Almost half of our doctors are trained outside the United States.

America ranks behind Europe in health care. Millions of the poor have no health treatment except in emergencies. Over one-fifth of draftees are rejected for medical reasons. We rank 13th

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And yet what outrages the average American is to hear about some welfare recipient who was caught trying to chisel a few extra dollars out of a department of social services. No outrage is expressed over the fact that Mrs. Horace Dodge Jr. inherited $56 million and put it all in tax exempt bonds therefore not paying a penny in taxes. Few people expressed anger at the way Atlantic Oil in 1965 paid no taxes whatsoever to the government.

We take our anger out on the poor person down on his luck and admire the wealthy man who may be cheating the treasury out of millions.

We punish the poor for being poor. Our entire welfare system is designed to make a person needing aid feel like a personal failure. The

The Working Poor. Six year old children must work in the fields so that their family will have enough to eat.

programs. More than 4.5 million are children. Nearly two million are mothers with young children. Almost two million are aged. About 800,000 are blind. Only 80,700 of the total of 9.1 million are able-bodied employable males.

And observe the poor who do work. A Texas grapefruit picker makes a yearly income of $1,500. A California lemon picker was paid $10.37 for nine hours of lemon picking. But his net income for the day was only $1.12 after the employers association deducted for transportation, glove rental, housing and other items. The Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, President of Notre Dame who made a first-hand study of the plight of Mexican American farm workers concluded: "This sounds to me like peonage." Yet, we exclude farm workers from the minimum wage and protection under the National Labor Relations Act.

Not only don't we give the poor the kind of break we would expect if we were in their situation but we go out of our way to degrade and humiliate them. When a group of mothers on welfare sought a court injunction against being subjected to unreasonable searches of their premises, harrassment from social workers, eavesdropping, and constant questioning concerning their sexual activities the court ruled against them, saying that they were fortunate to get any benefits and that it was up to the discretion of administrative functionaries as to whether or not they got any aid.

Why do we treat our poor in so base a fashion? One commentator, Eleanor Graham, feels the War on Poverty might more aptly be called the War on the Poor. For our welfare system which includes governmental anti-poverty social services are essentially paternalistic and "such a situation enhances the dependency upon aid recipients." She adds that this is the American way of meeting social welfare issues where the responsibility is placed upon the indi-

if they could feel superior to blacks. When the whites took over Hawaii they used different pay rates to perpetuate hostility of group against group. On the plantations at the beginning of the Century, Japanese were paid $13 a month and Portuguese doing identical work made $22.50 a month. Portuguese were not considered "Caucasian" and this kept the whites divided and resentful of each other.

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The white employers based a man's value on money and money also determined the worth of an ethnic group. Money therefore dictated the worth of human beings.

These are sick values. They are insane values. But the values we hold explain why we are in such a mess today.

How do we cure ourselves? The same way

cause of society's failure to provide decent housing for all and also because the poor are not organized.

the different races and nationalities of Hawaii cured themselves. They united and through collective action told the persons running society that people were more important than money and that the people of every race and nationality were now going to have a say in running their own affairs. The people discovered they could only better themselves if everybody else bettered themselves as well.

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The U.S. Census Bureau now uses 50 statisticians where it required 4,100 of them to do identical work in 1950. Bell Telephone increased its business by 50 percent; its workforce by only 10 percent.

In the rubber industry, the Akron Goodyear plant once employed 14,000 workers. Today it employs 9,500. The Firestone plant once employed 10,000 workers; today it employs only half as many; the workforce for the Goodrich plant has also been cut in half. But these plants with 5,000 fewer people each are producing more tires than ever before. The same process is taking place in all our basic industries.

In 1970, between 3 and 4 million young people will be looking for jobs. In 1960, the figure was 2 million. With fewer jobs facing us and more people entering the work force we need to create 25,000 jobs a week just to stay even.

The War in Vietnam with its accelerated spending is keeping the job level up but what happens when the War ends? This is why labor is insisting that there must be national planning now to avert a depression.

Negotiated Social Action Funds

(Continued from Page 1A)

able lives. If the union acts with firmness at the bargaining table, these managers can tell the stockholders they were blugeoned into good deeds.

What if, for example, every fair sized local union negotiated at least one full time union counsellor who would look after the personal problems of employees. This would take a load off management's back and increase efficiency through a happier work force.

There are signs that such an evolution in collective bargaining is already beginning to take place. The IBEW in New York City has negotiated an adult education center programmed by Columbia University. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers are in the process of negotiating college scholarships and child care centers.

The evolution of social action funds will probably come about this way: first apprenticeship training programs, vocational education centers, liberal adult education centers and programs, next resort and recreation facilities for union members – and for the poor. The UAW camp in Ottawa, Illinois, provides great resort and educational facilities for unionists (meals $3.75 a day, $8 a room, three beds in a room.) But when unionists are not using the facilities poor people, the mentally retarded and the physically handicapped use them. Next, full time union counsellors to help workers with personal problems, raise United Fund money and engage in community activities. Next, consumer cooperatives to help beat the high cost of living. Finally, full blown community unions similar to the one unions set up in Watts, California and which has proven that the idea can work.

The problem we have in getting social action programs started is lack of capital. You can get substantial capital from only one of two sources: government and business. The government's War on Poverty has become an extension of traditional social services because political leaders are not going to pay money to help poor people vote them out of office. Government programs are controlled by the government. This doesn't mean they are bad but it does mean they are not going to create social change which we need so badly.

This leaves business as the only remaining source of funds. But business has historically been opposed to most social change – although unions have forced change upon them, sometimes over their dead bodies. Certainly 19th century capitalism is dead and some wag remarked that our economic system today is socialism for the rich and free enterprise for the poor. Let's call the action unions should be contemplating free enterprise with the profit taken out of it.

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Office of the
GENERAL VICE-PRESIDENT

Area Code 202
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June 24, 1971

JUN 29 1971

Mr. Emory F. Via
Director of Resource
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Enclosed is a moderate honorarium which I hope will at least cover your expenses in connection with your participation in our recent Machinists Leadership School at the University of the South. We certainly appreciated your contribution and I hope we may be able to call on you again for similar programs. I understand that all in all this was one of the best Schools we've had at Sewanee in our many years with them.

I'm sorry I haven't seen you recently and that I wasn't able to come to Sewanee this year. Perhaps we'll meet at some conference somewhere soon. Do you ever get to Washington?

With very best personal regards,

Fraternally,

John

John M. Brumm
Director of Education

JB/bo

Enc. Check - $50.00

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

IAM- Machinists

June 30, 1971

Mr. John M. Brumm
Machinists Building
1300 Connecticut Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear John:

It was a pleasure to hear from you and thanks for the honoraium. I enjoyed being with the group at Sewannnee. The summer school struck me as a good one and I wished I could have spent more time there.

I trust that we will see each other in Washington or elsewhere soon. And certainly if I can ever be of service here in the South, don't hesitate to call on me.

Fraternally,

Emory F. Via, Director
Resources Development Center

EFV/gms

Local 783
Allied Industrial Workers of America, AFL-CIO

The Steering Wheel

"To Guide You along the Right Way"

Vol. 12—No. 6 | Owensboro, Kentucky 42301 | June, 1971

HAVE A . . .

SAFE AND

HAPPY

VACATION

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RANDALL TAYLOR
ADRIAN O. SMITH

Labor Movement

LABOR

Unions – General

They carry less clout overseas

Foreign unions don't have a professionalism or a power base like the AFL-CIO

Swedish conventioneers: the LO's Geijer and Prime Minister Palme at Stockholm meeting.

"It's not the AFL-CIO," said an American labor observer who attended an annual convention of Britain's Trades Union Congress (TUC) in seaside Blackpool, England, last week. The same thing could have been said of a convention of Sweden's Landsorganisation (LO) under way at the same time in Stockholm.

The meetings of the two important giants of the free world's labor movement showed clearly the differences that U. S. businessmen must adapt to abroad. With the spread of multinationalism, American industry's problems with labor have broadened. Many businessmen have found out, at a cost, that European labor cannot be dealt with in ways that work in the U. S.: The movements abroad, steeped in tradition, are old fashioned, Socialist in orientation, and amateur in comparison with the AFL-CIO's professionalism. They lack the centralized power that the U. S. federation has—and its broad identification with other economic and social groups that give it more clout than its 130 unions and 13.8-million otherwise would provide.

The AFL-CIO long ago learned to live with and exploit the capitalist system. Federations such as the TUC and the LO are still riddled with turn-of-the-century zeal for changing it. This, obvious last week in Blackpool and in Stockholm, can be one of the biggest frustrations of U. S. business abroad.

At Blackpool, some 1,300 delegates representing 142 TUC unions claiming 10-million members gathered at the Winter Gardens Opera House by day (at night the regular show went on, starring Britain's foremost purveyor of nonsense, comic Ken Dodd) to go through a ritual of approving decisions already made by the 37-member General Council, similar to the AFL-CIO's 39-member Executive Council. The council had worked all year to prepare a 391-page report, with resolutions to be acted on in Blackpool. Lord Cooper, general secretary (corresponding to a U. S. union president) of the 835,353-member National Union of General & Municipal Workers, ticked off and got "aye" votes on 488 paragraphs of the report and on some 50 motions.

Demonstrators, too. For a time, most of the action was outside the auditorium. Demonstrators carrying placards exhorted delegates to take up their causes. Old-age pensioners wanted more money. Young Socialists chanted, "Tories Out!" A few homosexuals of both sexes demanded equal job opportunities. And nuclear disarmament campaigners handed out leaflets exhorting the TUC to keep Britain out of the Common Market.

All were over-estimating the power of the TUC. It has been notoriously ineffectual in recent years in influencing sweeping social and political change, even when its allied Labor Party was in power—and its influence is nil with the party out.

Inside the auditorium, delegates bore some similarity to an AFL-CIO delegation. But there were more actual workers—in contrast to professional leaders—than at a U. S. federation convention. AFL-CIO delegates tend to be union officers and others on union payrolls; TUC and its unions have few paid officers.

Victor Feather: He's Britain's Mr. TUC, as George Meany is America's Mr. Labor.

The TUC's version of George Meany is its general secretary, Victor Feather. Paunchy and articulate, Feather is a leader without a union power base but with influence in and out of British labor because of his TUC office, his care in offending as few people as possible, and, some say, even his avuncular appearance. He is Britain's Mr. TUC, just as Meany is America's Mr. Labor.

Decentralized. While much of the work of the convention was routine and the delegates lethargic, a TUC session is democratic—perhaps even more so than an AFL-CIO convention. There is less centralized power. On issues that excite the delegate ranks, Lord Cooper and Feather can and do get slapped down regularly. It was on one such occasion last week that the U. S. observer said, "It's not the AFL-CIO." It was a shock to one who considers it inconceivable that Meany's wishes could ever be repudiated.

The convention went along with laconic "ayes" to demands for better educational opportunities, increased pensions, shorter hours, longer holidays and more of them, better fire protection, a reduction of industrial accidents, and similar AFL-CIO-like resolutions. Delegates also agreed that the British government should not sell arms to South Africa and that fraternal ties with international labor bodies should be encouraged. The latter position included Communist-bloc organizations that the AFL-CIO says no free-world labor union should recognize.

However, the TUC's official stand for an 18 pound ($43.20) weekly minimum wage was challenged and rejected in favor of a floor-demanded 20 pounds a week ($48). And, of course, the "pernicious legislation" of the Tory government of Prime Minister Edward Heath was attacked as angrily as the AFL-CIO's convention will lash out at the Nixon Administration's programs this fall. The TUC delegates were angry about Britain's new industrial rela-

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tions bill (some delegates urged British unions not to comply with registration provisions; others demanded that the TUC bar affiliates from registering) and about Tory policies that the unions blame for "continued stagnation, spiraling inflation and high unemployment," a transatlantic echo of AFL-CIO's continuing criticism of this country's Republican government.

The convention also attacked the Tory government's decision to enter the Common Market as one that will mean higher living costs and take economic control out of the hands of the British people. Cries of "throw the Tories out" were commonplace, and the convention voted—unanimously and enthusiastically—to press for a general election before Parliament makes an irrevocable decision in favor of the Common Market.

> The TUC came out foursquare for ambiguity, and none but the militants seemed to mind

Labor legislation. When it came to the industrial relations bill, designed to modernize Britain's labor relations along the lines of U. S. statutes, Feather talked eloquently of the Tories' having "bludgeoned this piece of pernicious legislation through Parliament." Hugh Scanlon, head of Britain's second-largest union, the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, with 1.2-million members, demanded "tougher" action by TUC against the new bill because "the merest scratch can lead to gangrene." Scanlon, with the manner of a mild accountant, is a firebrand beneath the surface. Another firebrand, Jack Jones, head of the country's largest union, the 1.6-million-member Transport & General Workers Union, supported Scanlon. So did such regular militants as Clive Jenkins of the Assn. of Scientific, Technical & Managerial Staffs and Tom Jackson, head of the British postal union, an official known for his luxuriant sideburns and moustache.

Still more militant, tweedy Vincent Flynn of the Society of Graphical & Allied Trades twitted Feather, rapped Lord Cooper for his apparent inclination to register his own union under the new law, and demanded that the TUC expel any union that goes along with the law of "MacHeath the Knife."

Prior to balloting after 24 speakers on the industrial relations law, a short, angry man demanded recognition on a point of order. He was shouted down and ruled out of order. As a result, while the TUC rejected Flynn's motion to expel unions that go along with the law, it approved both Feather's motion to "advise" against registration or compliance and, unwittingly at the same time, Scanlon's motion to "in-

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struct" affiliates not to do so. The TUC came out foursquare for ambiguity, and nobody except the extreme militants led by Flynn seemed to mind.

Ineffectual. The TUC, having made its positions clear, hardly expects them to change anything. Insiders concede privately that Britain probably will go into the Common Market, that chances of an early general election are slim, and that there is really no hope that the Tory government's economic policies can be shaken up, whatever the TUC might say or do.

Actually, the TUC ought to be more powerful than it is. It is the oldest of all such labor movements, with affiliates representing a much larger proportion of the nation's work force than does the AFL-CIO, and with close ties to the Labor Party. But the TUC lacks the clout of the AFL-CIO, partly because of British labor's amateurism, the power vested in union shop stewards who have the firmest labor base, and the jealous refusal of unions to cede power to the TUC plus the TUC's rejection of any proposal to take on more power.

> The Swedish expression for 'speed slowly' was heard a number of times in debate

After the convention, questions were raised about why it had been held. One leader shrugged and said, "Because it has been going on ever since 1868."

In Sweden. After the Swedish LO convention, on the other hand, leaders talked of its being "a trailblazer for the future." The 18th regular congress (sessions are held every five years) charted programs that provided a pretty good idea of what Sweden might expect in the 1970s. Swedish businessmen are hardly likely to lose much sleep, worrying. The programs are along broad lines followed by the LO in recent years; the Swedish expression "skynda laangsamt"—literally to speed slowly—was heard a number of times in debates.

The LO is made up of 29 unions, with a claimed membership of 1.7-million out of a total Swedish labor force of close to 4-million. It is headed by Arne Geijer, 61, chairman since 1956, who is convinced that what is good for the LO is good for the country. The LO has very close links with the Social-Democratic Party, which has now been in power for almost 40 years.

As were the TUC's delegates, the 300 delegates at the Swedish convention were given a pile of material—reports and recommendations—to be approved. In the case of LO's delegates, there were 10 pounds of reading matter that few had time—if the inclination—to go through.

Most took a moderate position on private enterprise. There were no de-

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NEW ISSUE September 3, 1971

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mands for nationalization (called Socialization by the Swedish), and Geijer said bluntly that the LO should never try to abolish profits. Workers could never win anything that way—profitable companies are needed because without the profit motive there would be no initiative, he said. But the LO urged more "industrial democracy," including worker representatives on boards and worker participation in planning and managing companies.

The LO took a soft line on multinational companies, located in large numbers in Sweden and often blamed for tax-dodging, but it took a step that parallels TUC's and AFL-CIO's position that there should be international agreements covering multinational operations.

> There is an effort to revive the 'Harpsund spirit,' which signifies the middle way

Action on the working environment stood high on the LO's agenda, largely as a result of a study that showed that 75% of LO members feel "psychologically pressed" in the workplace—and 23% feel "severe stress" from noise, dust, drafts, polluted air, and job hazards. The convention approved a program to alleviate these problems and a $4-million annual fund, financed in part by employers, for research into solutions for environmental problems.

'Harpsund spirit.' Despite the LO's ties to the government, the government did not escape criticism—for doing too little to stimulate investments and jobs, particularly in construction. The unemployment rate reached a high figure of about 4% during the convention, a figure that would be more like 2.5% to 3% on a basis similar to that of the U. S.

But one of the potentially significant things at the convention was an effort to revive "the Harpsund spirit," a reference to close collaboration of business and industry, labor, and Social-Democrat political leaders in the 1950s and 1960s, through talks at Harpsund, the official country residence of the Prime Minister. The Harpsund spirit signified the middle way in Sweden.

There has been little of this spirit in the last two years of wildcat walkouts by workers, business attacks on the government, and a breakdown of peaceful contract-making. Prime Minister Olof Palme, visiting the LO, made a major address seeking a labor, business, and government rapprochement. About the same time, the Federation of Swedish Industries made peace moves, and the LO reacted favorably.

This guarantees nothing except that, in the near future, everyone will sit down together again at Harpsund to consider mutual interests. ■

ILWU's Bridges Seeks Merger With ILA, But Sources Call Dock Union Tie Unlikely

union Dem

12/31/71

A WALL STREET JOURNAL *News Roundup*

Harry Bridges wants to affiliate his West Coast dock union with a larger longshoremen's union on the East and Gulf coasts. But the chances of a formal tie appear slim, according to a number of sources.

Mr. Bridges, president of his union, is flying to New York next Tuesday or Wednesday to meet on the matter with Thomas W. Gleason, prsident of the International Longshoremen's Association. Contract negotiations in San Francisco were recessed Wednesday. Mr. Gleason, on vacation and unavailable for comment yesterday, is scheduled to resume bargaining with East Coast employers next Tuesday morning.

Both unions have received hefty settlement offers, but an impasse continues. Mr. Bridge's International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union rejected a wage-fringe package boost of $2.35 an hour spread over two years. Mr. Gleason's ILA informally was offered a three-year contract package totaling $1.97½ an hour Nov. 21, but there haven't been any negotiations since Dec. 7.

The ILWU's 15,000 members struck for 100 days until the federal government halted the West Coast strike by invoking the Taft-Hartley Act for an 80-day period that expired Christmas Day. But the ILWU has agreed to continue working until Jan. 17 while talks continue. In the East, the ILA's 57-day strike was stopped by Taft-Hartley bans that expire in mid-February.

The Nixon administration and many employers are worried the two unions are moving toward a simultaneous strike that, among other things, could deepen the nation's whopping balance-of-payments deficit. The White House, in fact, recently urged Congress to get cracking on a transportation-labor measure, submitted more than a year ago. It calls for compulsory arbitration machinery.

On Oct. 27 the two labor leaders—both in their 70s—met in New York and agreed to demand a national contract term covering the handling of van-sized containers. They also said they would work for a common contract-expiration date. And they said they would press jointly to make contract pay gains stick when such increases are laid before the Federal Pay Board.

But a number of ILA, ILWU and other sources yesterday said they doubted a formal merger, which would require approval by rank-and-file members, could be carried out.

In the East, an ILA local spokesman said it would be "too tough to pull off politically." The ILA is deemed to be rightist and the ILWU leftist. Several years ago Mr. Gleason went to Vietnam to advise on ways to unsnarl the Saigon waterfront. Mr. Bridges has been vocal in his opposition to the war. In addition, many local labor leaders on both coasts would ask themselves "what's in this for me?" according to this ILA source.

There's a special amount of rugged individualism among ILA local leaders, some of whom even ignored Mr. Gleason's call this year for strike in all ports.

And the president of an ILWU local on the West Coast said Mr. Bridges' merger call "doesn't reflect grass roots opinion in our local." He added, "A lot of our guys don't think the contract (negotiations) should be used as a wedge for the merger."

In the ILWU's newspaper, The Dispatcher, Mr. Bridges recently urged affiliation with the ILA as a means for his union to win its jurisdictional battle with the Teamsters union on container handling. The movement of ocean-borne cargo in trailer-size containers has been increasing rapidly in recent years.

Years ago the ILWU, in an alliance with the Teamsters, permitted the Teamsters to handle warehouse work near piers. That was long before the wide development of containerization in the early 1960s. Mr. Bridges wants his men to handle the container loading and unloading near the piers. In New York, Mr. Gleason's union, by contrast, has the right to handle all such container work within a 50-mile radius of the port.

Mr. Bridges formed the ILWU in a breakaway from the ILA in 1934. Later, the ILWU was expelled from the old Congress of Industrial Organizations because of its alleged Communist learnings. The ILWU presently isn't affiliated with the AFL-CIO.

The ILA was in the former American Federation of Labor, but for many years after the AFL-CIO's formation, it was expelled from that federation on charges it was influenced by racketeers. But it has been back in the AFL-CIO for many years and Mr. Gleason is a member of its executive board.

One informed labor observer said yesterday: "I can't conceive an ILWU-ILA merger. Gleason's people wrap themselves in the (American) flag at every opportunity and Bridges' people do the opposite. I think it's East is East, and West is West and never the twain shall meet."

He noted that Mr. Gleason received a "cold reception" at the ILWU annual meeting in Hawaii this year while Mr. Bridges was similarly treated at the ILA convention in Miami Beach.

Mr. Bridges, in his recent article in his union's paper, took note of the apparent fact that some of his members are warm toward neither the ILA nor the AFL-CIO when he wrote: "If I'm anywhere near right about the need for East Coast ties, then it's time for the rank and file . . . to take on those elements in our union who are always blasting away at the ILA its leadership and policies, or at the AFL-CIO and its head, George Meany."

An AFL-CIO spokesman in Washington, D.C., said he couldn't foresee any problem with the ILWU entering the parent house of labor organization if the dock union parties decide it's the favored course.

A management source feels the merger has been "brewing for quite a while." And he believes there's "some substance" to reports the two unions will try to get together. But he doubts they would seek, in their affiliation, a common contract expiration date. The union leaders would avoid this, he believes, to prevent pressure for compulsory arbitration legislation.

Black Wins High AFL-CIO Post

5/31/72
A+. Const

By NEIL GILBRIDE

HOUSTON, Tex. (AP)—William Lucy, a Negro, was elected secretary-treasurer of the 550,000-member AFL-CIO American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Tuesday.

Jerry Wurf, re-elected president of the union, said Lucy's new position was the most powerful in the nation's labor movement to be held by a black man.

Lucy, 39, has been an official of the union in various capacities for eight years and played a key role in the organizing of sanitation workers in Memphis, Tenn., during disturbances in which Dr. Martin Luther King was slain in 1968. Lucy is a native of Memphis. Lucy and King worked together in the labor dispute with the city at the time.

Lucy, in an interview, said he believed the union could play a key role in lobbying for federal and state programs to revitalize the nation's cities, where most of the unions members live and work.

"We live where it's at," Lucy said.

He said that in addition to seeking better wages, hours and working conditions for public workers, the union had a major interest in a broad range of social issues, including better schools, housing and other problems of the cities.

Lucy is a graduate of the University of California at Berkeley and joined the union after becoming an assistant materials and research engineer for Contra Costa County.

In addition to union duties, he has been active with civil rights groups.

Wurf and Lucy were elected without opposition.

Lucy's election followed a decision by Joseph L. Ames, secretary-treasurer since 1966, to step down to take a newly created permanent post of chairman of the union's judicial panel for settling internal union disputes.

A constitutional provision to make the nine-member panel's chairmanship permanent and appointed by the union president for a five-year term won out over opposition of some delegates.

UFW Suit Charges Sloan's Supermarkets Misused Union's Label

10/26/72

Number of Stores Allegedly Used Eagle Over Nonunion Lettuce; $35,000 and Injunction Sought

By WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

NEW YORK—Cesar Chavez, director of the United Farm Workers, said the union has filed a $35,000 suit against Sloan's Supermarkets Inc. for allegedly misusing the union's label.

The suit, filed in a federal district court here, also seeks to enjoin the supermarket chain from displaying the UFW label, depicting a black Aztec eagle, over iceberg lettuce that isn't harvested by union members.

At a press conference, Marshall Ganz, UFW's national boycott director, charged that 10 Sloan's stores checked by UFW volunteers displayed the union label over nonunion lettuce. He said, however, that only five stores were actually named in the suit.

Last May, Mr. Chavez announced the union boycott of iceberg lettuce grown in California's Salinas and Imperial valleys. The UFW is demanding that it be recognized as bargaining agent for 60,000 to 80,000 agricultural workers producing lettuce and other vegetable crops. It already has signed contracts with four lettuce growers employing about 2,000 workers. Some 200 other growers haven't signed with the UFW.

Recognition by Label

Mr. Ganz explained that a consumer can only recognize UFW iceberg lettuce from its label, which is stamped on the carton or the cellophane wrapper. Because there are over 250 different lettuce brands, it's impossible for the consumer to recognize UFW lettuce by a brand name.

Mr. Ganz said that Sloan's Supermarkets was singled out for the suit because it was "the most deliberate" example. He charged, however, that other supermarkets—a Grand Union Co. supermarket at Third Avenue and 19th St. and a Shop-Rite supermarket in Long Beach, N.Y.—were also "fraudulently" posting the union label over nonunion iceberg lettuce.

Mr. Ganz said New York City is the largest market for Western iceberg lettuce outside California, accounting for about 9% of total shipments, or seven million boxes a year.

In response, a spokesman for Sloan's Supermarkets said all of the company's 24 stores in Manhattan and the Bronx sell either Teamsters union or UFW lettuce. He said the company's attorneys are currently studying the suit.

Teamsters and UFW

Later Mr. Ganz contended that in 1970, the lettuce growers solicited contracts with the Teamsters, but this move was rejected by the farm workers. Since then, the UFW and the Teamsters have signed a jurisdictional agreement in which the Teamsters recognize that farm workers are to be represented by the United Farm Workers, but the lettuce growers have refused to sign contracts with the UFW.

A spokesman for Grand Union Co. said it was the company's policy to carry union lettuce, either UFW or Teamsters. He said that if the Third Avenue store has mislabeled its iceberg lettuce, it was a mistake. Grand Union said that as of yesterday that store was only selling UFW lettuce.

A spokesman for Wakenfern Food Corp., a co-op for Shop-Rite stores, said that the company was unaware of any mislabeling and that if it did occur it was an isolated action of one individual. The spokesman said it was against company policy to misled the consumer in any way.

REPRINT SERIES NO. 230

Unions

INSTITUTE OF LABOR AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Job vs. Political Unionism: A Cross-national Comparison

By WILLIAM H. FORM

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS BULLETIN

I think it's
what we want,
So proceed.
Thanks

Make a list (3 copies)

By State

Then by Int'l Union

Then local & City

e.g.

Georgia

American Fed. of Musicians

#462 — Atlanta

Do Ga. first and

let me see it, so we

can judge how to proceed.

Find a file for the cards.

Local Unions — Negro.

NEGRO LABOR ORGANIZATIONS - GEORGIA

American Federation of Musicians

462 - Atlanta

704 - Savannah

Brewery, ... Distillery Workers

? - Atlanta

Barbers, Hairdressers ...

Atlanta Beauty Culturist League
Atlanta

Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers'

12 - Albany

7 - Athens

9 - Atlanta

2 - Augusta

11 - Brunswick

13 - Carrollton

16 - Columbus

24 - Dalton

23 - Gillsville

19 - Griffin

21 - Hartwell

22 - Jessup

20 - LaGrange

4 - Macon

3 - Milledgeville

14 - Rome

1 - Savannah

5 - Savannah

10 - Thomasville

18 - Valdosta

Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers' (continued)

6 - Waycross

Maintanence of Way Employees

Lodge # 2155 - Cedartown

2010 - Dry Branch

1857 - Thomasville

2158 - Tifton

? - Winder

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers

102 - Atlanta

652 - Macon

1463 - Savannah

1463 - Savannah

Railway Carmen of America

Progress Lodge # 2 - Atlanta

116 - Macon

690 - Waycross

Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks

- Atlanta

- Atlanta

- Atlanta

- Atlanta

1584 - Atlanta

1583 - Atlanta

94 (Lodge) - Atlanta

1581 (Lodge) - Atlanta

BRSC (continued)

- Augusta

Lodge # 1588 - Columbus

- Locust Grove

Lodge # 1580 - Macon

2283 - Macon

Lodge # 1582 - Savannah

1587 - Savannah

Lodge 1585 - Savannah

2202 - Savannah

2282 - Savannah

1586 - Waycross

Building Service Employees

- Atlanta

Carpenters and Joiners of America

552 - Atlanta

552 - Decatur

1222 - Macon

1960 - Savannah

Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers

244 - Milledgeville

Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union

438 - Atlanta

64 - Savannah

International Association of Machinists

Lodge 20L9 - Savannah

International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers

598 - Atlanta

720 - Augusta

1041 - Columbus

789 - Savannah

International Longshoreman's Association

1414 - Savannah

1832 - Kingsland

International Mailers Union

Savannah Associates # 4 - Savannah

International Woodworkers of America

5-504 - Cuthbert

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen

- Atlanta

Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers

870 - Savannah

National Association of Letter Carriers

Gate City Letter Carriers - Atlanta

[illegible]

Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers

9-116 - College Park

Operative Plasterers' and Cement Makers ..

603 - Athens

148 - Atlanta

882 - LaGrange

288 - Macon

15 - Savannah

Pulp, Sulfite, and Paper Mill Workers

Onward Local - Macon

805 - Rome

653 - Savannah

622 - Savannah

Roofers D W W

136 - Atlanta

Stone and Allied Products Workers

53 - Elberton

29 - Elberton

Sleeping Car Porters

- Atlanta

Switchmen's Union of North America

377 - Savannah

International Brotherhood of Teamsters

728 - Atlanta

United Packinghouse Workers

355 - Atlanta

108 - Atlanta

United Steelworkers of America

2948 - Columbus

Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers

234 - Atlanta

17 - Savannah

I_____ R_____ E_____

Lodge 2281 - Atlanta

1589 - Augusta

2283 - Macon

39 - Manchester

Lodge 2282 - Savannah

* * *

Hospital Workers

A Union With 'Soul'

By A. H. RASKIN

Where is the Union now, friend,
At the Strike's end?
Inside my heart, friend.

THERE is little soul music in American labor today. Most unions have become dispiriting mirror images of the corporations with which they bargain. Their leaders are men of substance, more comfortable at Moriarty's than at Le Pavillon but not strangers to either. They receive respectful hearing on Capitol Hill or at City Hall, administer billions of dollars in trust funds, build headquarters that rival the temples of the money-changers and serve on countless boards dedicated to civic uplift.

The bigger the union, the more remote its rank and file—hundreds of thousands of names in computerized files, new members brought in automatically under union-shop agreements, dues collected by employer checkoff in the same inexorable way that Uncle Sam plucks his taxes out of the pay envelope. The chief breaks in this disembodied pattern come when the members upset a proposed contract or insurgents challenge the entrenched leadership as Joseph A. Yablonski tried to do in the United Mine Workers before a murderer's bullets cut him down. Or the disruption can come from outside in the form of clamor by Negroes and other minorities against the monopolistic control over job opportunities exercised by unions in construction and other skilled trades.

In the spiritual wasteland these problems of success have created for a movement born of worker discontent, two unions stand out as nurturers of the old idealism, perhaps because they move into the nineteen-seventies still obliged to fight the elementary battles for human dignity that gave unions their great emotional appeal in the turbulent thirties.

One is the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, headed by Cesar Chavez, which for four frustrating years has been striking the growers of California table grapes to gain some measure of security for the nomadic army of Mexican-American and Filipino pickers.

The other is Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Union, a New York-based organization that is combining soul power and union power to bring higher pay and a new sense of group identity to growing numbers of hospital employes across the nation, the great majority of them black and Puerto Rican. The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. used to call Local 1199 his favorite union. Three weeks before his assassination, Dr. King told a "Salute to Freedom" rally conducted by the hospital union here: "You have provided concrete and visible proof that when black and white workers unite in a democratic organization like Local 1199 they can move mountains."

In this period of racial polarization, when even so sophisticated a city as New York has demonstrated through its still smoldering conflict over school decentralization how fragile are the bonds of tolerance that tie the community together, the experience of Local 1199 affords encouraging evidence that a racially integrated approach within existing institutions can redistribute power and thus begin to satisfy the yearnings of those in the cellar of opportunity for self-direction toward a place in the sun.

HERE is a union formed by Jewish drug clerks in Harlem and the Bronx at the start of the Great Depression nearly four decades ago. It went into the hospital field in 1958 almost by accident. A Negro porter at Montefiore Hospital compared notes with a relative working as a porter in a Bronx pharmacy. The hospital porter was earning $36 for a 44-hour week; the drugstore porter was getting $72 for 40 hours, plus employer-paid pension, health and welfare protection.

The Local 1199 member told the union's president, Leon J. Davis, that hospital workers could use its help. A day or two later, Elliott Godoff, now a vice president of Local 1199 but then an unemployed registered pharmacist, came into the union hiring hall seeking a job as a druggist. He stopped to chat with Davis, an old friend, who remembered that in the nineteen-thirties Godoff had organized workers in the municipal hospitals for the old United Public Workers. Out of that recollection came an assignment to Godoff and Ted Mitchell, a black organizer who had originally worked as a drugstore porter, to begin signing up members in Montefiore.

Workers in the city's voluntary hospitals earned so little in those days that many needed supplementary relief from the Welfare Department to feed, clothe and house their families. They were the left-outs in all the laws guaranteeing collective bargaining, minimum wages, unemployment compensation and other statutory protections for workers. They had neither Blue Cross nor sick-pay insurance, and it was a tragic joke in the hospitals that none of their nonprofessional employes could afford to be sick.

The philanthropists who sat on hos-

A. H. RASKIN is assistant editor of the editorial page of The Times.

pital boards did not cheer the advent of Local 1199. Bitter strikes in 1959 and 1962—strikes in which the union defied injunctions and found itself under constant attack for imperiling patients' lives—preceded full status in New York. Today, 36,500 hospital workers in the metropolitan area belong to Local 1199, more than seven times the 5,000 in the parent division of pharmacy employes. The current minimum wage of $100 for a 40-hour week is triple the pay floor of a little more than a decade ago.

THE upsurge here brought stirrings of unionization in other parts of the country, but the drive did not gain real momentum until a strike of 500 black hospital workers in Charleston, S.C., last year welded organized labor and civil-rights groups into an in-

(*Continued on Page 38*)

Rallying Round. *Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Union is white-led and New York-based, but its impact is felt mostly by black and Puerto Rican workers—and increasingly outside New York. At left, supporters of the union — many wearing its blue-and-white cap—march in Charleston, S.C. That nasty, 113-day strike ended in a union victory last year. Right, a union member, Belvina Phillips of the Brooklyn Community Hospital, celebrates an earlier victory, the 1968 contract guaranteeing a $100-a-week minimum in New York. Below, bearded Leon Davis, union president, with two organizers, Joseph Meneses and Arlene Ezratty.*

In a time when organized labor has become part of the establishment, Local 1199, the hospital workers' union, is still fighting the old-fashioned elementary battles for human dignity

A union with 'soul'

(Continued from Page 25)

domitable alliance. It took 113 days and more than a thousand arrests before the coalition won a full victory in that most Southern of cities, with its graceful mansions, moss-hung trees and a museum on the site of the old slave mart.

Even while National Guard men with fixed bayonets turned Charleston into a military compound, the dominant force in the strike was a massive spiritual involvement. When the first breakthrough was achieved on the strike's 100th day, the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Dr. King's successor as head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was fasting in the Charleston jail. A dozen of his associates from S.C.L.C. and Local 1199 came to his cell with a bail bond to free him so he could speak at a victory rally. His refusal to go until a complete settlement had been won sparked an impromptu revival meeting in which everyone linked arms and sang "We Shall Overcome." As the last notes cut through the 115-degree heat, all sank to their knees on the concrete floor and Abernathy led them in prayer.

When the imminence of an accord was announced in a crowded Negro church, the entire congregation wept and knelt in prayer. One man sobbed: "It's so terrible. We've been so together; now it's over." Dozens of letters after the settlement testified to the impact on the strikers, almost all of whom were women. Mrs. Claire G. Brown, an obstetric technician, who went to prison with several of her five children for strike activity, wrote of her surprise that organizations like Local 1199 and the S.C.L.C. "would risk jail, time, money and their very lives to help hundreds of poor people like me, whom a lot of other people may think wasn't important enough even to consider."

"It helped me to realize how important I am as a person, which I'm afraid I didn't quite realize before," Mrs. Brown said. "I further realized that the power structure isn't all-powerful, but that they are to do the bidding of the people, and the people can make them do it."

A similar realization on the part of many Baltimore hospital workers helped bring 7,500 nonprofessional employes there under union contract after the Charleston triumph. Progress was made easier by the decision of the most prestigious of the city's institutions, the Johns Hopkins Medical Center, not to hide behind the absence of any state law requiring hospitals to deal with unions.* Though far from joyous at the prospect of unionization, Johns Hopkins agreed to let the workers make their own decision through an election and the union won by a 2-to-1 margin. Wages, which had been $1.60 an hour before Local 1199 came on the scene last summer, are now up to $2.10. The present New York floor of $2.50 an hour and $100 a week will be reached next Dec. 1, an increase of more than 50 per cent in a little over a year.

***Fewer than 10 states have laws that firmly guarantee hospital workers the right to join unions, hold representation elections and bargain collectively, rights that most workers won 35 years ago. New York passed such a law only in 1963. Where there are no such laws, hospital administrators have generally interpreted their absence as a prohibition on dealing with unions.**

With organizers already at work in Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Detroit, Durham, N. C., and many Connecticut and New Jersey communities, Local 1199 has now become the founding father of a full-fledged National Union of Hospital and Nursing Home Employes. The goal is to enroll as many as possible of the country's 2.5-million hospital workers into locals that will acknowledge their paternity by retaining the 1199 number, with an identifying initial tacked on for each new city. Thus, Charleston is 1199 B, Baltimore 1199 E and Pittsburgh 1199 P.

So far as the labor hierarchy is concerned, the new union is an offshoot of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, the A.F.L.-C.I.O. international with which Local 1199 itself is affiliated. Having a local union sprout a whole treeful of affiliates under a distinct national charter is decidedly unorthodox, but the prestige Local 1199 enjoys and the diversity of the power centers with which it is linked made its own international decide it was the course of wisdom to bless the new venture rather than fight it. In a year or two the fast-growing infant may well dwarf its parent international and ask the A.F.L.-C.I.O. to give it the key to a house all its own.

WHAT gives Local 1199 its special magic is the extent to which it has coupled the substantial bread-and-butter gains it has brought its rank and file with equally solid progress toward making unionism a way of life, an integral element in the freedom struggle. New York City has given official recognition to the local's contributions in that direction by designating it as sponsor for a $30-million urban-renewal project to be built on the Harlem bank of the East River. The project will provide cooperative apartments for 1,350 families, many of them headed by hospital employes, on a 9.5-acre riverfront tract now populated mostly by rats. The union's aim is to turn the development into a center for interracial living through the inclusion of a dozen community facilities.

In all its activities, 1199 tries to prove that "a good union doesn't have to be dull." Its home-produced film, "Like a Beautiful Child," surpasses any television documentary in poignancy and

New York hospital workers ratify (above) the 1968 contract giving them a $100-a-week minimum. They have come a long way since the bitter strikes of 1959 (right) and 1962. But what happens when the present contract expires this June is a question that worries both union leaders and hospital officials.

effectiveness, an understated epic of workers in quest of "the little things that make the difference." The 1959 strike here led to publication of a book of poems in the Joe Hill tradition by Marshall Dubin, the union's educational director. (The poem at the start of this article is from that collection.) Live theater programs, seminars and $40,000 a year in college scholarships for the children of 1199 members are among the raisins in the union-baked bread.

Through all its four decades the local has been on the far left of New York's labor movement. It broke with the labor establishment to support Senator Eugene J. McCarthy for the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1968. It lined up with Ocean Hill-Brownsville and other champions of community control in their fight with the United Federation of Teachers. When the Central Labor Council went all-out to prevent Mayor Lindsay's reelection last year, the hospital workers put all their energies into insuring the Mayor a second term.

Despite such walkaways from conventional union "solidarity," the local has had vigorous support from the rest of labor in its organizational battles. Indeed, its leaders give a large share of the credit for their success in the make-or-break 1959 hospital strike to Harry Van Arsdale Jr., president of the Central Labor Council, who currently rates as a kind of ogre to many black unionists. When the hospitals dug in to repel unionization, Van Arsdale mobilized the construction trades —then even more lily-white than they are now—to walk the picket lines night and day with the Negro and Puerto Rican strikers. Equally important, he used his considerable political influence with Mayor Robert F. Wagner to put the heat on the balky hospital trustees and thus end the Lady Bountiful brand of economic feudalism.

Leon Davis, who has remained president of Local 1199 almost from its inception, is still an enthusiastic Van Arsdale booster, for all their fallings-out over Lindsay and the school strike. "When we were striking in Charleston," Davis says, "Van Arsdale couldn't have worked harder to rally help if it were his own electricians on strike."

Indeed, help in the Charleston strike came from labor nationally. George Meany took the lead in raising $100,000 from the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and its affiliates. The rival Alliance for Labor Action, headed by

66Most remarkable is the steady strengthening of ties between 1199 and the civil-rights movement in a period when white-black relationships in labor are more down than up.99

Walter P. Reuther, contributed $35,000. Perhaps the most potent assistance of all came from Thomas W. (Teddy) Gleason, tough-talking head of the International Longshoremen's Association, whose threat to shut down the port got a lot of Charleston businessmen interested in a settlement.

Davis, whose radicalism once made him a pariah to most other top unionists, is mildly amused by the eagerness they now show to embrace him and his organization. "For the labor movement," he says, "identifying with us is like going to church or synagogue. We are a badge of holiness, a mezuzah they can wear around their neck. They all want to help. A racket guy, a guy who runs a no-good union, sent me a $1,000 check to help the Charleston strike."

The most unusual testimonial to Local 1199's probity came from Simone Rizzo (Sam the Plumber) DeCavalcante, the New Jersey *mafioso*, whose tapped telephone conversations covered a couple of thousand pages of F.B.I. transcript. In one bugged talk, he advised Local 1199 to stop bothering a Plainfield nursing home. Murray Kempton, a man with an ear for such things, culls from the record these deathless words of DeCavalcante: "This is a slap in the face to me. . . . I got money in there. . . . You better watch your step where you put your feet. . . . Tell [Davis] he better not threaten people or I will wash every street with him. . . ." The union didn't scare and in two days DeCavalcante decided it would be smart to settle.

EVEN more remarkable, however, is the steady strengthening of the ties between 1199 and the civil-rights movement in a period when white-black relationships in the rest of labor are more down than up. When the Charleston strike ended, Abernathy's chief assistant, the Rev. Andrew Young, told the victory rally: "We won this strike because of a wonderful marriage, the marriage of the S.C.L.C. and Local 1199. The first of many beautiful children of this marriage is Local 1199 B here in Charleston, and there are going to be as many more children like 1199 B as there are letters in the alphabet."

The support for the local comes not just from moderates like Roy Wilkins and A. Philip Randoph but from such militants as the late Malcolm X. His enthusiasm for 1199, he said in a talk shortly before his murder, rose from the fact that its leaders were not "afraid of upsetting the status quo or the apple cart of those people who are running City Hall or sitting in Albany or sitting in the White House."

The heads of all the feuding national black groups got together for the first time in years to sign a joint declaration backing the Charleston strikers. Dr. King's widow, Coretta Scott King, is honorary chairman of the national organizing drive. She has helped to make the blue-and-white 1199 cap a countrywide freedom symbol.

One explanation for this united support is that 1199 has been a good deal more enterprising than have other white-led unions with a majority of "minority" members in seeking out, developing and utilizing leadership potential among its black and Puerto Rican rank and file. Typical is Fred Punch, a year ago an orderly at St. Barnabas Hospital in the Bronx, who has been running the whirlwind organizing campaign in Baltimore and is now a vice president of the new national union.

He is no token black in the Local 1199 command structure, either. Mary Moultrie, a nurse's aid in the State Medical College Hospital at Charleston, whose firing was one of the triggers of the strike there, not only got her hospital job back but is now president of 1199 B and a national union vice president as well. She was a featured speaker at the national convention of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. in Atlantic City last October, the first black rank-and-filer ever to make such an address.

The secretary-treasurer of the national union is Henry Nicholas, a male aide at Mt. Sinai in the 1959 New York

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Mrs. Martin Luther King, honorary chairman of 1199's national organizing campaign, addresses a meeting of Baltimore hospital workers during the union's drive there last year. With her, from left, are Elliott Godoff and Fred Punch, 1199 vice presidents, and Doris Turner, who heads the union's hospital division in New York.

strike, who never got beyond elementary school in his native Mississippi but who played a lead role in Charleston and is currently top man in the effort to unionize Pittsburgh hospitals. Most prominent of all the up-from-the-ranks leaders is Doris Turner, a former diet clerk at Lenox Hill, who distinguished herself in the initial strike and now heads the entire hospital division in New York, with 20 area directors and organizers on her staff.

She is secretary of the national union and is about to move up to executive vice president of the New York local as part of a reorganization that will expand black and Puerto Rican representation on the 1199 staff. When the new structure becomes operative after the local's elections next month, 8 of the 15 vice presidents will be Negro or Puerto Rican. So will 8 of the 11 organizers.

DAVIS, born in Russia 57 years ago, will still head the cast, both locally and nationally. But he is not counting on seniority to keep him on top permanently. When asked how long he thinks he and other pioneers of the old Pharmacists Union can maintain seats of power in an organization now 80 per cent "minority" members, Davis replies cheerfully: "Oh, we'll have to go. We know that. The old leadership is here to prepare new leaders. They are coming from the hospital ranks, black, Puerto Rican, white. The assets they have are that they understand their own people much better than any of us. We have great practical and administrative experience, which they largely lack and which you need to run a union today."

But there is a great gulf between the cool rationality of such pronouncements and the black-power pressures that throb in the ghetto and find their way into the life of the union. Davis, a soapboxer from way back, is not above utilizing demagogy of the raw-meat variety in the crisis stages of contract negotiations. At such junctures, he often couples appeals to passion with strike threats—despite the fact that the New York law which opened up a statutory right to collective bargaining for hospital employes in 1963 specifically requires that disputes not settled through direct negotiations be submitted to binding arbitration. This heedlessness of a legal mandate to prevent the sick from becoming hostages in labor-management battles only worsens race divisions, in the view of hospital administrators.

So does the union's use of confrontation techniques—imprisoning hospital executives in their offices while black delegates "tell it like it is," and staging "high noons" at which all union workers walk out in a show of strength. In Baltimore, Elliott Godoff warned officials that the union "could make Charleston look like a poker game," and Fred Punch talked of "tearing the damn town down."

My own wanderings through the cavernous halls of Johns Hopkins after the peaceful contract signing there made it plain that the campaign had left a bad residue of racial friction, with most of the white workers in the bargaining unit—the bulk of them maintenance mechanics and engineers—sullen about the union's victory. Even the fact that they were earning more as a result had not turned them into boosters.

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Unusual Union

MOST American unions are overwhelmingly white and male. Local 1199's hospital divisions are heavily black and female. In New York the biggest single unit consists of 26,000 workers in hospital kitchens, laundries, wards and corridors, all performing relatively unskilled tasks. Eighty per cent of them are Negroes or Puerto Ricans and 60 per cent of them are women.

Their average wage now is $115 a week. Forty per cent of them never got beyond elementary school. The rest have some high-school education, although few stayed long enough to graduate. Almost none got to college.

The other big unit in the New York hospitals is the so-called Guild division, made up of 10,500 technicians, lay practical nurses, clerical employes, social workers and others outside the ranks of physician and registered nurse. Half of this group are Negro and Puerto Rican and nearly two-thirds are women. All are high-school graduates and roughly 30 per cent have gone to college. The average pay in this division is $135.

The drug division, which provided the funds and organizing talent to initiate the hospital drive more than a decade ago, is now dwarfed by its offspring. Its 5,000 members include pharmacists, soda clerks, porters and other general personnel. Only 20 per cent of its rank and file is female and 40 per cent is black or Puerto Rican. The pharmacists, all of whom have college degrees, are overwhelmingly white. The average wage in this division is $180 a week.

IN the newly unionized cities, the hospital divisions are much more heavily black than in New York. In Charleston, all the 500 strikers were black and all but 12 of them were women. In Baltimore, the 7,500 members are roughly 80 per cent black, with women predominating. In Pittsburgh, where the union is still struggling for a foothold, about 60 per cent of the nonprofessional employes are Negro.—A. H. R.

depresses Dr. Russell Nelson, president of the medical center. He is a thoughtful man, in tune with progressive trends in medicine and society, no counterpart of the union-baiters and their racist supporters in Charleston. It was largely his influence that prompted the Johns Hopkins trustees to authorize an election, despite their lack of legal duty to deal with the union.

"The campaign did polarize this institution," Dr. Nelson told me. "The tension is still here. One of the biggest challenges to both sides is to create the right psychological atmosphere for taking care of sick people. People can hate one another and make steel, but that kind of hatred is not good for treating sick people. I can see this union in this town being one of the most powerful social and economic tools in the black power struggle. They literally can control health services; until now they controlled only the streets."

He paused, and his gaze wandered around the dignified room, its furniture eloquent of the old South. "I can understand the mood. 'It's our turn; we're going to take over; we're going to get ours,'" he said. "At least in my time, it's a force that's going to separate, not unite—a negative force rather than a positive one."

When I told Punch of Dr. Nelson's fears, the union leader was sympathetic. "You say what you have to say in a campaign," he said. "They said a lot, too. After it's over, you have to live together. We know that, and we're going to work at it. We must build bridges on both sides. A few years from now, we'll be giving testimonials to one another."

A decade of union experience in New York offers considerable support for the Punch forecast—at least as far as day-to-day hospital operation is concerned. I talked to the directors of three of the biggest institutions under contract here—Drs. Martin Cherkasky of Montefiore, S. David Pomrinse of Mt. Sinai and Ray E. Trussell of Beth Israel—and found them in agreement that unionization had made their workers more prideful and

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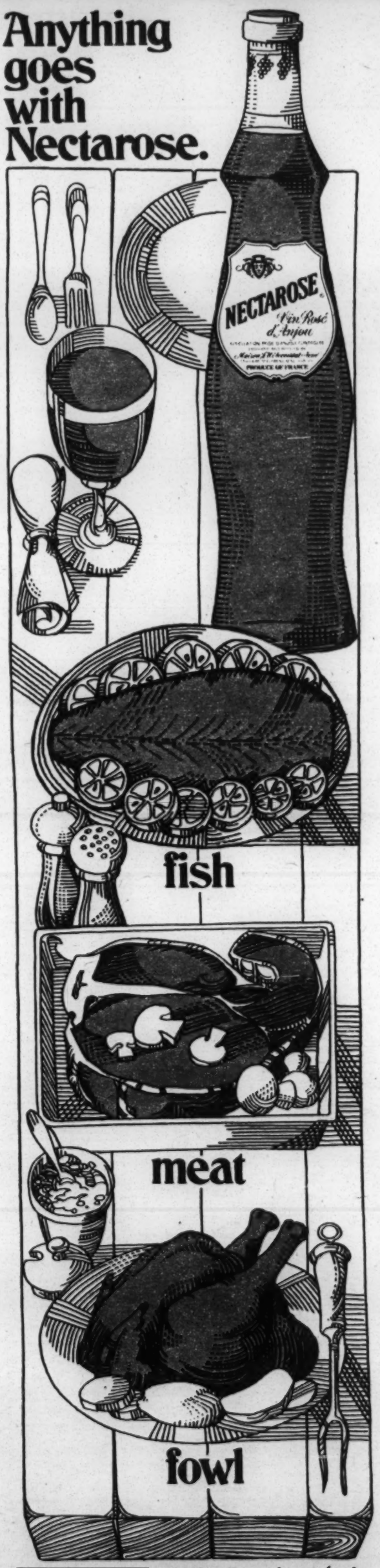

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thus helped raise performance standards. This year marks the start of a joint union-employer program for taking the dead end out of hospital jobs by upgrading blacks and Puerto Ricans at the bottom of the skill ladder to posts as nurses, technicians and clerical workers.

Turnover is down appreciably in a field in which workers used to leave after a month or two, and the hospitals themselves have been spurred to retain personnel experts and improve their whole approach to human relations, to the benefit of patients as well as workers. Dr. Pomrinse noted another side benefit: "The presence of the union has given minority groups a vehicle for expression so that there is less need for them to be intemperate or irresponsible."

But this applause does not extend to the union's conduct in contract negotiations. Dr. Cherkasky, who gave 1199 its first major victory by persuading the Montefiore trustees to recognize it without a strike in 1958, has no doubt of the genuineness of Davis's desire for racial harmony, but feels "he plays with fire on the theory that he always can cool it later."

THE future holds three very dissimilar challenges for 1199. One, of course, is the task of getting into hospitals that do not want it. In New York, nearly half of the city's largest hospitals—including Columbia-Presbyterian and New York Hospital—have so far managed to keep their employes contented without unionization. In Pittsburgh, the principal hospitals have countered 1199's organizing efforts with a two-step voluntary pay boost that has brought the minimum up from $1.60 to $1.95 an hour. ("The mere mention of 1199 is enough to send wages up," is the wry comment of Moe Foner, the union's executive secretary. "If we should announce we were going to Kansas City, there would be a 15-cent increase before the first organizer arrived.")

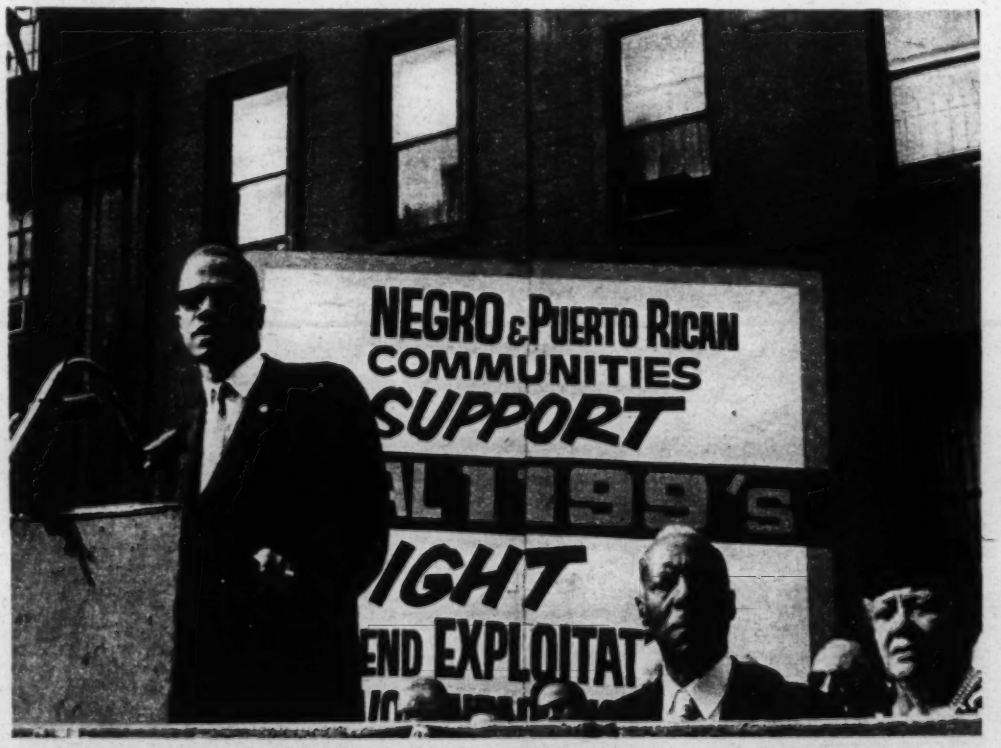
The second challenge is presented by the forces of black power and community control. Last year, a tiny but highly vocal group in New York contended that it was wrong for Local 1199, with its egalitarian tradition, to keep unskilled hospital employes and white-collar and technical groups in separate divisions. The insurgents argued that the separation catered to "prejudices and feelings of superiority based upon different skills or status or pay." The union leadership opposed a merger of the two divisions on the ground that each had special problems. In balloting last September, the service employes killed the merger proposal 8 to 1.

Currently, the union is in the middle of a battle between Beth Israel and a Lower East Side neighborhood council allied with the ultramilitant Health Revolution Unity Movement. Some union members employed at the hospital's Gouverneur Health Center teamed up with the neighborhood council in trying to take over the center, on the ground that it should come under community control.

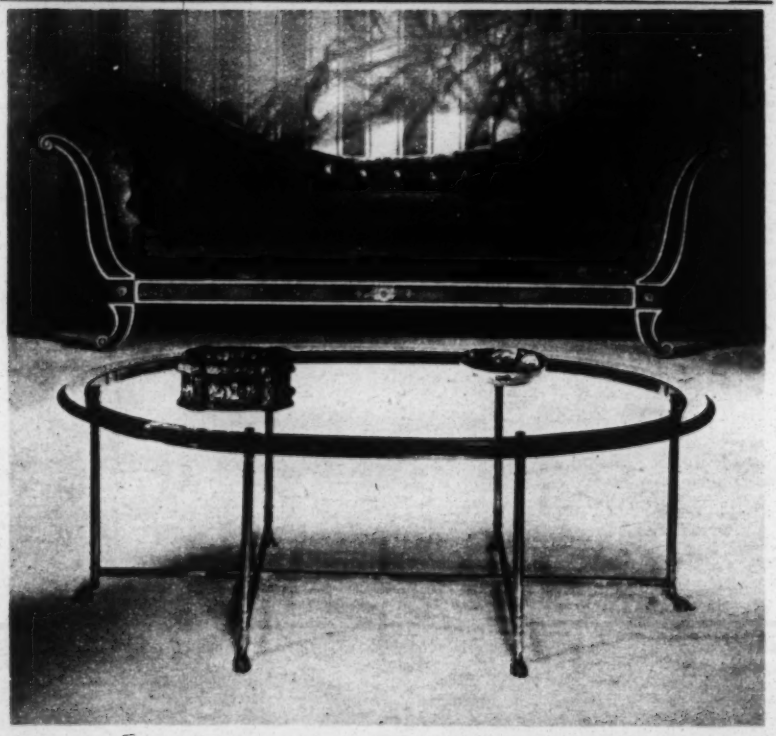
When the rebels were fired, 163 of the union's 180 members at Gouverneur signed a petition saying that the ousted workers were mainly interested in disruption and deserved no support. On that basis, the union refused to authorize a strike for reinstatement. Davis issued a statement reiterating 1199's devotion to the principle of community control but denying that the community really backed the revolutionary movement.

Even though Davis emphasized that the local was fighting minority disruption and not the right of a community to make its own decisions, the whole union position had an embarrassing resemblance to the mumbo-jumbo U.F.T. statements on Ocean Hill-Brownsville. Undoubtedly, there will be more such difficult choices for 1199 as the hospitals become a new battleground in fights by widely divergent organizations to establish themselves as the only bona fide voices of their neighborhoods. None of this, however, has altered Davis's faith that poor people must be brought into the mainstream of society by giving them economic power and facing the risks that go with any exercise of power.

Finally, there is the challenge that will confront 1199 when its present two-year contracts with the New York hospitals expire on June 30. That challenge arises out of the bind in which all hospitals find themselves in an era when Medicare, Medicaid and Blue Cross account for 85 per cent of all income and the hospitals serve as middlemen for the public in deciding how



The late Malcolm X addresses an 1199 rally during the 1962 New York hospital strike. Sharing the platform are A. Philip Randolph, of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. executive council, and Dr. Anna Arnold Hedgeman, then assistant to Mayor Robert F. Wagner for race relations.



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much people can afford to pay for a day of hospital care.

It was easy for 1199 to marshal public sympathy for its argument that hospital employes should not be expected to subsidize the patients when take-home pay for the pushers of trays and the ironers of bedsheets was $28 to $30 a week. But that sympathy may not come so readily now that the workers have crossed the $100 line and the cost of a hospital bed has soared above $100 a day.

The hospitals are making common cause with Davis in fighting to keep the state from putting them in a cost-control straitjacket, but even if they win they expect to have to turn to Governor Rockefeller and Mayor Lindsay for help in negotiating a new contract without a strike. The Greater New York Hospital Association estimates that the last agreement added $100-million to the labor bill of the voluntary hospitals and pushed up the cost of patient care by $25 a day.

The real decision on how much higher hospital wages ought to go will rest with the public. There are no more "philanthropists" now—not on hospital boards or in hospital kitchens. The public pays the bills. It sits in the employer's seat, even though the hospitals do the bargaining. Davis himself says: "We must make up our mind as a people whether we want to pay for high-quality care." As one who went to jail for 30 days in the New York strike of eight years ago and for eight days more in the Charleston strike last year, he has no illusions about the tests that lie ahead.

BUT there is more mellowness than belligerence in his tone as he speculates on what will replace the discarded ideologies of a disordered society. "The tragedy for us with a left-wing background is that we had everything worked out and we see how empty were many of our certainties," he says. "The kids are going through that now. We failed them by destroying their fantasies. In the old days kids could draw on the past for hope in the future. Now they look back on the Hitler period, the Stalin period. They see that the kitchen is a mess, full of broken dishes. The Socialist idea, the Communist idea, sustained people for a long time. They learned to make their peace with disappointments. Now no picture of hope comes forth, and people are turning against history in their search for hope."

He believes the labor movement could help open the doors of hope for the excluded if there were a young John L. Lewis around to enroll the 10-million unorganized in the service industries. But he sees no hope of that. When well-intentioned unions in New Jersey assigned some organizers to help 1199 in the hospitals there, Davis soon sent them back. "They came to work at 10 A. M. and went home at 3 P. M.," he explains. "They were ruining our organizers, who came in at 6 A. M. and were still working at midnight."

The Spartan tradition still governs the union's own salaries. Davis draws $335 a week; other top officers, $295, and organizers, $135. The local is about to move out of its gloomy three-story building on Eighth Avenue to a 14-story structure it is putting up two blocks south on 43d Street. Davis is a bit sheepish about appearing to emulate his fellow union chiefs in erecting monuments to themselves. "We probably could have rented the space more cheaply, but it is partly psychological for our members," he says. "It will give them the feeling: 'You were nobody yesterday, now you've put up your own tall building.'"

I have talked to a good many of these ex-nobodies in the last few weeks. There was about all of them a quality of self-respect, a joy in being able to make ends meet without welfare and, above all, a sense of collective strength in not having to worry about arbitrary dismissal or other humiliation.

"You can live without being scared to death that next morning you'll be out of a job," said Mrs. Mozell Smith, a 50-year-old food preparer at the Hospital for Joint Diseases. "The hospital is a happier place, not full of tension all the time." She told of the special pains she takes to make sure that the babies' formulas she works on are exactly right. "A little bit of elbow grease and work ain't going to hurt you," she said. Mrs. Smith, a nursemaid before coming to the hospital seven years ago, is a delegate to the union's monthly assemblies. All the meetings, dances and annual dinners are "just like a pot of flowers—black and white, no difference, we have a wonderful time." Her earnings now are $107 a week, "not a lot of money, but it's a lot if you're used to getting $65."

Technicians in the blood chemistry laboratory at Mt. Sinai Hospital in New York. They belong to Local 1199's Guild division, which also includes lay practical nurses and clerical and social workers.

A score of such testimonials made it hard to doubt that 1199 was living up to the pledge Davis gave in its name after Dr. King's assassination: "We will build no stone monuments to commemorate him. We will pass no pious resolutions. We will build our union in his image. We will raise high the banner of struggle in the fight against poverty, discrimination, ignorance, hate and war."

It is a fight that may never be wholly won, but it is a fight America cannot afford to lose. ■

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Union on the Rise

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Strike Threat, Sit-In Tactics Used in Pittsburgh Conflict; Higher Bills Could Result

Fears of Another Charleston

By THOMAS LINDLEY EHRICH
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

PITTSBURGH—This old industrial city has seen plenty of labor union organizing, but nothing quite like the blitz of Local 1199.

Since coming here four months ago to organize hospital workers, the New York-based union has loosed a barrage of sit-ins, stand-ins, eat-ins, picket lines, street marches, "crack-of-dawn brigades" and "high noon" showdowns with hospital administrators.

Leading the charge is a small army of amateur organizers backed by such allies as militant students and black preachers. The drive, says one hospital official, is a bewildering blend of old-style union organizing and "the tactics of the SDS and black militants." Its immediate goal: Elections to determine whether a majority of the workers here want Local 1199 (or any union) to represent them.

Going National

The tactics may be unorthodox, but the hospitals here are taking them seriously. Last week about 225 union members struck the hospital in Uniontown, Pa. near here, and strikes have been authorized at three Pittsburgh hospitals. Indeed, hospitals across the country are casting worried glances at Local 1199, the National Union of Hospital and Nursing Home Employes.

As its name suggests, the union is an anomaly of the labor movement—a local union growing into a national one. After a decade of organizing in the New York City area, the 50,000-member union is now about a year into a national organizing drive. That drive aims at what one worried hospital spokesman calls "the greatest untapped source of union members in the country"—the service, maintenance and technical employes at voluntary, nonprofit hospitals.

This army of kitchen helpers, orderlies, janitors, nurses aides, secretaries and other nonprofessional workers numbers about 2.5 million nationally, is heavily nonwhite and is 90% nonunion, says Moe Foner, executive secretary of Local 1199. If the union could organize this vast force, the effects would be widespread. Among other things, hospital bills surely would rise.

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Loosely affiliated with the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union of the AFL-CIO, Local 1199 is widely known in labor circles as a maverick. Led by New York City Jews but comprised predominantly of Negroes and Puerto Ricans, it's known for a curious blend of moxie and black power that makes it as much a movement as an institution. "They're a cause, not a union," says a New York hospital official who has been through the 1199 wringer.

The people Local 1199 is trying to organize have been largely excluded from Federal and state labor laws that define the rights of most other kinds of workers to union representation. This makes the organizing tougher, because there is neither National Labor Relations Board machinery for conducting union-recognition elections nor legal definitions of fair and unfair labor practices. Also, the exemptions mean hospitals aren't legally required to recognize the union as official bargaining agent.

The Strike Threat

But the union has some leverage of its own. Once it gets a majority of the workers of a hospital behind it, it can wield the threat of a strike—and hospitals are particularly vulnerable to strikes. Right now, the union is riding the crest of some big victories.

After a bitter 113-day strike against Charleston, S.C., hospitals, the union won a compromise settlement and a major psychological boost. After some initial opposition last year, hospitals and nursing homes in Baltimore agreed to union elections and, after Local 1199 won representation, to contract talks. These produced a big settlement. Before those victories, the local had a series of successes in a decade of organizing New York hospitals.

Besides Pittsburgh, the union currently has organizing teams in Philadelphia, Harrisburg, Pa., Cincinnati, Dayton, Detroit and Durham, N.C. It says six other cities are on its immediate target list, but won't reveal their names. Shaken by this out-of-town upstart, local units of some other unions, such as the Service Employes Union (whose 350,000 members include some hospital workers) are stepping up hospital organizing efforts to protect their position.

All this activity has important implications for the cost of health care, which has been soaring lately. Putting a "union label" on hospital services would cost plenty, both hospital and union leaders agree. The Government's index of daily hospital service charges—part of the Consumer Price Index—jumped 12% in the past year; the wage gains by newly organized hospital workers will keep the costs rising this year.

Passing Costs On

"The consumer will pay for all of this," says a Pittsburgh hospital official who warns of possible increases in room rates and cutbacks in services if the union wins here. In Baltimore last December, Johns Hopkins Hospital announced room-rate boosts averaging $18 a day after signing its first wage contract with Local 1199. The daily rates, which had ranged from $51 to $74, are to be increased in three $6-steps tied to the wage-increase dates in the contract. Most New York City hospitals boosted rates $20 a day in 1968 after Local 1199 won a 32% increase, to $100 a week, in members' minimum pay.

If the union continues to win its battles, health insurance plans such as Blue Cross or Medicare also will be affected. These public and private plans cover up to 90% of the patients in nonprofit hospitals, health authorities say. They say higher premium rates for private health insurance and increased taxes to support the public programs will surely result if Local 1199 scores many more successes.

Officials of Local 1199 agree that unionization pushes costs up, but they argue that hospital workers have been subsidizing patients' care for years by working for unfairly low

Please Turn to Page 19, Column 1

Hospital workers —

NEW YORK & NORTHEAST

'Soul Power Plus Union Power' Wins At Johns Hopkins Hospital in Maryland

SIDEWALK MEETING: Hundreds of Johns Hopkins workers gather outside hospital to meet Mrs. Coretta King, widow of Dr. Martin Luther King, who urged them to vote union.

BALTIMORE, Md.—The same organizing team and the same combination of "soul power and union power" that brought a union to 550 Charleston hospital workers has brought the RWDSU to 1,500 service and maintenance workers of the world-renowned Johns Hopkins Hospital.

The vote, held Aug. 28 and 29, was 807 for the union and 460 against. The management of the 1,250-bed medical center—one of the best and best known in the world—has said it will sit down and negotiate with the union in good faith.

MRS. KING GREETS WORKERS: Hospital worker shakes hands with Coretta King (center), shortly before Johns Hopkins vote.

In the talks, the union will seek a $100 a week minimum, pay boosts of $24 to $30 weekly, increased health and welfare and pension programs and job upgrading.

Several days before the vote, Coretta King, widow of Dr. Martin Luther King, paid a 90-minute visit to the hospital. Hundreds of the Hopkins workers, who are predominantly Negro, came out of the hospital to meet her.

Mrs. King said that the campaign in Baltimore "represents an extension of the winning combination forged in Charleston, a combination of soul power and union power."

In that battle, 550 workers struck two hospitals for four and five months to win their first union agreements.

A week before Mrs. King spoke, 500 workers attended a rally at the Emerson Hotel. Speakers included Local 1199 Vice-Pres. Doris Turner and John Lorden, acting AFL-CIO regional director. Dr. Ralph Abernathy, successor to Dr. King as leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), sent a message urging the workers to back the union.

The leaders of the Hopkins drive were '1199' Vice-Pres. Elliott Godoff, Org. Fred Punch and three of the Charleston strikers, Willene Meyers, Hermina Traeye and Stalin Bryant.

A week earlier, the union had won a 174-99 victory among workers at Lutheran Hospital in a vote conducted by the State Labor Commissioner.

In a third election in this important port city, at North Charles Hospital, the union lost an election conducted by the Labor Commissioner by an 87-75 margin.

The union, however, challenged at least 24 voters. Among these are a number of nonpaid volunteers that the hospital slipped onto the voting list.

In a highly unusual procedure, the commission official running the vote opened the challenges on the spot.

The union is certain that the vote will be set aside and another election held.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Laundry Workers

August 27, 1969

Mr. Frank McCallister, Director
Labor Education Division
Roosevelt University
430 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60605

Dear Frank:

Good to hear from you so soon again. Things look clear for helping out with the Laundry Workers in Atlanta on September 29th.

Let me know the particulars regarding time, place and format.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY
LABOR EDUCATION DIVISION

FRANK McCALLISTER, Director
DUANE BEELER, Assistant Director
DARLENE HITCHCOCK, Adm. Secretary

430 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60605
PHONE: 922-3580 AREA CODE 312

August 21, 1969

Emory Via, Director of Labor Programs
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

The Laundry Workers' Union has asked me to run a one-day training institute for stewards in Atlanta on Monday, September 29. It is going to be a large group, and I'll want to break it down in sections for grievance handling.

Would you be able to help at this part of the day? I plan also to use Joe Jacobs, Abercrombie, and Hall from the Laundry Workers. This way, we will have five groups.

I enjoyed seeing you, Margaret and your boy very much. Jane joins me in sending affectionate greetings.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank McCallister
Director

FM:deh
opeiu-391

From the Desk of:

FRANK McCALLISTER
WAbash 2-3580, Extension 201

ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60605

Dear Emory,

Here is the outline for the Institute. It is to be held at American Motel. We will have a planning session on Sunday evening for the discussion groups.

Best to all,

Frank

ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY
LABOR EDUCATION DIVISION

430 South Michigan Avenue · Chicago, Illinois 60605 · WAbash 2-3580

LAUNDRY WORKERS STEWARD TRAINING INSTITUTE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

SEPTEMBER 29, 1969

9:00 a.m.	INTRODUCTION E.L. Abercrombie Frank McCallister
	Film: The Shop Steward
	DISCUSSION
10:30 a.m.	BREAK
10:45 a.m.	DISCUSSION GROUPS AND ROLE PLAYING Five Discussion Leaders: Mr. Abercrombie Mr. Hall Mr. Jacobs Mr. McCallister Mr. Via
11:45 a.m.	Film: The Rise of Labor
12:30 p.m.	LUNCH
1:30 p.m.	Film: The Grievance
	DISCUSSION
2:15 p.m.	DISCUSSION GROUPS AND ROLE PLAYING
3:30 p,m.	BREAK
3:45 p.m.	SUMMARY AND QUESTIONS
4:15 p.m.	CLOSE

Can EV leave here

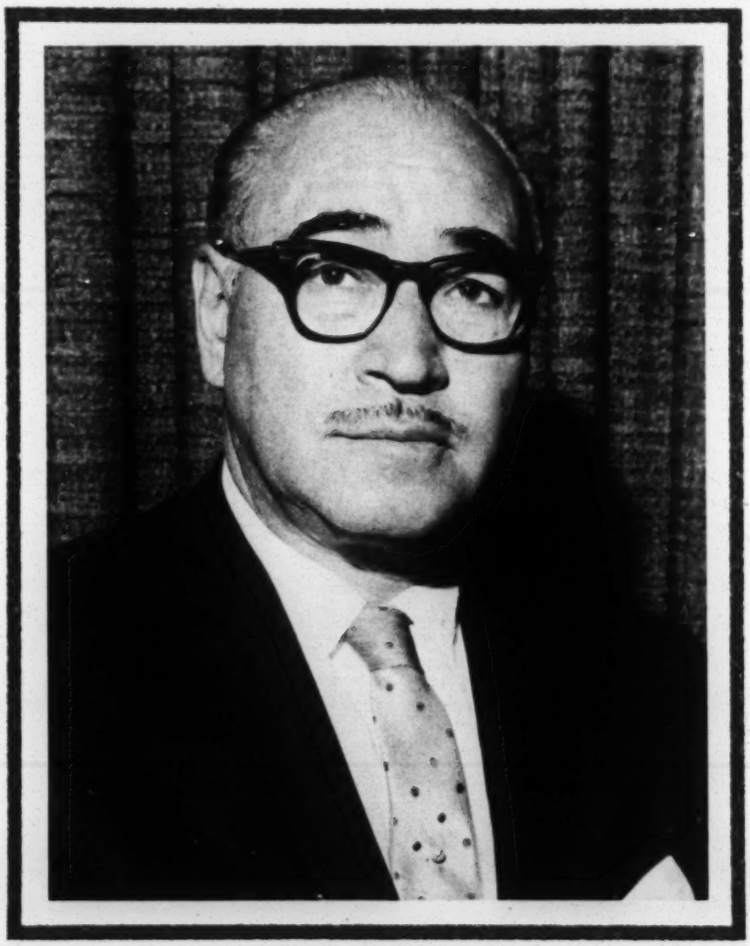
VR has videos re MST — but won't make meeting

Twelfth Annual Meeting
of
Local 218, Laundry, Dry Cleaning and Dye House Workers Union

American Motor Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia

September 26-29, 1969

LAUNDRY
DRY CLEANING
LOCAL 218
AND DYE HOUSE
WORKERS UNION



LAWRENCE PALACIOS
General President
Laundry, Dry Cleaning and Dye House
Workers International Union

Laundry Worker

Lawrence R. Palacios
General President
International Union
will be Banquet Speaker

Twelfth Annual Meeting Calls All Shop Stewards Into Atlanta, Georgia, American Hotel, September 27-29th. Dynamic Steward Workshop and Contract Discussions Are Predominating Theme on Agenda.

See Page 3 For Full Details

E. L. Abercrombie
Executive Secretary
Treasurer will be
guiding mentor of meeting

THE SOUTHERN LAUNDRY WORKER

LAUNDRY DRY CLEANING AND DYE HOUSE WORKERS UNION LOCAL 218

"THE VOICE OF 8000 FREE AMERICAN WAGE EARNERS"
OFFICIAL ORGAN LAUNDRY, DRY CLEANING AND DYE HOUSE WORKERS UNION LOCAL 218

VOL. 4 - NO. 4 | JULY-AUGUST-SEPTEMBER, 1969 | ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Local 218 Negotiates Overall Annual Wage Increase of Over Two Million Dollars

No Increase of Membership Dues Scheduled

Atlanta, Georgia — Local 218's negotiating team comprised of E. L. Abercrombie, Executive Secretary-Treasurer, W. T. Archer, Jr., Director of Service & Organization and Mrs. Eloise Fair, Area Representative have been the main trio working to negotiate the greatest across-the-board wage increase in the history of Local 218 for the vast majority of the union membership.

The atmosphere and circumstances were extreme and difficult because no wage increase was due at this time. The union's current agreements with the various employers had an increase of approximately ten cents to fifteen cents per hour stipulated for December 1969 and/or January 1970.

Several conferences took place between Management and the Negotiating Team and the beginning conferences were initiated as early as this immediate past June. Two of the major employers reached a complete understanding about August 1st with the increase in wages to take effect in the individual plants as soon as the union team could handle the necessary details.

Brother Abercrombie said "At first, the employers were very reluctant to even talk about a wage increase at this time. However, we pointed out to the various companies the need for salary adjustments *now* and we offered a very strong argument on many valid reasons. Some of them are listed as follows:

1. Unreasonable increase in the cost-of-living and especially as to how it effects the low income brackets.
2. Increase of fare for public transportation which is used daily by most of the members.
3. Increased child-care costs — a vast majority of the laundry workers are working Mothers and in most instances — head of the household.
4. The high and exorbitant rents paid by many of the laundry workers because of the lack of public low-cost-housing and the slum landlords that profit from this factor charge as much as the traffic will bear in renting shacks not decent for human occupation.
5. The increased costs of hospital and medical expenses over and beyond what our insurance plan pays.
6. It was the general consensus of opinion that a large percentage of union membership were attempting to find jobs at a better hourly rate. Creating a problem of absenteeism that could be corrected to some extent by the company's consideration for a wage increase in advance of the stipulated dates.

In the arguments presented to Management for further consideration and evaluation it was shown that the cost-of-living as shown by the Index does not reflect the true picture as it honestly effects the low income people, because of their limited buying power. It was cited, for instance, if the cost-of-living Index shows an increase of one percent for the month, this is a cross-the-board reflection and would apply to automobiles, furniture, clothing, rents and groceries, etc. So due to the limited buying power the union member might be restricted to buying the items that increased the most, therefore their cost might have increased two percent instead of the one percent indicated by the Index.

(Continued on Page Three)

Carl A. Jones, Jr. Appointed Local 218's President

Washroom to President

No one would have ever convinced Carl A. Jones, Jr., newly appointed President of Local 218, Dry Cleaning and Dye House Workers, that he would be appointed President. No one could have registered more sincere surprise when he learned that E. L. Abercrombie, Executive Secretary-Treasurer, by the powers vested by the Constitution and By-Laws, had appointed him to fill the existing vacancy. Mr. Jones realizes that his continuance as President rests in the hands and nomination of the delegates to the Twelfth Annual Meeting being held in Atlanta. Georgia, September 27th-29th. Mr. Jones will be the fourth president of Local 218 to serve the union in its history of operation, if elected.

Carl A. Jones, Jr. is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Carl A. Jones. Sr. of Quincy, Florida. His

Carl A. Jones, Jr.
New President
Subject to Election

father is a respected farmer in Gadsden County and his Mother holds a supervisory position with a tobacco factory. President Jones attended Florida A & M, majoring in Secondary Education but he decided that he didn't want to make a career of teaching. He has held several jobs since his college days and while he was a postoffice employee, he sought out additional work for a second job to meet the growing economic needs of his family. He started as a "puller" at the Tampa Linen in 1961 and in approximately a

(Continued on Page 2)

THE SOUTHERN LAUNDRY WORKER

"The Voice Of 8,000 Free American Wage Earners"

Official Organ Laundry, Dry Cleaning and Dye House Workers Union Local 218

VOL 4 — NO. 4 ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Published in Atlanta, Georgia, Bi-monthly for the members of Laundry, Dry Cleaning and Dye House Workers Union, Local No. 218.

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We've Been Warned

Employer groups seeking to destroy the trade movement know that the American people won't support union-busting when it is called by its right name.

So some years ago they dreamed up the outrageously misleading "right-to-work" slogan to describe efforts to outlaw the union shop. And now we find the U. S. Chamber of Commerce is beating the drums for what it calls "labor law reform."

Reform is a good word. But the Chamber's idea of reform is to repeal the National Labor Relations Act to eliminate what it considers the "naively utopian" concept that the government should "encourage" collective bargaining.

The Chamber wants to strip the National Labor Relations Board of virtually all functions. It would write into law a virtual blank check for management and severe restrictions on unions.

As a first step, the Chamber has asked its businessmen members to use their "influence" with the Nixon Administration to get pro-management members appointed to the NLRB.

Its big goal, though, is the election of "reform-minded" candidates in the 1970 congressional election. By "reform-minded," the Chamber means congressman and senators who will vote for anti-labor laws.

Let no one say we haven't been warned.

Draft Reform

Earlier this year President Nixon asked Congress to remove the inequities in the draft law by establishing a lottery system and by making a young man's period of uncertainty only one year instead of the current five-year time frame.

Although the current draft law is the cause of much bitterness and frustration among draft eligibles and parents, congressional leaders have done nothing but drag their feet on the proposal.

Happily, the President has indicated that he is as tired of waiting for congressional action as are those affected by the law. He has decided he will make the necessary changes in draft procedures through his powers as chief executive.

Under the Nixon plan a youth will be eligible for the draft during his 19th year. If he is not called during that year—and he does not have a college deferment, say—he would be home free barring a national emergency of such a magnitude that the draft is expanded.

This should go a long way toward mollifying young men who find it difficult to start on a career when they don't know when they will get greetings from the draft board, especially when the accepted period for those greetings goes through a young man's 25th year.

The draft is not popular. It never has been. It never could be because it puts a man in uniform who never wanted to be in uniform in the first place. If he had he would have volunteered without any draft.

But as long as we play the role of major power we have got to have the draft or something just like it to keep the armed forces at the required strength levels. In an affluent society you just don't find that many men knocking on the doors of recruiting offices and asking permission to join.

So the draft should be as equitable as humanly possible. It should also be as painless as possible and as brief as possible. It should not be protracted and left hanging with uncertainty over someone's head while he tries to get started in a career.

'AW, C'MON AND BE FRIENDS . . . . AFTER ALL, YOU'RE BOTH WORKING FOR ME!'

President Ignores Us, Negroes Say

WASHINGTON — If President Nixon did not get the message from the nation's black elected officials over tea and cookies in the White House Rose Garden, administration leaders must have gotten it at the officials' institute at a hotel here.

The message is that Negro officials feel strongly the administration is insensitive to their problems and that the "new federalism" will compound the problems of the Negro.

Nixon charmed some of the officials with a tour of the Rose Garden when the Institute opened here, but by the time the institute ended, the administration had been accused of "invincible stupidity" for not consulting Negroes about their problems and of "not giving a "damm about blacks and poor people."

Georgia Rep. Julian Bond of Atlanta accused the President of "political adultery with the Cinderella bridegroom from South Carolina, Mr. Thurmond."

Nixon's top White House representative at the institute was Harry Dent, former aide to Sen. Strom Thurmond and architect of the Nixon-Thurmond alliance at the Republican convention.

Negro officials here viewed that alliance as a major factor in Nixon's decision to slow the pace of school desegregation.

Although administration leaders addressed the institute, some of their speeches seemed irrelevant or negative to the audience.

Herbert Stein, a member of the President's Council on Economic Advisors, talked about "future claims on the budget," which to blacks means no additional funds for their economic plight.

The Negro officials viewed Nixon's proposal for a "new federalism" that would give the states more control over federally financed programs as a version of federal-state programs of the new deal in which Negroes had little voice.

They noted that few Negroes are state officials and called state governments "conduits of tyranny" and "instruments of private control that have prevented black people from voting in the past. The whole attitude has changed and we are not sure Mr. Nixon is aware of the extent of the change. Black people are beginning to believe there is not much hope anymore. Racists of the worst type are moving forward again. In many areas trouble had stopped, but it has begun again." (S.S. No. 261-15-5361).

New President (from page 1)

year he was elected Shop Steward. He began to study the art of labor practice and made a firm decision to pursue a position in labor organization. He proved his merit and ability by helping organize many plants within the Tampa area and among the plants he helped organize were Uniforms for Industry, Tallahassee Linen, Pan-American Laundry, Dixie Linen Uniforms, Vogue Laundry and Cleaners, Sarasota Linen and American Uniform. In one of his efforts of organization at Broward Linen, Fort Pierce, Florida, Mr. Jones was arrested, put in jail and forced to make bond. (S.S. No. 445-26-2015). He was cleared of the charges that falsely caused his arrest.

President Jones is well aware of the many facets and complexities of Local 218's activity. He has worked closely with Paul Jones and Jim Bailey and recently he has participated in some of the activity of Mrs. Eloise Fair's territory while she served on the Negotiating Team for the wage increases. (S.S. No. 257-30-9734).

Although President Jones is unmarried at the present time, he is the proud father of four boys and one girl from previous marriages.

During the period of his Twelfth Annual Meeting, Carl Jones will preside over all sessions of the meeting. He will continue to work out of the Atlanta headquarters as his main operating base of activity.

All Delegates To 12th Annual Meeting Head For Atlanta September 26-29th

HARD WORK SCHEDULED FOR ALL

Local 218's headquarters are a busy place and will continue to be up until the day of the 12th Annual Meeting, at the American Motel, Atlanta, Georgia.

E. L. Abercrombie, Executive Secretary-Treasurer of Local 218, Laundry, Dry Cleaning and Dye House Workers Union said "I have scaled down almost everything on the agenda of the meeting and every delegate is going to be hardpressed to meet the demands of time. We have so much necessary detail to be presented to the delegates that I had to utilize part of Sunday to hold the Contract Discussion. It was with deep regret that I was forced to do this as I do like to have the visiting delegates have a little free time. I am truly convinced, however, that the Sunday afternoon and evening discussions will be worthwhile and rewarding for our fine Shop Stewards. I know they will exert their strength to cope with the requirements of this meeting."

W. T. Archer, Jr., Director of Service and Organization, says that "he is willing to match the service performance of his area staff with any union that has a similar group of representatives out in the field contacting the Shop Stewards and membership. I know that the Shop Stewards are going to work a little harder this time but hope we can inspire them sufficiently so that they can go back home and adequately present the facts they have learned while in Atlanta."

Carl A. Jones, Jr. will preside over the Opening Session and all other sessions where his role of President is needed. Mr. Jones was appointed President of Local 218 to fill the existing vacancy. President Jones said that "I hope I can measure up to the other presidents that have served before me. I realize my appointment by Mr. Abercrombie is subject to a nomination by the delegates. Nevertheless, if I am elected, it will be one of the biggest challenges that I have ever had in my entire life. I know with the help and prayers of my friends among the delegates and entire membership that they will pray that God gives me the insight and judgment to handle the task that will be entrusted to me."

It is hoped that the delegates to the meeting will be on time promptly and seated in the Grand Ball Room of the American Motel when the Opening Gavel is sounded by President Jones at 10:00 A.M., Saturday morning. Rev. W. C. Rouse, of Norfolk, Va., will give the opening prayer as he has done so many times in the past.

Saturday afternoon will be an important session because Brother Abercrombie will give his "Progress Report"; Brother Archer will make his "Report on Organization" and Attorney Joe Jacobs will tell of the disposition of the legal cases that confronted Local 218 within the past year.

Saturday night will be highlighted by the Reception and Banquet which is eagerly looked forward to by the visiting delegates. The keynote speaker for the evening will be Lawrence Palacios, General President of the International Union. Brother Abercrombie will, again, be Master of Ceremonies, a task he handles so well from the rostrum.

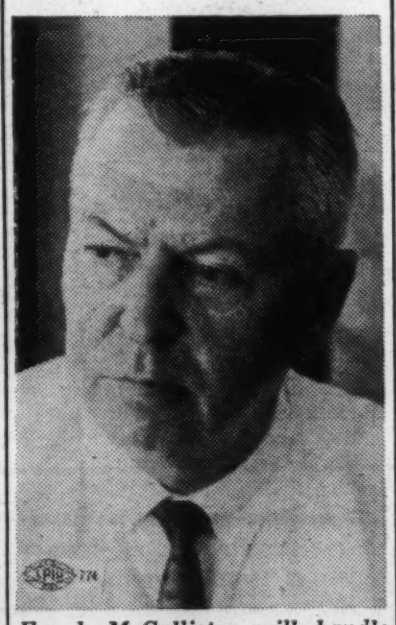
Saturday night is a fun session of the entire happening and the women grace the scene with their prettiest dresses. The male delegates are not too far behind with their colorful ties and handerchiefs of color relieving the somber hues of the men's suits.

Sunday morning will find the delegates going to the Wheat Street Baptist Church where they will be the guests of Rev. and Mrs. William Holmes Borders for the church services and afterwards at mid-day dinner in the Educational Building of the church.

Upon returning to the American Motor Motel Sunday afternoon the delegates will immediately begin Contract Discussions; what has been changed, what are the gains made from the recent contract negotiated and how to answer the questions of the members when they go back home.

On Monday morning, as is the custom of the previous annual meetings, a Memorial Service for the deceased members will be conducted by Mrs. Gladys Shannon.

The Shop Stewards Workshop has been designed to acquaint and educate the attending Shop Stewards into the role they must follow as duly-elected leaders among the respective laundry plants.



Frank McCallister will handle workshop techniques.

Local 218 was most fortunate in securing the services of Frank McCallister, Director of Labor Education Division, Roosevelt University, Chicago, Ill., who will direct and guide the delegates through the accepted standards that are utilized for successful leadership among union Shop Stewards. Mr. McCallister is well-known in organized labor. It would take too much space to recount his experiences and honors bestowed upon him in the labor field. The scheduled workshop is a challenging opportunity for the Shop Stewards who want to serve the cause of labor. A certificate certifying the successful completion of the seminar will be presented to each person successfully passing the course. William H. Strong, Chief Appeal Referee of the Georgia Labor Department, will hand out the certificates.

The annual meetings are necessary and vital to the life-blood of Local 218. The exchanges of experience, how to cope with daily problems and how to upgrade the quality of work performance are rewarding for the union officials and the entire membership as well. When your delegate gets back home ask them for a report because he or she is going to be prepared to share the annual meeting agenda with you in the weeks to come.

WAGE INCREASE NEGOTIATED

(Continued from Page 1)

Many other worthwhile reasons entered into the considerations of the Management and Negotiating Team and each side of the table had done considerable research to be able to argue forcefully on the matters under discussion.

The Union's position of thought was that the Company would also benefit by giving a substantial increase at this time. It was the candid opinion of the union that to some extent that the absenteeism would lighten up and the heavy turn-over of personnel could be curbed a great deal. Since the raises have been in effect there has been positive signs of improvement on these two items projected and Local 218 is pleased over it.

The rank-and-file union membership can do a great deal to make the Union's position sound and crystal clear by regular attendance at their jobs and avoiding unnecessary "lay out" from work.

We are not satisfied or proud of our wage status as a whole because we are still under the poverty level as far as basic minimum wage is concerned. However, a good portion of our laundry employees make far beyond the base pay level.

The union membership must remember also that our base pay with the new wage increase is now thirty cents an hour over and above that required by the minimum wage law for the laundry industry exclusive of the fringe benefits.

When the Laundry Workers Union came into being in the South, the laundry industry was paying the total sum of $4.75 weekly. There were no fringe benefits at all; no such thing as a holiday with pay; no paid vacation; no hospital or medical benefits anywhere and no overtime pay. I can recall most vividly where we had a very difficult time getting the employer to agree on Christmas Day as a paid holiday!

Today our base pay is $64.00 per week for forty hours. Compare that with the $4.75 weekly pay for sixty hours. Our gross pay for 52 weeks of forty hours a week is $3,328.00. This is more than most department store clerks make in the major department stores in the Southern states. We can count our blessings on some things.

We are not through with all of our negotiations. As we go to press, we have some companies with whom we have reached an agreement and with some others we are still negotiating and finalizing the areas of agreement. I can truthfully say that the majority of the companies operating plants are giving a good reception to our argued pleas. W. T. Archer, Jr., Director of Service and Organization, will be able to make a complete report at the forthcoming annual meeting.

The union is sound financially. A full report is made on page 5 for the membership to read. Despite the increase in wages the union officials did not see any need for raising the dues of each individual member. We guard our resources carefully and will continue to do so in this type of endeavor."

As Brother Abercrombie was closing out the interview he made a parting remark that was pertinent and challenging. He said "If anybody thinks it is easy to negotiate an increase of over two million dollars annually, just try it sometime!"

Indian River Certification Brings Bargaining

Indian River, Fla. — The decision of the National Labor Relations Board, completely affirmed the Award of the Trial Examiner, and entered an Order that the Indian River Uniform Rental Company recognize and bargain with Local 218, Laundry, Dry Cleaning & Dye House Workers Union as the collective bargaining representative for the laundry workers at this plant.

The Board decision was the last in a long series of efforts by the employees to obtain bargaining rights. The Board decision was a complete vindication of the Union's position.

The case was handled by Joe Jacobs, Counsel for Local 218, and Organizers James Bailey and Carl Jones.

Crown Laundry Cited For Contempt

Pensacola, Fla. — In one of the rare instances, the National Labor Relations Board has issued a citation for contempt against the Crown Laundry in Pensacola, Florida, contending that it has violated the Board Order in which it was adjudged to have been found guilty of unfair labor practices.

Some time ago, the Board found the Crown Laundry had violated the Act in its anti-union campaign against Local 218, Laundry, Dry Cleaning & Dye House Workers Union. As a result, two employees received a total of $3,146.83 because they had been wrongfully discharged. One of the employees, Mrs. Lois Farrow, was returned to her job.

Since that time, the Company's unfair labor practices have resulted in another employee being fired. Carl Jones participated in the hearing as a witness. The Board case was handled by Tom Johnston of the NLRB office in New Orleans, Louisiana and Robert Ignor of Washington, D.C.

Joseph Jacobs, Counsel for Local 218, said "It is regrettable that the Board has been so slow in moving against this Company. We shall see if it finally requires this Company to obey the Federal laws so that the employees can form and belong to Local 218."

Southern Industrial Stalls Bargaining In Tuscumbia

Tuscumbia, Ala. — The decision of the National Labor Relations Board, ordering this Company to bargain with Local 218, Laundry, Dry Cleaning & Dye House Workers Union, has been further delayed by stalling tactics of the Company asking the Labor Board to re-examine its certification of the Union.

The Regional Director overruled the Company's objections, and ordered the Southern Industrial Laundry to bargain with Local 218. The Company then appealed to Washington, and Washington dismissed their appeal. The Company now has pressed for a further review by the Board.

Executive Secretary-Treasurer Abercrombie stated, "We are continuing to do everything in our power to get a decision as early as possible, requiring this Company to bargain with our Union, so that these workers may be successful in their efforts to achieve decent wages and working conditions."

In Unity There Is Strength

Shop Stewards' Corner Local 218's Activity Among The States

Alabama

Birmingham—Howard's Oderless seems to have a variety type of news:

Wedding bells have rung out for Mr. and Mrs. Linell Nix on May 30th. Mrs. Nix was the former Miss Mary Lois Harris. Everyone wishes them happiness.

Alphonso McBride, of New York City, visited his Mother and Father, Mr. and Mrs. James McBride on August 8th. Sister Willie McBride declares that the time spent with their son went entirely too fast and she didn't get all her qucstions answered!

Sister Beatrice Davis has now returned to work after spending a major portion of her vacation with her daughter and son-in-law in Fort Dix, New Jersey.

* * *

It's always nice to be complimented about past performance and this nice courtesy was visited upon Sister Minnie White, Shop Steward for Howards Odorless.

A letter was sent to Local 218's headquarters and it said in part that "all of them wanted everyone to know and congratulate Mrs. White for the wonderful work she is doing as our Shop Stewardess.

"She is very understanding and always willing to help solve our problems. Since Mrs. White has taken over the job as Shop Stewardess things have been in more unity."

As a postscript the employees made the profound remark — "together we stand, divided we fall." It seems that the employees of Howards Odorless have found a devoted leader. Congratulations!

* * *

Sister Katie Patterson, of Birmingham Linen, had to take a sad journey to Erie, Pennsylvania, to attend the funeral of her brother-in-law, Mr. William Stewart. Sister Patterson stayed as long as she could to comfort her sister and returned to Alabama on August 20th.

* * *

The stork has made visits to several employees and among the proud Mothers are Sister Addie Mae Jackson and Mrs. Eula Mae Cannon and Sister Sadie Colston, who had a son. Paul Sylvester Abrams was a proud father when he learned of the birth of his new son too.

* * *

Sister Daisy Lee Moore has left her job as CRT girl and is now happily situated as a seamstress in the Sewing Room of Mobile Linen Service.

* * *

Brother Willie James Rollins gained a bride and Sister Willie Mae Robbins gained a new daughter. Brother Rollins is to be congratulated on his marriage to Miss Dorothy Jean and everyone wishes them much happiness.

* * *

Sister Crews enjoying vacation in Ohio

Mobile — This past August 10th, the Stone Street Baptist Senior Choir of which Sister Fannie Crews is a member were the guest choir at the Treelight Baptist Church's 24th year of Christian service to the community. The current pastor is Rev. Boykin and he has great plans for the 25th silver anniversary of its founding. The song service was enjoyed by all.

Sister Crews, who works for Mobile Linen Service, is currently on a four week's vacation. She is visiting in Cleveland, Ohio, and she has been sightseeing, enjoying family relationship and relaxing.

* * *

Florida

MIAMI, Fla. — Sister Freddie Stewart, Shop Stewardess at French Benzol, is shown delivering a check from Local 218's Welfare Fund to Mrs. Evelyn Nevola from the office of John Hurtar, Administrator for the Estate of the late Sister Maude Martin. Close friends of the deceased are looking on as this service is performed. Sister Martin was a long-time employee of French Benzol and was a good member of Local 218. She will be sorely missed.

Indiana

Columbus — Indiana Linen Service certainly does report their news! You know we do appreciate having it sent!

Sorrow and death have been a part of some members and deepest sympathy has been extended to Sister Ruby Ulmstead, who lost her beloved Mother; to Sister America Anderson, who has suffered the loss of her brother; and Sister Juanita Smith, who lost a newly-born grandchild.

Indiana

Vacations are eagerly looked forward to and the following folks used some of their vacation time to visit relatives, take medical tests and some just rested.

Sister Lula Littrell visited a sister in Detroit, Michigan and Sister Dorothy Staley visited relatives in Green Bay, Wisconsin. Brother Ora Alvey utilized his vacation time to take tests and consult with a doctor. We do hope it will be nothing serious. The nice thing about Brother Alvey is that he took the requirements gracefully and with humor.

* * *

Sister Flossie Dampiers had some anxious moments when her son, Calvin, underwent corrective surgery for old injuries received in a motorcycle accident sometime back. Both are employees of Indiana Linen Service and we hope the operation is successful.

* * *

Wedding bells rang in the Harsh family again! Sister Geraldine Harsh's son, Dwight was married July 26th to Miss Neysa Clarkson of North Vernon, Indiana. We wish the bride every happiness and offer the young couple our heartiest congratulations.

* * *

Sister Alice Helton has a new granddaughter named Loretta Arlene Graham. She weighed in on this good earth at 7 lbs. and 15 ozs. One of the nice things about Grandmothers is that they can spoil their second generation children . . . and it's so much personal joy to be able to do so.

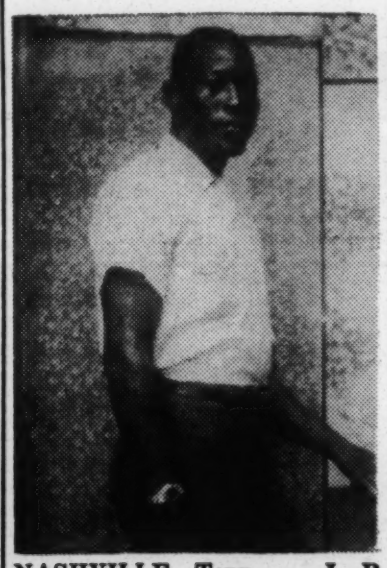
* * *

Some time a lot of us just hanker for the good old days of yesterday year and some of us focus our hobbies in this direction. Sister Rosie House, one of the table girls is beginning . . . or we should say — she has started on what could develop into a profitable hobby. She has started raising chickens . . . the old fashioned way! She now has over 50 chicks hatched. Sister House was reared on a farm in Tennessee and she likes to reminisce over the good old days back home. We wish her a lot of good luck and good eating, too, from her venture.

North Carolina

CHARLOTTE, N. C. — Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Rhyne are the proud parents of a baby boy, Adrian Carlo Rhyne, born February 28th, weighing 6 lbs., 11 ozs. Sister Rhyne has been an employee of Carolina Uniform Rental for over twelve years.

Tennessee



NASHVILLE, Tenn. — J. B. Carlton took a giant step forward when he left his job as Tumbler Boy to Assistant Superintendent of the Nashville Linen Service. We are pulling hard for him to make good in his new promotion. He is now part of Management Team and we will miss him in the union.

Another person who deserves congratulations on a job promotion is Sister Dorothy Perkins who moved from the Flat Work section of Nashville Linen Service to the Front Office. We are sorry to lose her from the roster of Local 218 membership.

* * *

Sister Maud Alice Sims is still convalescing from surgery performed recently. We hope she will be able to come back soon to the plant.

* * *

The stork visited Sister Dorothy Lacy and she is the proud and contented Mother of a baby girl.

Texas

Longview—Longview Linen's capable News Reporter, Sister Addie Lewis, has sent in some news items and pictures. We are always glad to hear from this portion of the Lone Star State!

* * *

Miss Noreen Jackson

Mr. and Mrs. A. M. Jackson are very pleased over their daughter, Noreen Jackson, who received her high school diploma and now has her license from the state board of Cosmetology. The young lady plans to attend Jarvis Christian College this fall. Noreen's Mother, Sister Jackson works in the Sewing Room of Longview Linen.

* * *

Another young lady, Flora Ethel Cullors, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Floyd Cullors is also a recent high school graduate and attended summer school at Praireview College. Her parents are so proud of her efforts to attain an education and that is one of the reasons that her Mother has worked as a Starch Shaker at Longview Linen Service.

* * *

Miss Janie Ruth String

Sister Gladys String, who works in the Industrial Department, was a happy Mother when she saw her daughter, Janie Ruth String, march down the aisle at Texas Woman's University, located in Denton, Texas, where she received her college diploma. She majored in Sociology. Congratulations!

Local 218's Financial Statement

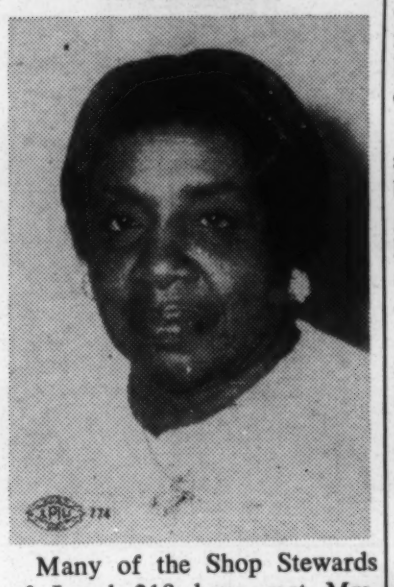
LOCAL 218 LAUNDRY, DRY CLEANING &
DYE HOUSE WORKERS UNION
RECEIPTS & DISBURSEMENTS FOR PERIOD ENDING 6/30/69

	1	2	3	4	5	6	
INCOME					DR.	CR.	
1 DUES COLLECTED						391329 38	1
2 INITIATIONS COLLECTED						8787 50	2
3 REINSTATEMENTS COLLECTED						668 00	3
4 SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS COLLECTED						15016 50	4
5 FINES COLLECTED						9164 00	5
6 WITHDRAWAL CARDS & MEMBERSHIP CARDS						42 25	6
7 DIVIDENDS						633 57	7
8 ADVERTISING SIGN RENT						112 50	8
9 INTEREST INCOME						1132 54	9
10 OTHER REIMBURSEMENTS						14815 99	10
11						441702 23	11
12 DISBURSEMENTS							12
13 ADVERTISING					1640 74		13
14 AUTOMOBILE EXPENSE					19160 93		14
15 BANK CHARGES					10 64		15
16 BOARD, DELEGATES & CONFERENCE EXPENSE					36037 84		16
17 DUES & SUBSCRIPTIONS					4 00		17
18 FLORAL, GIFTS, DONATIONS & PRIZES					12909 60		18
19 INSURANCE EXPENSE					3100 00		19
20 INTEREST EXPENSE					670 83		20
21 LEGAL & AUDIT					19076 83		21
22 LIGHT, HEAT & WATER					816 28		22
23 MISCELLANEOUS EXPENSE					5156 97		23
24 OFFICE REPAIRS, MAINTENANCE & SERVICE CONTRACTS					1376 42		24
25 OFFICERS & STEWARDS					6187 15		25
26 PER CAPITA TAX					20241 00		26
27 POSTAGE					1001 26		27
28 PRINTING & OFFICE SUPPLIES					3006 45		28
29 OFFICE RENT					6748 40		29
30 HALL RENT					2337 11		30
31 SALARIES					158409 50		31
32 STRIKE EXPENSE					9057 34		32
33 PAYROLL TAXES PAID					6449 80		33
34 TAXES PAID OTHER THAN PAYROLL TAXES					918 94		34
35 TELEPHONE & TELEGRAPH					14129 04		35
36 TRAVEL & ORGANIZING EXPENSE					52012 49		36
37 UNION DUES PAID FOR OFFICE EMPLOYEES					360 00		37
38 EMPLOYEE RETIREMENT INSURANCE -		11362 25	less 402 07	1200 54	10161 71		38
39 HOSPITALIZATION PAID FOR EMPLOYEES		3360 80	less	1440 93	1919 87		39
40 SECURITY EXPENSE					5521 84		40
41 EXPENSE OF SOUTHERN, LAUNDRY WORKERS PAPER					6751 60	405174 58	41
42 NET GAIN FOR PERIOD ENDING 6/30/69						36527 65	42
43							43
44 SIGN BY Mary K Johnson							44
45 Willie Price							45
46 Hilda E. Pierson							46
47							47

IN MEMORIAM

Local 218 has been sorrowed by the loss of some good friends, a recent staff member and some dedicated members. It was Milton who said "Death is the golden key to the palace of Eternity" and our deceased have used this key just ahead of us where we all will eventually go. We mourn their passing, have tried to comfort their loved ones in their hours of grief and we shall miss them.

Mrs. James H. Matthews



Many of the Shop Stewards of Local 218 have met Mrs. Vallie Lou Matthews, wife of the first President of Local 218, who helped build Local 218 into the strong tower of strength it is today. E. L. Abercrombie, Local 218's Secretary-Treasurer was signally honored when he was asked to eulogize Sister Matthrews at her funeral held at the Beulah Baptist Church, Atlanta, Georgia, Sunday afternoon at 2:30 P.M. on September 7th.

No greater tribute could be paid to a woman than the words Brother Abercrombie gave at the funeral.

"Loved Ones: This is a sad day for the many friends and associates of Vallie Lou Matthrews. It is indeed a sad day for me and the other officers and staff of the Laundry, Dry Cleaning and Dye House Workers, Local 218, as well as the 8,000 members of this great organization that her late husband — Rev. James H. Matthrews — help build from the ground up and served as its president for over seventeen years. Not only now, but we are constantly reminded of his absence from our midst.

I must remind you, my friends that it was not an easy job for a black man to head an integrated union . . . and this was long before the word 'integration' became alive. But James Matthrews did and he mastered the job well.

I never heard him refer to Mrs. Matthrews as Vallie Lou but he often referred to her as "Honey" in a very affectionate way; most of the time, as I recall, he referred to her as "Mama" and it became very natural for me to call her "Mama" too.

"Mama" Matthrews was an inseparable part of James Matthrews. He counselled with her on all types of problems that confronted him whether it was business, social or religion. Many times he would say to me: 'Mama and I prayed over this last night and this is what we have come up with' . . . and you know, it usually was the valid solution to our problem.

I had the privilege to visit them in their home on many occassions and I was quite aware of the feeling that existed between them and I assure you it was a sincere love and devotion to each other, a solid bond breakable only by death.

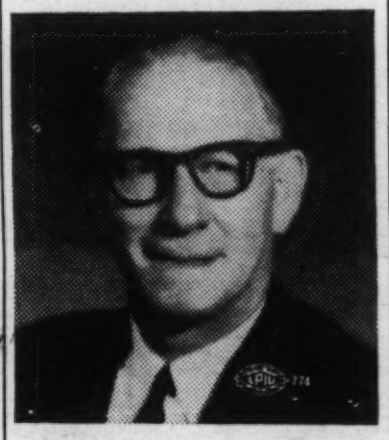
Mama, we pray that all of us who loved you so well and so dearly, will also live in such a righteous manner; that we will be able to meet you at the Golden Gates.

She said to me many times since the passing of her husband: 'I will join him some glad day'. He used to say to her: 'Mama, we have seen the star in the east and we have come to worship.'

Now 'Mama' has seen the star in the east again and she has gone to meet her husband.

Now, don't you know this was a great reunion? So long, Mama, we love you."

Joe Bonowitz



Funeral services for Joe Bonowitz of Hollywood, Florida were held Sunday, September 21st at Spring Hill with burial in Crestlawn Cemetery. Rabbi Richard Lehrman officiated. Mr. Bonowitz had been a lifelong resident of Atlanta until his recent move to Florida. He was a professional football player for 17 years and had been on the team of the Atlanta Crackers.

Joe Bonowitz was a recent newcomer to the staff of Local 218 in the number of months of service but his work on behalf of Local 218 will be long remembered. E. L. Abercrombie, Local 218's Secretary-Treasurer said: "We can't begin to measure the data and reports that Joe Bonowitz has done for us. There are few men, if any, that can replace him or even match his work in the Occupational Engineering fields particularly concerning laundry equipment, methods and the laundry worker application. His many years of experience in the laundry field for Management and his keen sense of analysis on time and motion studies are almost impossible to find. His fact-finding made it possible for us to recently negotiate a wage increase and to work out better physical conditions for our many employees. We shall miss him terribly.

Mr. Bonowitz was survived by his widow; a daughter, Mrs. Eugene Oberdorfer II of Atlanta, three sisters and several grandchildren.

Harvey Anderson, Sr.

Harvey Anderson, Sr., went to his heavenly reward this past August 30th, 1969. Mr. Anderson had been ill for some time and after his operation it was announced that he was a victim of cancer, centered in the brain area.

Mr. Anderson was survived by his widow, Mrs. Savannah Anderson, Harvey Anderson, Jr., a staff member of Local 218, two step-sons, four brothers and one sister. He was also blessed with several grandchildren, great grandchildren and countless friends.

Funeral services were held at the Antioch A.M.E. Church in Decatur, Georgia September 3rd with the Rev. Doctor T. J. Flanagan officiating. Interment was in Washington Memorial Garden.

Mrs. Gussie Jackson

One of the best Shop Stewards that Local 218 ever had was Mrs. Gussie Jackson who had been a union member for twenty-one years. She departed this life Tuesday, August 19th, 1969 and her funeral was held at the New Pilgrim Baptist Church of Birmingham, Alabama.

Sister Jackson was a loyal, faithful and dedicated church worker until her sudden death. She gave of herself unstintingly because she practiced the Golden Rule and she felt she must help people in trouble and help them laugh in times of great joy.

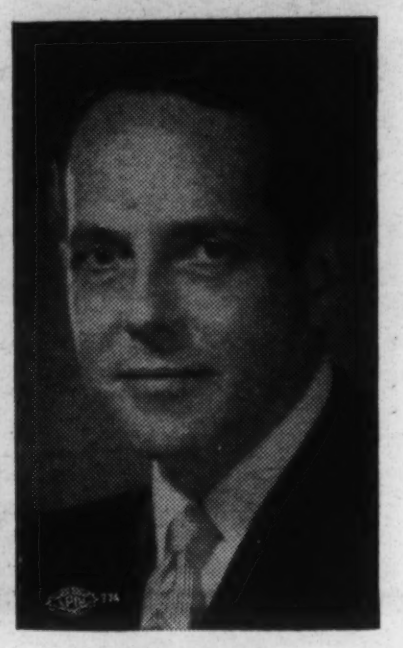
Rev. John W. Taylor and Rev. Nelson H. Smith, Jr. presided over the funeral services and the expressions rendered from persons who were selected to represent a part of her life, were meaningful and sincere. Local 218 was represented at the funeral service by Mrs. Mary Robey.

She leaves to mourn her passing: her Mother, four daughters, two sons, two sisters, many nieces and nephews, a host of other kinsmen and many friends.

E. L. Abercrombie said when he was advised of her death; "This woman was a part of the history of Local 218 and I have lost a loyal friend who will be missed in our hearts for a long time."

Look For Your Social Security Number It is Worth $5

Maynard Jackson
Candidate for Vice-Mayor



Sam Massell
Candidate for Mayor

LOCAL 218 WILL ENDORSE MASSELL AND JACKSON IN ATLANTA RACES

The Executive Board of Local 218 has not had the opportunity to evaluate the many candidates who are running for posts in the City of Atlanta government positions, that will be determined in the October 7th election which is held on a non-partisan basis.

The only two candidates that carry Local 218's blessing at the time we go to press are Sam Massell and Maynard Jackson.

Mr. Massell has served as Atlanta's Vice-Mayor for eight years and is seeking the position as Mayor, now held by Ivan Allen, Jr., who decided not to offer for a third term.

Mr. Jackson, is a young Negro man, who made a phenomenal race against United States Senator Herman Talmadge and defeated him in the Fulton County votes, which indicated heavy white support.

Both men are eminently qualified and each man seems to have convictions, platform planks and attitudes that will serve the entire City of Atlanta to the best advantage of the white and black races. It will take wise counsel, the ability to communicate with each race and cool heads to maintain the excellent bi-racial climate that has been Atlanta's image through-out the nation.

The many other candidates running for aldermanic and school board posts among the wards will have a careful screening before final endorsements will be made for the consideration of the Atlanta union membership. The endorsements will be posted on the bulletin board of the laundry plants prior to Election Day.

NEW BOARD MEMBERS APPOINTED

Four new board members have been appointed to fill existing vacancies of four members on the board who resigned because of reasons of failing health or other personal reasons. Local 218 is happy to announce the following new appointments which are subject to nomination at the forthcoming Annual Meeting. The persons are: Mrs. Betty Brown, of Chattanooga, Tennessee; Mrs. Shirley Dessett, of Portsmouth, Virginia; Mrs. Eva M. White of Louisville, Ky.; and Mr. Wilbert Robinson of Beaumont, Texas. E. L. Abercrombie, Secretary-Treasurer, who was vested with the authority of the Constitution and By-Laws to make appointments said "each and every one of them are qualified to serve in this capacity because of their individual knowledge of our membership needs."

Editor's Note: Mr. Crane's refusal to cease printing the Atlanta Daily World were, in part, responsible for losing the Southern Laundry Worker's paper and the Retail Clerk's 1063 News.

Atlanta, Ga.—The telegram reproduced below was sent by Local 218 to protest the confirmation of Judge Haynesworth to the Supreme Court. During testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee, many labor leaders heavily critized Judge Haynesworth for conflict of interest in connection with a labor decision in 1963. This immediate past week Haynesworth was questioned intensely about a stock purchase six weeks after litigation in his court. Other testimony concerning his segregationist attitudes has been presented.

TELEGRAM

Senator James O. Eastland
Chairman, Senate Judiciary Committee
Suite 2226, New Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

The nomination of Judge Clement F. Haynsworth to the Supreme Court should be held in abeyance until minute and detailed investigation can be made concerning Haynsworth's decision in holding that Deering Milliken, Inc. did not commit an unfair practice against the Textile Workers' Union. The subsequent $450,000 sale of personal stock in a vending machine company that serviced the three Deering Milliken plants indicates a mind dedicated to personal profit and gain instead of an impeccable judicial judgement. We, the eight thousand members of Local 218, Laundry, Dry Cleaning and Dye House Worker's Union bitterly oppose his appointment and urge your committee to deny him the confirmation to the Supreme Court of the United States.

E. L. Abercrombie
Executive Secretary-Treasurer

Re: Atlanta Daily World

A group of union printers, composed mainly of *Atlanta Daily World* strikers, picketed the Decatur-DeKalb News plant on DeKalb Industrial Way Saturday, September 6th. Led by A. M. "Bud" Gnann, president of Atlanta Typographical Union Local 48, the group was protesting the printing of the Sunday *Daily World* at the plant.

The Decatur-DeKalb News is published by William C. "Bud" Crane, a former Atlanta Typographical Union member. Mr. Crane printed the food section of the *Daily World* before the strike. Since the strike the presses of the Decatur-DeKalb News have run other issues of the Labor Relations Board Trial Examiner, Leo F. Lightner, in his findings of April 30, recommended that *World* publisher C. A. Scott be ordered to return all farmed-out work, including the food section, to his own plant.

The only part of the Decatur-DeKalb News that is organized is the pressroom. The pressmen came in Saturday to print the Sunday *Daily World* at overtime rates. *Daily World* publisher C. A. Scott is willing to pay overtime rates to have his Sunday paper printed, but he is unwilling to pay his striking mechanical employees a just wage.

No More Lunch Time Punching of Clock

One of the most aggravating requirements of the laundry worker has been utilizing the few minutes of a very short lunch period to punch out and in and out by the time clock at each plant.

Fortunately this factor is no longer demanded of the laundry worker in Local 218's jurisdiction, and in the event, you are still punching the clock for lunch it will be posted shortly in the independent laundries that it has been abolished.

When this request to waive the lunch-time punching of the time clock was first brought to Management, the argument was that many of the employees would take advantage of it and as a consequence there would be many lost man-power hours. It was agreed, however, to give the method a trial and it has proven to be very satisfactory.

Local 218's union officials are very pleased with the cooperation of Management and also the honest observance of the time angles of the lunch period from the union membership. It must be remembered, however, that if the employee leaves the plant, after reporting for work, that they must punch the time of departures so that the time cards will be correct.

E. L. Abercrombie, Local 218's Secretary and Treasurer said "that I was to express personally my appreciation to the membership for helping make this thing work out and it is most gratifying to know that none of the members have abused the privilege."

Editor's Note: Mr. Crane's refusal to cease printing the Atlanta Daily World were, in part, responsible for losing the Southern Laundry Worker's paper and the Retail Clerk's 1063 News.

Three Big Unions Plan Major Drive Based Out of Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON—A powerful labor action alliance, formed last May and financed by three of the nation's largest unions, moved into Atlanta for its first major organizational campaign.

A spokesman for the organization, the Alliance for Labor Action (ALA), said that primary efforts will be directed towards the ring of industrial parks surrounding the city where he said some 50,000 nonunion workers are employed.

The goal will be to bring as many of the nonunion employes as possible into the ranks of three unions in ALA. The unions are International Brotherhood of Teamsters, the United Auto Workers and the International Chemical Workers Union. The three unions already boast a total membership of some 4,000,000.

He said the campaign would begin the week after Labor Day under the leadership of William Genoese, director of the AIA organizing committee.

Headquarters in Atlanta will be located at 1135 Spring Street, N.W., and the telephone number is 874-8675.

Atlanta was chosen for the all-important initial drive, it was stated, over several other cities because of the growth of the city and its importance as a commercial transportation and service hub.

It was also stressed that out of an estimated 1.5 million workers in Georgia, only 10 per cent are organized.

The spokesman said the ALA settled on Atlanta for the kickoff organizational campaign after a lengthy survey. He said no deadlines or quotas have been set for the area and that it is assumed the organizers will stay "as long as necessary."

The program was outlined last week in Atlanta by a host of high-ranking Teamster and UAW officials to some 200 Atlanta area Teamsters stewards and officials. The aid of the local officials was solicited by the professional organizers who will direct the campaign.

Although the Washington representatives were reluctant to admit it, the Atlanta campaign will be of primary importance to the infant ALA.

The alliance was announced with great fanfare here last May as a vehicle for a vast national labor organizational drive and for dealing with "critical political, economic and social problems."

The Atlanta campaign will be viewed as a critical test of the alliance's potency, and it is expected the organization will go all out to insure its success.

Editor's Note: There has been speculative thought about the prospective affiliation of Local 218 with the newly formed Alliance for Labor Action (ALA). The issue will be determined when it is presented and voted upon by the International Union when it meets in Chicago, Ill. this coming October 23rd.

Death Benefits Will Bring The Amount Up For A Total Of Over $360,000.00

September, 1968	$ 23,788.13
October, 1968	29,941.35
November, 1968	23,923.65
December, 1968	19,835.04
January, 1969	31,855.36
February, 1969	26,982.65
March, 1969	28,690.38
April, 1969	35,145.78
May, 1969	33,062.79
June, 1969	25,937.71
July, 1969	26,602.44
August, 1969	35,444.59
TOTAL	$341,209.87

ACCIDENT AND HEALTH CLAIMS
Paid from September 1, 1968 to August 31, 1968

Labor to Fight for Stronger Jobless Aid Bill Than Nixon's

Presdent Nixon's proposals to revamp the federal-state unemployment insurance system have received a mixed reception in Congress and outside. Some lawmakers hailed the proposals, others said they didn't go far enough. Also, said they fall "far short of assuring adequate income protection for jobless workers."

Nixon's plan, as submitted to Congress, would extend coverage of unemployment insurance to 4.8 million more workers. These would include 1.6 million in small firms with less than four employes; 1.8 million in nonprofit organizations; 600,000 in state hospitals and universities; 400,000 on large farms employing four or more workers in each of 20 weeks, and several other miscellaneous groups .

Also, states would be "urged" to raise benefit ceilings within the next two years so that at least four-fifths of covered workers would get half their normal pay when jobless. Nixon called for various other improvements, including 13 weeks of added unemployment benefits during severe recession periods.

One nationally known labor leader voiced his thought on behalf of organized labor. He said "the most important defect" is failure to provide federal minimum benefit standards.

It was further declared that Nixon is "right in setting a goal of 50 per cent replacement of lost wages but he is making a tragic mistake in leaving to the states, for another two years, the responsibility for achieving this goal."

Experience has shown, he said, that "without federal mandatory standards the states will not raise unemployment insurance to decent levels."

Urban League Pushing Its New Aims

The National Urban League last month accelerated its "departure" from a traditional course, which over most of the organization's 59-year history had been to provide "direct services" to aid the poor.

The point of departure was the initiation last of what the Urban League calls a "new thrust," designed to build greater self-determination, or what it calls "ghetto power," in poor communities.

At the league's 59th annual conference in Washington last month, the 3,000 participants discussed a wide range of issues around the theme, "Ghetto Power in Action."

But the emphasis of this year's conference appeared to have shifted slightly from attempts to build power in ghettos to changing controlling institutions. And the shift seemed to represent the organization's increasing frustrations as it attempts to get the Government's cooperation in putting across the broader Urban League programs.

Critical of Nixon

Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the national organization, criticized President Nixon for failing to put forth a massive commitment toward solving the nation's domestic problems. He further accused the Administration of encouraging a mood of repression in the nation.

Mr. Young made the charges at the outset of the four-day conference, but in the end, he said he had not given up hope.

"There's still time," he said, "but I have moved from cautious optimism to cautious pessimism."

And his pessimism compared with that indicated recently by similar organization, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Congress of Racial Equality.

During the annual conference, Mr. Young noted that the Urban League would establish a housing foundation, a plan to achieve "decent" low-cost housing, controlled and operated by the community. (S.S. No. 219-32-6330).

Another proposal called for an "economic security program" that would "erase poverty from our land."

A Plan To End Poverty

The plan would expand Social Security coverage, guarantee jobs for all who are able to work, guarantee income with a negative form of income tax for those with no other financial recourse, and establish a family allowance program through which "every child in America would get a check for $40 a month as a matter of right."

Mr. Young said: "Three out of 10 poor people are black. But seven out of 10 are white. Our program will end poverty for all."

Moreover, in the last year, he noted, the league's new activities such as voter registration drives and housing corporations have sprouted in more than 200 Urban League "outposts" in local communities from San Francisco to Sparta, Ga.

To meet its expanded goals, the Urban League found it necessary to allow for a wider range of tactics, such as picketing, boycotting and other strategies that are legal and nonviolent.

But the young people of the league, mostly college students hired in the summer youth program, have argued that there was a gap between the Urban League's new image and "reality."

Some of the students, all Negroes, disrupted the keynote session, calling for the ouster of James A. Linen, president of the league.

But by the last day of the conference, they had presented demands that were enthusiastically approved by the delegates and this seemed to be within the scope of the organization's new direction.

Mr. Linen, who is also president of Time, Inc., was the target of hostility by the black students of the interracial organization, because he is white and because he heads a large corporation.

But he made the point that white "backlash" played the dominant role in institutional resistance to change, and he said that, next to fear and selfishness, "the greatest contributor of all has been the lack of positive action on the part of millions of white moderates," who have not yet spoken but who potentially have the influence to move the nation.

"If those of us who are white really want to help — if we really want things to change," he said, "then the best place for us to make our personal stand is in the heart of the white community."

TESTING . . . TESTING

Here's a test for every union member: draw a circle . . . blow on it . . . if the circle turns green, see your physician . . . if it turns brown, see your dentist . . . if it turns yellow, see your psychiatrist . . . if it turns red, see your banker and if it turns purple, see your lawyer and make a will.

However, if the circle remains the same color, you are in good health and there is no reason on earth why you should not be active in the union.

Proposals by Nixon on Welfare, Manpower And Tax Sharing Receive Mixed Reception

Reactions were mixed to a series of wide-ranging proposals on the domestic front unveiled by President Nixon last month.

These called for a drastic overhaul of the welfare system; a start on federal tax sharing with the states; reorganization of manpower training plans; a move toward establishing on-the-job health and safety standards and a program of federal mass transit.

The welfare plan would, among other features, guarantee minimum payments throughout the nation for families on relief. In the case of a family of four the figure would be $1600 a year, paid by Uncle Sam, this to be supplemented in most states now paying a higher amount.

There would be a condition, however — jobless heads of families would have to take either a "suitable" job or job training in order to qualify. To stimulate work, such family heads would be able to keep the first $60 a month in outside earnings without reduction in relief payments; above that, 50 per cent of the earnings would be offset by reduced welfare payments. Day care centers would be set up for children of welfare mothers who work, or engage in training.

Further, persons now working who earn less than subsistence wages would get assistance payments to bring their earnings above the poverty level.

Various other changes are provided in order to overhaul a system which, Nixon said, has become "a bureaucratic monstrosity." The aim, he said, would be to convert welfare into "workfare."

The effect would be to federalize a system now largely under local control, and to open the way to add another 12 million poor people to the 10 million now receiving welfare aid. Nixon estimated the additional cost at $4 billion a year, after the new program starts in mid-1971, but he said this sum would decline as more adults are shifted from welfare to jobs.

Nixon predicted the new plan by narrowing the huge gap in welfare payments among the states — ranging from $39 a month in Mississippi to $263 in New Jersey — would curb the exodus of the poor from low-benefit states to those making much higher welfare payments.

Other Nixon Proposals

His manpower program would coordinate under a single setup about 30 present federal job training plans now, and would turn these over to the states and cities to operate, with the federal government paying 80 per cent of the cost.

His job safety plan would set up a five-member board empowered to lay down occupational health and safety standards for most industries throughout the nation. Where states meet those standards they would be left free to administer them. They would get federal aid to help reach those standards. (S.S. No. 248-07-4304).

OEO to be Skeletonized

In addition, Nixon proposed a sweeping overhaul of the Office of Economic Opportunity, which administers the war on poverty. It would be left largely as a shell, confined to experimenting with new ways to fight poverty. The plans it develops would be "spun off" to other government agencies.

For the most part, the welfare changes drew favorable comments in Congress and elsewhere, but generally with "reservations." Most pictured the Nixon program as a step in the right direction, though not adequate. Spokesmen for the larger states, such as Gov. Rockefeller of New York, declared it did not provide enough assistance to states which now bear the brunt of the relief burden.

Also, the National Council on Hunger and Malnutrition assailed the plan because it would eliminate federal food stamps for families covered by the $1,600 minimum. The Council said this would slash the buying power of the poor, forcing them to choose between food stamps and the $1,600 guarantee.

Dr. West of Fulton County (Ga.) Should Resign As Supt. of Schools

By E. L. Abercrombie

Atlanta, Georgia — The Eva Thomas High School, a Negro school, was re-opened by an order of Federal Judge Albert. The Fulton County School Board closed the school this year after a long dispute with the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare and directed its 280 pupils be distributed among four other schools.

College Park Negro students and some parents demonstrated and several times took over the school physically despite an injunction signed by a Superior Court judge. One of the paramount figures in the demonstrations was Morris Dillard, Executive Director of Atlanta NAACP.

The Negro students were incensed, and rightly so, over the plan chosen for pupil placement when the simple choice of making one school a junior high school and leaving Eva Thomas as a high school would have met the demands of HEW. Both schools were within three blocks of each.

Paul West has never entered into desegregation plans with enthusiasm and has always appeared to be "buying time" to stay off the inevitable. Regardless of the fact that there were other alternatives that would be acceptable to HEW, it was decided that Eva Thomas High School was to be dissolved entirely, and the building used for other special educational training.

Many people applauded the efforts of the young Negro pupils who demonstrated so fervidly to keep the identity of their school as a part of their happy teen years. When Supt. Paul West refused to discuss matters with pupils and parents the group descended upon Paul West's office.

It is here that Paul West lost control of himself, shredded what little dignity he could muster and as a whole conducted himself as being absolutely unworthy of the high office he has had far too long.

His comments about the protesters as he sat in the Sheriff's office were shabby and made in the heat of anger that he didn't make any attempt to control. He had been refused police by the College Park Mayor, then he sought out Governor Maddox for state troopers and as a last resort he requested and got a restraining order from a Superior Court judge restraining the persons from occupying his office. He had refused to meet with the protesters unless the area of discussion embraced what he thought was open for discussion.

One of his most unfortunate remarks while in the Sheriff's office in an interview with a reporter went like this: "I wouldn't be in there with that scum" he said. "I'm going to have it fumigated before I go back . . . I've heard about the sanitary conditions there."

As a matter of truth, the protesters did no damage to West's office. They cleaned it up carefully after a lunch brought in from a nearby sandwich shop and browsed in West's personal library. (S.S. No. 255-64-3947).

If Superintendent Paul West had ever looked deep down into the hearts of the young Negro people he would have found a way to keep the nearly new Eva Thomas school open. It was named for a Negro school teacher and the $850,000 building was a source of pride to the Negro community. The closing of the school would have wiped out the name and left the Negro students to be merged into four predominantly white schools in the adjacent area. It doesn't seem impossible to dream that the school board and Mr. West could have dissolved one of the white high schools and sent some of the white pupils over to Eva Thomas.

Perhaps by the time the fall of 1970 comes around, the voters will have solved part of their problem by election of new school board members and perhaps a new superintendent who might favor the black community just once in a while.

LOCAL 218

Laundry, Dry Cleaning and Dye House Workers Union

W. T. ARCHER, JR., *Acting President*
HENRY JENKINS, *Vice President*

JOE BONOWITZ, Consultant and Operational Engineer

LAUNDRY DRY CLEANING LOCAL 218 AND DYE HOUSE WORKERS UNION

E. L. ABERCROMBIE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY & TREASURER

157 FORSYTH STREET, S. W. • ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

523-7646
(AREA CODE 404)

W. T. ARCHER, JR., Director of Organization

October 16, 1969

Mr. Emory Via
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

It was a great pleasure having you work with us in our Stewards Work Shop at our last annual meeting.

For your participation, I am enclosing a check for $50.00 for the Southern Regional Council as a small token of our appreciation.

With best wishes and kind personal regards, I remain

Sincerely,

E. L. Abercrombie

E. L. Abercrombie
Executive Secretary-Treasurer

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"SERVING THE INTERESTS OF THE INDUSTRY AND ITS MEMBERS"

October 17, 1969

Mr. E. L. Abercrombie
Executive Secretary-Treasurer
Laundry, Dry Cleaning and Dye House
Workers Union
157 Forsyth Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Abbie:

Our thanks to you and Local 218 for the contribution of $50.00 to the Council. I was very happy to have been a part of your Stewards Work Shop. I trust that you feel the training went well.

Please know that if I can be of assistance in additional activities either here in Atlanta or elsewhere in the region I would be happy to do so.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV/km

LOCAL 218
Laundry, Dry Cleaning and Dye House Workers Union

LAUNDRY
DRY CLEANING
LOCAL 218
AND DYE HOUSE
WORKERS UNION

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Gary F. Vio

INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

LEADERSHIP: A FRAME OF REFERENCE

by

ROBERT TANNENBAUM AND FRED MASSARIK

Reprint No. 68

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
LOS ANGELES 24, CALIFORNIA
1958

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
SCHOOL FOR WORKERS

Steward Training Materials April, 1958

MEMBERSHIP PARTICIPATION*

Information is necessary element to "Control"

1. No group, whether leadership or membership, can maintain effective control without having at its disposal appropriate information about the matters under consideration. The mere fact of knowing will not give the members control over the affairs of their union; however, they certainly will not be able to institute control unless they do have knowledge.

2. Communication is seldom a one-way process. If stewards inform members about union affairs, the members may respond by offering their reactions or ideas. If the steward makes some systematic attempt to solicit such action, a process of joint decision making may be under way.

Leader as Resource

3. A third important leadership function is that of resource person, a person to whom a member of the group can turn for assistance.

Interest in group member

4. One of the characteristics of successful leadership which has been demonstrated repeatedly in the industrial environment is a concern for, or interest in, the group member.

Steward is a key link keep informed

5. Through his role as grievance processor, decision maker, and communicator, the steward appears to be an important instrumentality for the promotion or the weakening of union democracy. He may or may not help keep the men informed, involve them in certain decisions, work for the achievement of their goals, and offer them a supportive relationship.

Member participation in a union does not just grow; it must be cultivated. It must be desired by the membership and fostered by the leaders.

Participation must be cultivated

*Adapted from "Leadership Practices and Member Participation in Local Unions" by Robert L. Kahn & Arnold S. Tannenbaum, AFL-CIO Education News and Views.

Union Adm

REPRINT SERIES NO. 92

INSTITUTE OF LABOR AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Members, Nonmembers, Ex-members

by MARGARET K. CHANDLER
and PHILIP MARDEN

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS BULLETIN

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Emery F. Vie

Paper prepared for the National Conference of Labor Educators, University of Minnesota, October 30 - November 1, 1961

LEADERSHIP WITHIN THE UNION

Jack Barbash
Professor of Labor Education and Economics
University of Wisconsin

I propose to deal with the subject at hand under three main headings: (1) assumptions as to the industrial relations environment and union leadership; (2) sources of union strength; and (3) sources of union weakness and vulnerability.

The dominant fact in the contemporary industrial relations environment has been the reversal of union ascendancy that began with the New Deal. If I had to put an arbitrary date for the seeding of this reversal, 1947 is as good as any and Taft-Hartley is as good a symbol as any. Union spokesmen, particularly from the mass production industries, attribute their difficult times to a management "hard line" fortified by the superior bargaining power growing out of automation. Whatever the cause, the unions have been confronting a changing order of problems and their posture has in general been defensive. There are, it should be noted, recent symptoms of union revival but it is too early to tell yet whether we have a period of union reascendancy in the making.

However we project the cycles of union growth or decline certain features of the union situation are probably here to stay. For all practical purposes the union is regarded as a public utility; that is, as being so extensively affected with a public interest that it is appropriate to regulate substantially the internal government of unions and many of the means and ends of collective bargaining. Just as the Wagner Act sought to limit management power vis-a-vis unions and employees, Taft-Hartley, Landrum-Griffin, state right-to-work laws, and a wide ranging corpus of case law are aimed primarily at limiting union power. The notion of the union as a private organization has no operative meaning today.

In the management community there is a pervasive feeling of renewed confidence and power which is to be distinguished from another period when management reassertion took place; namely, the period immediately following World War I. In the earlier period big industry sought the outright elimination of unionism. In this period there appears to be no such general disposition - rather the emphasis appears to be on the containment of union power and the recovery of what is regarded as lost ground.

Of longer run significance is the evolution of unionism in the United States toward function rather than toward social mission. More specifically the American union consensus has opted for partial unionism limited to economic interests rather than for unionism as a total way of

life. This tendency is underscored by the virtual disappearance of radical unionism as an important contender for power in the American labor movement. It is now well established that the primary function of the union is protection from the unbridled rule of management and from the insecurities generated by the employment relationship. It is the protective function of the union that is paramount, not the role of the labor movement as a contender for total power in the society. The average rank-and-filer and union leader at all levels is a bread-and-butter unionist. Now to be sure - and we shall say more about this later - the meaning of "bread and butter" has been enlarged. Wages, hours, and working conditions are defined differently in different situations and politics is a settled union function, but none of these really takes anything away from the acceptance of limited unionism.

So much for assumptions as to the industrial society. Now for some assumptions as to the relationship between leaders and followers in the industrial society. The administration of large groups necessarily requires the vesting of sizable authority in a relatively small subgroup to initiate and carry out policy quickly and decisively. This is an undeniable fact of group life. Everybody knows that when a group gets larger than ten or so it will shake down into a small active and a larger subgroup. When leadership is stabilized it will take on status perquisites in the style of behavior, in the mode of living, and in the sense of importance.

I have no serviceable standard to offer as to the substantive outcomes which union leadership should seek. Or to put it another way, I do not know how to handle the problem in any general way as to whether or not union leadership is optimumly (a) protecting the interests of its constituents, (b) negotiating competitive wage rates, or (c) showing a proper regard for consumer interests in avoiding inflation, etc.

The relevance of the remarks on unionism as function, on leadership dynamics, and on the substantive outcomes of collective bargaining is that I mean thereby to exclude them as grounds for criticism or praise and to accept them as given. It may be that this exclusion amounts to assuming the really critical problems of union leadership out of existence. I don't think that these are the critical problems and the limitations of this paper prevent me from detailing why I think so.

The most impressive quality of union leadership in the United States has been that it has resisted the great temptation to substitute the vision of the brave new world tomorrow for the tough task of winning a better working life for its members here and now. The approach has been pragmatic and experimental, not doctrinaire. At the same time there has emerged a large measure of social inventiveness and purpose rooted in the real problems confronting workers.

This resistance of American unionism to transcending ideologies has not impaired the power of the union in collective bargaining or in its role in the plant. No labor movement, whatever its doctrinal commitment, has on its own power exercised greater influence on the terms of employment.

A second source of strength has been the capacity of the labor

movement in the United States to yield up leadership for all levels of union policy making from its own ranks instead of having to rely on an extramural reservoir of politicians and wayfaring intellectuals. This is not meant as a testament to the superior stock from which American working people arise. Much of this capacity stems from forces rooted deeply in the history and culture of the nation, notably the availability of education and the egalitarian tendencies in American life that enable the worker to feel that he has both the ability and self-confidence to bargain with his employer.

The pragmatic bent of American trade union leadership has generated a flexibility in trade union strategy and tactics. Nowhere is this flexibility as evident as in the manner in which the unions oscillate between legislative enactment and collective bargaining in the pursuit of goals, particularly observable in recent times in the field of health insurance. With the avenue of legislative enactment closed - temporarily at least - union initiative has been responsible for the construction of a massive and fruitful system of health insurance via collective bargaining. But the route of legislative enactment has not been totally abandoned, at least for the health care of the retired worker. The diversity on such collective bargaining issues as escalator clauses, profit sharing, engineering methods in wage determination all indicate the willingness of union leadership to experiment.

The experimental character of union policy is being displayed currently in dealing with the problems of technological displacement. Emerging is an effusion of transitional devices designed to abate the harsher consequence of dislocation. Equally striking are the joint union-management mechanisms addressed to concrete problems in this area and the implementation of the traditional job rights concepts through employer payments in lieu of job rights.

The same flexibility is demonstrable in the union performance in politics. American unionism is, I think, emerging with a conception of its political role that is both realistic and responsible; realistic because political activities have a relationship to capabilities; responsible because the effective political goals go beyond parochial job interests and assert a serious union interest in the larger national and international community. This is not to say that leadership has bypassed self-interest politics but self-interest is moving away from the catch-as-catch-can of the wrestling ring.

The weaknesses in the union leadership performance have two wellsprings. What is a source of strength for one leadership purpose can become a source of weakness for another purpose. The stress on realistic and practical outcomes which has produced significant improvements in the worker's condition has, I think, also weakened the union leader's capacity to generalize and reflect in any competent way, at more than one remove from his immediate situation. With few exceptions he has difficulty finding a middle ground between self-serving congratulations or outrage on the one extreme and ponderous banalities on the other. Union leadership has almost no intellectually organized insight as to what it is doing and why. Nor is this regarded as a problem by union leaders.

There is, I hope, something more to this than a cry of anguish by an intellectual why labor leaders aren't more like intellectuals, nor is this a plea for a union ideology. What is involved here first is that to an unprecedented degree the purposes of trade unionism have to be made intelligible to a series of disinterested publics which, in general, accept but do not understand the function of unionism. Union leadership must take on this task of interpreting unionism from direct experience rather than leaving the field almost exclusively to the union-sympathetic or union-employed intellectual. Perhaps even more important, the capacity for generalized and reflective thinking is needed to assess the course of union policy in the new shape of industrial relations events alluded to earlier and to give perspective and direction to the membership. Unless I am seriously mistaken the time is fast passing when union leadership will be able to coast.

The second source of weakness is what may be called a lag between the reality of the union position in the society and the perceptions or images of that position which union leaders express. The conception of the union which union leaders characteristically voice is that of a fighting, submerged, underprivileged out-group seeking recognition and acceptance vis-a-vis the employer and the community. The union as reality - particularly the international union - seen in the effects of its collective bargaining, in its activities as an enterprise of substance, as an employer in its own right, and finally in its pathological manifestations of racketeering, cannot appropriately be jammed into a mold of primitive democracy. Now there may be some compatibility between image and reality forsome national unions and the image is, of course, an authentic representation of unionism of an extended period in past history. But this image when it goes beyond idle daydreaming can have unsettling consequences.

The perception of the union as a disadvantaged group underlies the belief in many circles that the ill fortune of the labor movement is attributable to a conspiracy of evil men. More specifically, the (probably) prevailing view is that the enactment of the Landrum-Griffin law was attributable to a fusion of hate-the-union elements headed by Senator McClellan and Senator Goldwater and "weak" liberals. There is undoubtedly an element of truth here. Senators McClellan and Goldwater are among the less enthusiastic partisans of unionism in the United States. And this is true of many of the people who voted for the Landrum-Griffin law. But McClellan and Goldwater were only catalytic agents. If one individual was responsible for the enactment of Landrum-Griffin it was Mr. James R. Hoffa, President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. This is not put as moral judgment, it is put as fact. The record and image made by Mr. Hoffa and his associates provided the indispensable leverage for the enactment of Landrum-Griffin. This sort of misguided animus against the legislators who voted for the law will get in the way of developing a viable legislative policy, of dealing with Mr. Hoffa, and most seriously, it will get in the way of correcting defects in internal union government.

There is another variation to the conspiracy theme - namely, that the media of public communications are engaged in a conspiracy to prevent the union case from being heard. What does a balanced judgment on this score reveal, if this is possible? There are indeed newspapers and

commentators who, as a matter of ideology, angle their labor stories against the union. But mainly the media err not in "class angling" the labor stories but in the prevailing news judgment which makes a union story newsworthy in a context of violence, conflict, and other sensationalism.

Operating on the conspiracy assumption many union leaders proceed (a) to proclaim the need for a massive public relations program to counter the influence of the "labor-hating" press, and (b) to justify the heavy-handed propaganda of their own labor press. Public relations is seen in the union scheme as it is seen generally as a kind of deodorant to cover up an otherwise bad odor or personal exploitation. The content of the union public relations program, with a few notable exceptions, turns on institutional self-praise, self-commendation, and the grossest kinds of puffery.

There is merit to the contention, I believe, that the best public relations approach to the charge of lack of democracy in unions is not an announcement that the union is awarding one hundred scholarships to deserving children of union members, or bequeathing an iron lung to a hospital. The scholarship program and the iron lung are each ends in their own right and should be undertaken for their own sakes. One public relations answer to a charge of lack of union democracy might be to open up the union journal to viewpoints other than that of the administration in power. In any case, the most potent public relations weapon which the union has is the way its members feel about the union. The multiplier effect of membership sentiment in the community has a power unmatched by any appropriation which a union could possibly command for a conventional public relations program.

The ingratitude of the rank and file is another piece of insulation by which union leadership on occasion seeks to protect itself from the hard facts. The theme runs something along these lines: the trouble is that the present crop of union members never had to go through the sacrifices and the deprivations in the building of a union. What they have today they have gotten without struggle and without the picket line, and thus value what they have less. The rank and file does not understand the role of the union in securing these benefits and attribute them to the beneficence of the employer.

There are several things wrong with the ingratitude theme. First, the worst way to get gratitude and appreciation is to ask for it. Second, it may be positively harmful because it obscures the real situation with a gloss of self-indulgent myth. Third, the real situation is that understanding of the union by the member must be attacked directly through concrete results and educational means. It will not come as a byproduct of gratitude. Fourth, the union leader has as a general rule not been treated badly by his constituency.

Then there is the union leader who has lived through the big organizing breakthrough of the late thirties and has enshrined this period (which at best did not last more than four years) as a model for the future. Many who have not lived through it have absorbed enough of the nostalgia to have experienced the big breakthrough vicariously. The big breakthrough motif expresses itself in fervent appeals for a reinvigor-

ation of union idealism and union commitment, a rededication to the sense of union mission.

The great upsurge of the thirties came from a labor movement that was emerging from a slough of despond, from a labor movement that was small in numbers, weak, and poor. It was the spokesman for the downtrodden. And the organizer was the great American hero. Circumstances have changed drastically. The labor movement is not weak, or at least most of it isn't weak. There are something on the order of 17 million members. The spirit of recommitment which stirred the movement in the 1930's can be reinduced only synthetically and therefore falsely, because the movement of the thirties is not the movement of the sixties. There are equally worthy and more authentic kinds of commitment that can be invoked in today's labor movement. This is in addition to the fact that the "rededication" appeal will not work today.

key

For many union officials the notion of the big breakthrough as a model for their future organizing activities has been a convenient excuse for doing nothing at all, since in the nature of events another big breakthrough of the magnitude of the late 1930's is out of the question for the short run future. The more realistic goal in the current turn of events is the slow, accumulative growth which would force them from idle daydreaming into action.

key

The most conspicuous consequence of the disparity between image and reality is to be found in the failure of trade union internal administration. An image of the union as primitive democracy will not produce ideas and practices of internal administration adequate for modern businesslike unionism. There probably are international unions that have a coherent personnel policy, but they have escaped my attention. This defect is most glaring in the staff and professional personnel; that is the representative, the professional researcher, educator, etc. For most unions the personnel policy with respect to this level of employment begins and ends with the review of expense accounts. Many unions have several hundred employees but I am not aware of any union which has a trained personnel administrator to deal with day-in-day-out problems of employment. The result is that these problems are dealt with by the political officers of the union on a political basis.

? and to what effect

My impression is that the staff employee of the union is at least a notch or two above the level of the comparable rank in private industry in the degree of commitment. But even this does not insulate him from the routine pressures of working for a living when the union has settled down to a necessarily routine existence.

It is the failure of top union administrators to recognize these vexations of working for a living - even working for a living within a union - that has been responsible for the outcropping of union staffers' unions. And I daresay that the problem of personnel administration in the union will not be dealt with by front office homilies on the blood, sweat, and tears that went into the making of the union. Here again the image of struggle may be valid for those who have lived through it but it is something less than meaningful to the employee of the "affluent union" for whom the struggle is of antiquarian interest only.

key?

The response of several top union executives who have been confronted with the threat of unionism on the part of staff is that such unions are immoral in terms of trade union morality. Well, maybe they are - or at least were - from where the union president sits. But union presidents, like other kinds of presidents, can hardly be expected to feel fully what it means to be a subordinate, particularly when the fields of combat have been converted into monuments.

We return to the theme which I keep repeating here; namely that a large union cannot eternally function as a mission. It can have elements of mission, but it must also function like a business enterprise. And in a business enterprise employees need some form of protection and it doesn't matter whether the managers of the enterprise are corporation executives, civil servants, or trade union presidents.

Except for the lawyer (and maybe the doctor in the health program), the average international union officer has little conception of professional status for the staff in education and research. Research and education have been politicalized; understandably and perhaps essentially when the union is a cause. But a union functioning as an enterprise needs to have a staff of independent, professionally competent personnel who should be immune from the political tugs and pulls of the union. Since most of the professionals in the unions are mission-oriented several have made themselves vulnerable to political treatment by taking sides with one faction as against another, either for or against the administration.

There are two reciprocal requirements for the professionalization of staff functions that do in fact require professional skills. The staff professional must conceive and execute his union role by professional standards, and relatedly the union principal to whom the professional is responsible must learn that the union performance will be improved if staff members of professional competence are used as professional instead of as chore boys. It is just conceivable that an acceptance of the autonomous professional status of research and education in the union - and this implies immunity from internal politics - will evoke a commensurately professional performance from the staff, that will strengthen the union in confronting the changed character of the times.

Except for a handful of unions the international union officers are innocent of any conception of the role of research in guiding policy. The function of research in most unions is not much more than servicing individual requests for information, or providing immediate "facts" to meet the bargining or debaters' needs of their principals. As a social scientist I am not prepared to say that social sciences have an undisputed body of fact that will yield clear answers for unions. I am prepared to say, though, that the research function of the union can be utilized to achieve a wider angle of policy vision for union leadership than it is now utilizing.

The union leader's conception of his role is that of a fireman putting out fires. There is little conception of the role as a fire <u>preventer</u> and the use of planned methods to help prevent fires. In large part this fireman's posture stems from external and internal

insecurity; his position vis-a-vis the employer is never quite so attack-proof that he can indulge himself in the luxury of reflection. Inside the union he is never quite so immune from internal harrassment that he can relax his guard.

The distinguishing essence of unionism in the United States is its concern with the protection of the worker's job, the improvement of his living standards, and the pursuit of ~~patic~~ public policies which will enhance these goals. The main line of the labor movement in the United States has never been a traditional socialist movement. It has no antagonism in principle to the enterprise system and the enterpriser. And indeed, the success and effectiveness of collective bargaining has been achieved by maintaining what, on the surface, seems a kind of paradoxical dichotomy. On the one hand, union principles have remained steadfast in their commitment to the idea there is a diversity of interest at the work site in which the role of the union is to protect the worker's side of that diversity. At the same time collective bargaining has worked because it has resulted in collective agreement with the employer. In short, diversity of interest and accommodation are parts of a process cycle in which one phases into the other.

Key

What I am leading up to by all of this is simply that the tone of a good deal of union propaganda - not the union performance - has a visceral, sophomoric, anti-business tone about it which, in my judgment, goes beyond the need of union leaders who operate in this style to make clear that they are not management stooges. This visceral anti-bossism, I believe, or at least I suspect, is one of the reasons why some union organizing efforts have not been as successful as they might have been - because it may have frightened some prospective union members who, if they have to judge as to who exercises greater power over them will invariably opt for the employer or at least against the union.

The quality of the union performance in two important bargaining areas - health and technology - will depend on the extent to which it is able to find collaborative instrumentalities with management. It is humanly difficult to maintain a collaborative relationship at the same time that you use your organs of public education to cuss out management as a class. Now, to be sure, the provocation is very great. Except for a few sports, managements have never publicly acknowledged the existence of the union in a constructive context, even where the relationship, in fact, has been constructive.

Relate most outlook & problems to union leadership

Key

Both unions and management can, I believe, profitably discard some of their juvenile postures without impairing their capacity to protect the interests in genuine conflict; and there are enough genuine interests in conflict without adding layers of irrelevant abuse and superfluous ideology.

Key

The performance of the union as a democratic institution is good in respect to the international union and extraordinary in the case of the local union. Having said this it is possible, I believe, to point out some shortcomings which are not beyond remedy. The concept of democracy which many union leaders have is one of busy-work participation and democracy as affirmation rather than of democracy as a process in which free give-and-take results in change. There are local union leaders

Key

who use participation as a cover for the condition that the membership does not, in fact, have anything important to say about the way the union is run. Participation does have byproducts and merits on its own in building a vital union, but these merits are not intrinsically related to democracy. The byproduct of participation is that participants tend to have a depper concern with issues than nonparticipants. To this extent participation is an aid to local union democracy. But participation can frustrate democracy by involving the membership in the pageantry of democracy without its substance.

The aspect of participation that receives the most attention from union leaders is attendance at membership meetings. But it is affirmation which leadership generally seeks at the membership meeting, not assessment and suggestion. Like the great breakthrough fixation, the failure to get wholesale attendance at union meeting is a good excuse for doing nothing at all about the member's involvement in the union. Candor requires recognition of the fact that the routine union meeting is a bore - just as all routine meetings are bores. They are all bores even though indispensable to the conduct of the organization's business; and only a handful of people can be expected to and do in fact involve themselves responsibly in routine. When critical issues are up the evidence indicates that there is substantial attendance at the union meeting.

The rank and file membership is smarter than the union leaders who keep droning away about membership meeting attendance as the excuse for all of their misfortunes. The membership resolutely resists all synthetic attempts to encourage attendance - door prizes, fines, beers, and shindigs in general - and if they had succeeded there is a serious question as to whether the membership meeting as an instrument of democratic government had not simply evolved into a social occasion, which would be fine for union conviviality but it is a mistake to confuse this with democracy.

The union member is loyal to the unio - there can be no question about that - but except for crisis it is for most union members a kind of disengaged loyalty. The union, as has been said, serves a function not a mission for the rank and file. And in principle this is to the good. The human purposes of a democracy are best served where there are no exclusive, monolithic loyalties. But it may be that the disengagement has gone too far and that union leadership must give sober reflection as to how the tie that binds a member to his union can be strengthened by a deeper understanding of the purposes of unionism in our time.

There are, for one thing, several noticeable lacks in the union member's understanding of his union. There is a feeling of insularity; for many a member his local is all there is to the union. Union citizenship, however, requires an understanding of the role of constitutional government in the local and of the role and function of the international and intermediate bodies. Secondly, it is also clear to me that the average union member does not have a clear understanding of the union's purposes in politics. This is not to say that he does not support the union in politics, but I think he does not understand the real needs of the union in politics and in legislation. As I have said on another NILE occasion, formal education instruction is not viable

for the average union member, nor can he be reached systematically by the union meeting. Other channels have to be found.

As to content I believe it is of primary importance that the union member understand his own union. The printed output of the labor movement in the United States is enormous but little of it is devoted to the fundamentals of unionism and to the plain facts about what the union is, how it spends its money, and how it governs itself. There are union leaders who become the idols of daily editorials and adult educators by sponsoring a wide range of programs on everything except how the union is run.

The first publication that a union needs above all others is a pamphlet on what might be called "union civics" or "union citizenship" - the kind of information about the union that the applicant for naturalization gets about his country. And if this kind of publication in union civics can be written without self-serving praise, without how this union is the best union in the world and these officers are the wisest officers in the world - not that this may not be true - all to the better.

I have noticed that opposition within a union will on occasion have an unsettling effect far out of proportion to the importance of the controversy. In large part this is due not so much to the cussedness of the leaders in office as it is to the absence of regular channels, short of an election campaign, through which criticism and opposition can express itself as a matter of course. The responsibility for maintaining civilized standards of controversy rests on both the in-leadership and the out-leadership. If every contest becomes a battle to the death it brutalizes the democratic process. In addition to making the official publications of the union available to conflicting views I think the labor movement will do well to explore further the kinds of grooves that can be cut in the normal structure of the union to admit the give-and-take of opinion within the union without making every controversy an explosive experience.

I predict only modest gains for the union if the leadership should take this kind of analysis seriously. I do not assert that the main quantitive tendencies in the development of the labor movement, let us say, since the enactment of Taft-Hartley would have been materially altered by changed perceptions and policies. But I do believe that the quality of the labor movement as a movement can be improved by sloughing off obsolete notions and forging a body of principles authentic to the union and to the times the union finds itself in. I have disparaged ideology but ideology is not the only form which intellectual commitments can take. There are principles, too, and as I see it the labor movement has now reached a stage where it must distill the essences of its experiences into principles - flexible principles to be sure - that are meaningful and provide some basis for moral cohesion and social insight.

December 1962

PROSPECTS FOR FUTURE UNION GROWTH

THE UNION LEADERSHIP FACTOR*

The sources of union growth are to be found in the economy. But even if the economic circumstances are propitious the actual process of union growth depends in part - not necessarily the largest part - on the quality of the union leadership performance. It is this union leadership component of the problem that is the focus here.

Union leadership, this appraisal runs, will have to come to grips with at least three main issues: (1) internal union administration; (2) union "responsibility"; and (3) union organizing. The plan is to discuss each of these main issues and to suggest some of the alternative directions which the leadership response could take.

Union Administration

A popular criticism - frequently voiced by union leaders themselves - is that the labor movement has lost the crusading spirit and its quality as a social movement. Much is said in union circles about the apathy of union members "who never had it so good;" and not having had to man the picket lines to achieve this state of affluence do not understand the meaning of a union. The need, it is said, is to recapture the spirit of the 1930's.

The 1930's did indeed experience a vast reshaping of the union scene. But the commitment which stirred the movement in the 1930's can be reinduced only synthetically, and therefore falsely, because the movement of the thirties is not the movement of the sixties.

The average union member probably has a pretty clear conception of what he wants from the union, and it can be put in a phrase: security from the absolute

*by Jack Barbash, Professor of Economics and Labor Education, University of Wisconsin, Industrial Relations Research Association, 15th Annual Meeting, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, December 28, 1962.

rule of management over wages, hours, and working conditions. His lack of "participation" in the routine activities of the union is not due to ignorance but to private concerns which he thinks are more important, and a general feeling that his union is doing adequately. In crisis he sheds these private concerns and comes to the aid of the union.

There are gaps in the member's perception of the union even from this functional standpoint from which he views the union. The most serious gaps are: (1) the failure to perceive the union as something more than the local union, and (2) an inadequate comprehension of the union's political function although he undoubtedly accepts it. The remedy which most union leaders think the situation calls for is exhortation - so they lecture their members in print and in person about their indifference, what a wonderful job they (the leaders, that is) are doing for them, and how politics are as important as bargaining. If exhortation had been the right remedy these problems would have been eliminated a long time ago; but they haven't, so exhortation is not the answer and the chances are that most exhortation hinders rather than helps.

I am not arguing here for the correctness of any special approach. But there is more than union folk-wisdom and fellow-feeling involved - indispensable as they are - in running the modern union, not only with respect to how the member feels about his union but with respect to the whole range of union administration.

The American international union has necessarily become an enterprise, and enterprise unavoidably enforces its own administrative logic on the underlying situation. The effect of this logic is to minimize the dependability of intuition as the exclusive path to policy making. This import of the union as enterprise is well understood in union circles when it comes to using technical skills in law, insurance, accounting, etc.; that is the skills necessary to comply with laws. But the use of objective professional skills in reaching creative policy conclusions in organizing, industry economics, internal union administration, and collective bargaining is for the overwhelming majority of

unions alien territory.

The social sciences do not have an undisputed body of fact that will yield clear answers for unions. But research can achieve a wider angle of policy vision for union leadership. This does not mean that control of the union must be turned over to professionals; it does mean that up-from-the-ranks union leadership must have the advantage of professional skills if it is to react to the altered industrial relations environment effectively. What is involved, in short, is the professionalization of their own skills and the wiser use of staff professionals.

Union Responsibility

The demand for "union responsibility" is nothing new in American industrial relations. In the earliest period union responsibility meant largely living up to agreements. Still later it meant concern with the employment effects of union policies. In the present period there has been an enlargement of the economic area over which union policy is said to have adverse effects - from the firm to the national economy to the international economy; and moreover, the criticism is now coming from friends of the union movement and not only from the traditional critics, the employer and the general economist. The common characteristic of the union responsibility theme in all periods is self-denial on the part of union leadership. The difference between then and now is due to the fact that unions are more important and the post-World War II economic boom has come to an end; some profess to see a causal relationship here.

The elements of the pessimistic climate against which union responsibility is asserted are well known and need only be stated here: (1) inadequate economic growth, (2) imbalance in the balance of payments, (3) the "cold war," (4) the "profit" squeeze, (5) the manpower flexibility demanded by changing technology, and until recently (6) wage-push inflation. The source of the demand for union responsibility determines the emphasis which each of these elements gets.

Business stresses the profit squeeze and its obverse, wage pressure on costs, and draws out the "featherbedding" implications of its need for flexibility in manpower utilization. The Kennedy Administration also is concerned with wages as costs but has emphasized growth, balance of payments, and cold war economics and pressures. The Eisenhower Administration and the economics profession have focused mostly on the inflationary consequences of union wage policy.

For the first time in a period of non-war the union responsibility issue is being raised by its friends and not alone by its standard critics. Moreover, specific solutions are being propounded. As the labor movement's friends formulate the challenge to union responsibility it might be put as then-Secretary of Labor Goldberg did:

> ". . . labor organizations, in formulating their wage and price policies and other policies, must now look beyond the counsel of their tradition and out into the broad fields of modern economic realities, both at home and abroad. A union has existed for the benefit of its members, and still must do so - but the policies to achieve that end must include both long-range and the immediate welfare. It may be fine to save a job but it may not be so fine if the precedent of that action endangers many other jobs over a period of time. . . .
>
> "The issues in labor-management affairs are far too complex, far too potent, and far too influential on the rest of society to be resolved on the old testing grounds of force and power. . . ." [1]

And instead of "the old testing grounds of force and power," Professor George W. Taylor urges "a substitution of analytical processes. . . if constructive decisions are to be evolved." [2]

The Kennedy Administration has intensified the challenge to union responsibility in several unprecedented ways. First, it has established "guidelines" [3], which, with all the hedging of the Council of Economic Advisers, represents the most explicit official definition of union responsibility which we have ever had short of the case-by-case regulation of a government agency in wartime. Second, the Kennedy Administration has been extraordinarily ingenious and persistent in substituting for the trials by ordeal and strike Dr. Taylor's "analytical

processes", in a variety of third party devices. Third, and most importantly, unlike many others who have charged the unions with responsibility, the Kennedy Administration has assumed a responsibility on its part to provide a public policy climate in which responsible collective bargaining can flourish, including extension of unemployment compensation benefits, depressed area legislation, and retraining programs. [4] Now, in all of this, the words indicate a management responsibility as well, but it is generally understood that the burden is primarily on the unions since they are in the posture of initiators.

The pressure of the times increasingly demands from union leadership a reflective judgment as to union responsibility. Hence, at this point I undertake to set out in summary form a sort of check-list of the grounds - favorable and unfavorable - on which a union position may conceivably rest.

First, the grounds which appear to argue against the idea of union responsibility as conventionally formulated:

(1) There are equally valid but potentially conflicting union responsibilities. (a) the most frequent formulation - union responsibility to the public interest; (b) union responsibility to the profitability of the enterprise; and (c) hardly ever formulated but critical to the union for its survival as an institution, the union's responsibility to its members. The explicit or implied view is that this last short-run, business unionism outlook of union leadership is likely to be at odds with its other responsibilities because it stresses immediate improvement to the exclusion of the "larger" view presumably expressed in (a) and (b).

(2) The content of union responsibility has been defined only in the vaguest terms. In this respect, however, the Kennedy Council of Economic Advisers, in contrast to previous CEA's, has moved from general admonition to admonition by guidelines.

(3) There is no conclusive relationship which economists will agree on between wage responsibility and general inflation. The large ground of

uncertainty that exists between, say, a wage policy - which is presumably what we want the unions to be responsible about - and the intended result, the avoidance of price inflation, raises a serious question as to the efficacy of the remedy. "The tragic fact is . . . that we have very little empirical foundations for our generalizations about the complicated interdependence of wages, productivity, profits and level of employment." [5]

(4) The exercise of union responsibility in this context runs afoul of other values which we want industrial relations to conform to, such as dispersion of bargaining power and the enlargement of union democracy. Union responsibility sets forces in motion in the contrary direction to centralized bargaining and weakening of local union influence.

(5) As a practical matter, a viable democracy cannot demand responsibilities unless it is prepared to reenforce this demand with corresponding rights. If you accept the social role of the union as an institution and therefore union leadership, you cannot ask him "to donate his interests . . . to a vague 'social good'" [6] without giving him some protection. (If you don't accept the role of the union it hardly seems relevant to ask it to be responsible.) In specific, this means that if you ask the union leader not to use economic power to reduce hours as a means of combatting unemployment he has a right to ask you to provide some effective measures of combatting unemployment - and we have not substantially ameliorated unemployment.

(6) Is it wise to expect the implementation of a critical public interest by "unguided, uncoordinated consciences of the chance leaders of the economic blocs?" [7] If we want to achieve a necessary public policy shouldn't this be achieved through public instrumentalities?

(7) Insofar as union responsibility is urged on grounds of curbing inflation isn't this the wrong battle? The issue now is not inflation but unemployment and underutilization of manpower.

What are the signs that favor union responsibility?

(1) Admittedly the economic answers are less than perfect. We cannot know for sure all of the facts relating to "the complicated interdependence of wages, productivity, profits and level of employment." The real question is not whether we have the last word, but do we have reasonable grounds. And certainly the Kennedy Administration can say that it does not start out with a predisposition against unions, so that its approach to union responsibility is not a piece of anti-union ideology.

(2) In a very real sense the "coercive evidence" in the form of plant shutdowns and relocation, automation displacements, and an almost continuous unemployment recession since 1957 is forcing the unions to be responsible. The coercive evidence has been an ever living presence for some unions (textiles, clothing) that they almost know no other way of economic life. In particular bargaining situations wage cuts and modification of work practices to favor management interests are frequent occurrences where the alternatives that the workers see are shut-down and plant removal.

There has been a tendency for the broad band of union leadership to face up to the possibility of self-denial at some removes short of disaster, and to do it on some planned, preconceived basis. What is arresting about this tendency is that it comes from unions that cannot be considered "soft" or classic models of labor statesmanship. For example: the West Coast longshore mechanization agreement. Note the early formulation of the problem by the ILWU caucus: "Do we want to stick with our present policy of guerrilla resistance or do we want to adopt a more flexible policy in order to buy specific benefits in return?" [8] The Armour Automation Committees with the meat-packing unions: a fact-finding and experimental approach involving third parties; the third-party devices in the steel industry to remove "certain problems from the crisis collective bargaining arena;" [9] the overtures of the Screen Actors Guild: suspension of wage increases for the next contract "to bring movie production back to Hollywood."

Union responsibility in the sense of the self-denying use of power is permeating the current strategy of the American unions as they respond to technological change. Outright obstruction is rare. In its place the unions and gradualist managements have worked out a series of accomodations based first on the "red-circling" principle, that is on leaving incumbents untouched; then to transition devices and collaborative mechanisms to ease displacement pains; and finally, to use the term revived by William Gomberg, the property rights approach which puts a reimbursable money value on the workers' rights affected by technology. [10]

The idea that unions and management can fruitfully explore the longer-run implications of their relationship on a "paracollective-bargaining" basis has long been a staple of Walter Reuther's philosophy. But the automobile managements rear back on every occasion that Reuther engages in a probing action on this issue; largely, one gathers, because the industry sees in these statements a variation on the "look at the books" theme. Soon after he succeeded Philip Murray as Steel Worker president, Mr. David J. McDonald enunciated a doctrine of "mutual trusteeship" which did not get beyond a series of joint plant visits by Mr. McDonald and Mr. Benjamin Fairless, Chairman of the U.S. Steel board.

(3) One of the ancestors of union responsibility is the classic "capital-labor cooperation" and "union-management cooperation." In both cases the weight of power for the establishment of such a scheme was on management side. It represented - whether the initiative came from management or the unions - an institutionalization of the union as an inferior partner in the determination of the employment relationship. The union became in these schemes a sort of administrative arm of management's personnel policy to lower unit production costs. Union responsibility today is rooted in firmer soil than in the past. It is founded in the first instance on the collective bargaining power of the union and not on the beneficence of the employer or on the self-acknowledged

inferiority of the union. If union acquiescence in union responsibility does not arise from inferiority, it does in this period arise from a weakened bargaining posture.

(4) The Kennedy Administration qualifies its union responsibility appeal. It goes beyond simple admonition but stops short of systematic regulation. As the Council of Economic Advisers puts it, the objective is the creation of "an atmosphere [my emphasis] in which the parties to such decisions will exercise their powers responsibly." [11] Union responsibility as used here is closer to psychology and politics as part of the "weaponry" of the cold war perhaps than to economics.

(5) If the Kennedy policy is viewed for what it is, there are grounds for believing that it has worked; that the unions have indeed, with steel as the archetypal example, held back on the full exercise of power, that unions have been impelled to exercise restraint.

(6) Unlike other counsels of restraint, the Kennedy policy has recognized the public's responsibility - not always effectuated, to be sure - by seeking to improve unemployment compensation, by developing programs to deal with automation displacement and retraining, and with depressed areas.

The Issue of Organizing

The no-union vote measured by NLRB representation elections or by valid votes cast has been higher within the last four years than it has ever been; or conversely that union vote is lower than it has ever been. [12] This may mean in part that those firms that are still unorganized are harder to organize and therefore the lower union batting average. However discounted, the record is not good.

On the optimistic side, to deal with the issue of inter-union rivalry the AFL-CIO has undertaken a coordinated "pilot organizing drive" in Los Angeles based on "cooperation from normally competing affiliates." [13] The

Industrial Union Department has sponsored similar programs.

There have been major organizing victories by affiliated unions among New York City teachers and New York State telephone employees. The Retail Clerks, the American Federation of Government Employees, and the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees are in bouyant organizing situations - the latter two attributable to the upsurge of collective bargaining in public employment.

In general, however, the union attitude toward organizing is one of pessimism and the themes which recur in this pessimistic outlook may be summarized thus: (1) the lack of a genuine union will to organize - the possibility that Perlman's observation in the 1920's, "the psychology of a big majority of leaders today [is] a curious blending of defeatism with complacency," [14] is true for the 1950's and 1960's; (2) systematic anti-union militancy by management abetted by the "free speech" provisions of the Taft-Hartley law; (3) the management technique of providing the economic equivalent of unionism; (4) the difficulty in organizing small companies; (5) the indifference of the white collar worker; (6) inter-union rivalry.

There have been some scattered union attempts to be thoughtful about the organizing problem. Most of the self-questioning has been directed at the unions' performance in the white-collar and professional field. Does the feeling of separateness of the white-collar worker require special structural forms characterized by clear identification of the white-collar and professional character of the organizations? On the same count do the traditional union objections to merit rating and other individualistic work standards need to be reviewed?

The white-collar experience is causing some to reexamine traditional organizing appeals not only in relation to white-collar workers but in relation to unorganized workers generally. Are the appeals which worked in the evangelical days of unionism - the appeal to the "empty stomach" and the attacks

on profit-greedy employers - still effective in the "affluent" society, particularly since management is making an all-out effort to be admired by its employees and thus keep the union out? Does the long-run educational campaign have to replace the classic "blitz" campaign which is still the dominant image of the organizing process?

Still other questions are being asked about organizing techniques: has the day of the "outside" union organizer passed? Union executives responsible for organizing strategy are wondering whether an organizing campaign can succeed unless it is manned and carried through by authentic "insiders." There have been experiences in which the affiliated union has been able to win over to its side the leaders of the "independent" union, only to find that the leaders were deserted by their followers in the subsequent NLRB election.

Some are questioning the anti-business tone of union propaganda. Is its net effect to alienate new union recruits, who generally think their employer is more powerful than the union? Some unions have even gone so far as to use a formal survey technique to gauge the impact of propaganda on their prospects.

There has been an enormous union output of organizing manuals and organizing literature. Administratively, some unions have centralized organizing responsibility in a particular department and, as we have noted, the idea of "coordinated organizing" is frequently discussed. In a few instances preliminary starts have been made.

It is just possible that the failure to sustain new organizing at this juncture is not due to any defect in technique or conception at all; simply that the objective circumstances are proof against any effort. If the organizing issue is to be confronted candidly it will have to address itself to these problems, among others: (1) Organizing in the field is a young man's job. How do you get and train young men (and, very importantly, women) to subject themselves to the brutal regimen of the organizer, under the best of circumstances? (2) A continuing organizing effort requires a major long-run capital

investment before - if ever - the investment is recaptured. (3) Organizing as a function calls for skilled direction, systematic training of the organizing manpower, and the use of survey techniques.

In the past union leadership could function from a sense of outrage against injustice and be supported by a sympathetic Federal administration and by a sympathetic intellectual middle class. This situation was coupled with an optimistic assessment of the economy's ability to produce the essential improvements in the worker's situation.

The temper of the times has changed; the union is no longer regarded as underdog and so its excesses are not forgiven as readily. The economic atmosphere is pessimistic or at best uneven. The net effect is that outrage as the dominant mood of the union thrust must, I believe, be modified now to include analysis and reflection - and this is never an easy transition to make.

What is a source of strength for one leadership purpose can become a source of weakness for another purpose. The union leader's stress on realistic and practical outcomes which has produced significant improvements in the worker's condition has, I think, also weakened the union leader's capacity to generalize and reflect in any competent way at more than one remove from his immediate situation. With few exceptions he has difficulty finding a middle ground between self-serving congratulations or indignation on the one extreme and ponderous banalities on the other. Union leadership has almost no intellectually organized insight as to what it is doing and why. Nor is this regarded as a problem by union leaders.

I hope that this is not an anguished cry from an intellectual to labor leaders - why can't labor leaders be more like intellectuals - nor is this a plea for a union ideology or mystique. What <u>is</u> involved here first is a capacity for generalized and reflictive thinking which is needed to assess the course of union policy in the new shape of industrial relations events

and to give perspective and direction to the membership. Secondly, to an unprecedented degree the purposes of trade unionism have to be made intelligible to a series of disinterested publics (not altogether excluding union members) who, in general, accept but do not understand the function of unionism. Union leadership must take on this task of interpreting unionism from direct experience rather than leaving the field almost exclusively to the union-sympathetic or union-employed intellectual.

The inability of the union leader to move from outrage to analysis is not altogether - nor even in the largest part - due to an internal demon of his own making. The fact is, I believe, that except for a few sporting examples the management community has never publicly acknowledged the existence of the union in a constructive context, even where the relationship in fact has been constructive.

The public generally accepts the function of the union but it is a grudging, complaining acceptance. The sad thing about the criticism of the union in the community is not that criticism exists, but the poverty of the criticism. There is an underlying middle-class snobbishness in the public view of the union's place in the society that feeds the union outrage reaction. One day we will talk not only about the union's responsibility to the public but also about the public's responsibility to the union as an indispensable adjunct of our free society. [15]

1. Arthur J. Goldberg, Address before the National Academy of Arbitrators, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, January 26, 1962 (US Department of Labor Release, USDL--5015, January 27, 1962), p. 10-11.

2. George W. Taylor, "Collective Bargaining," in Automation and Technological Change, John T. Dunlop, ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962), The American Assembly, Columbia University, p. 87.

3. Economic Report of the President, January 1962, p. 185 ff.

4. Arthur J. Goldberg, Address before the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, May 14, 1962 (US Department of Labor Release 5208).

5. Erik Lundberg, quoted in William Gomberg, "The Future of Collective Bargaining," The Nation, January 20, 1962, p. 57.

6. B. W. Lewis in Economic Report of the President, Hearings, Joint Economic Committee, U.S. Congress, January 1962, pp. 377-378.

7. Ibid.

8. Lincoln Fairley, "The ILWU-PMA Mechanization and Modernization Agreement," Industrial Relations Research Association Proceedings, 1961, in Labor Law Journal, July 1961, p. 667.

9. George W. Taylor, op. cit., p. 101.

10. William Gomberg, "The Job as Property," The Nation, November 26, 1960.

11. Economic Report of the President, op. cit., p. 185.

12. A convenient summary table can be found in "Collective Bargaining and the American Economy," Saturday Review of Literature, January 13, 1962, p. 30.

13. AFL-CIO News, November 17, 1962, p. 1.

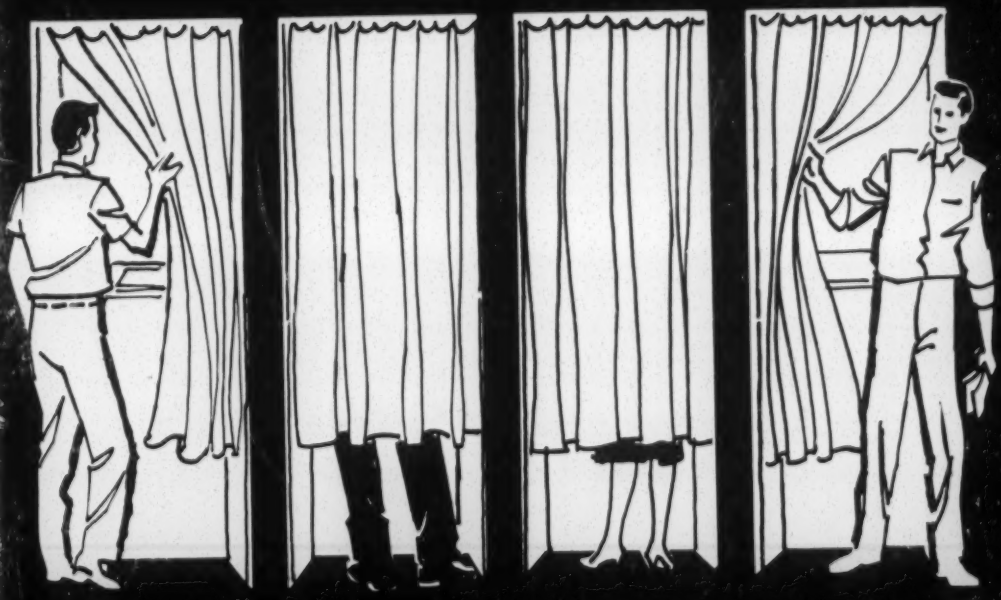
14. Selig Perlman, A Theory of the Labor Movement (New York: Macmillan, 1928, p. 232.

15. Some of the thoughts in this paper are treated in more detail in other things I have written. See: "Union Response to the 'Hard Line,'" Industrial Relations, University of California, October 1961; "Leadership Within the Union," Challenges to Labor Education in the 60's, National Institute of Labor Education, Washington, D.C.; Labor's Grass Roots (New York: Harper's, 1961) Ch. 10,11; "The Impact of Technology on Labor-Management Relations," in the forthcoming IRRA volume, Adjustments to Technological Change.

Revised June 1964

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Labor-Management Services Administration
Technical Assistance Aid No. 5

ELECTING UNION OFFICERS



IAM EDUCATION
BULLETIN
Education Department, Machinists Building, 1300 Connecticut Avenue, Washington 6, D. C.

Special Bulletin No. 10

Labor Ed
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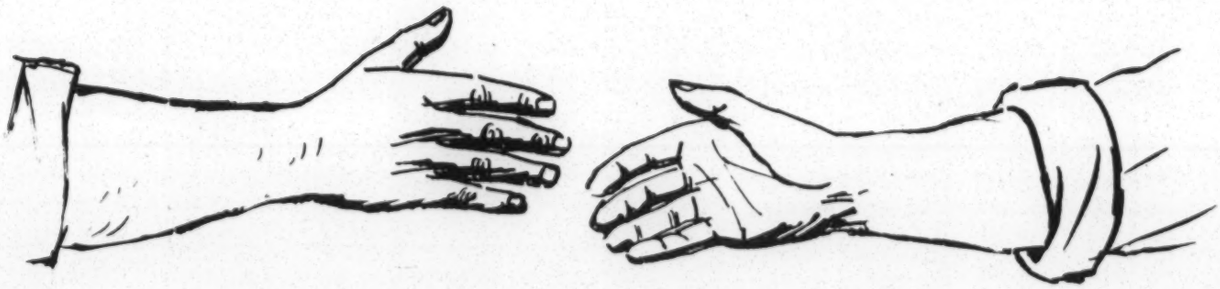
HOW TO SIGN UP NON-MEMBERS — IN PLANT ORGANIZING —



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1/65

Nixon Administration

WALL STREET JOURNAL JAN 21

Call for Volunteers

Nixon Plans to Foster Private-Group Attacks On Big Social Problems

Aides Advocate TV Appeals, A White House 'E' Award, Call Business' Role Basic

Following an FDR Example

By ALAN L. OTTEN
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Some things Richard Nixon hopes to make characteristic of American life during his Administration:

More companies offering after-hour reading and writing courses to their ill-schooled workers. More college students spending free time tutoring kids in nearby ghetto schools. More housewives shopping and cooking for elderly shut-ins. More business executives putting in extra hours to show Negroes how to run their own businesses.

These and scores of other grass-roots volunteer efforts will get a powerful White House push in coming months. Companies, trade associations, churches, unions, foundations, fraternal and service organizations, universities, PTAs and other community groups will be invited to help solve social problems, and ordinary individuals will be asked to act on their desires to make personal contributions toward a better America.

Inaugural Comments

"We are approaching the limits of what Government alone can do," Mr. Nixon said yesterday in his inaugural address. "Our greatest need now is to reach beyond Government, to enlist the legions of the concerned and the committed." He added that "to match the magnitude of our tasks, we need the energies of our people—enlisted not only in grand enterprises, but more importantly in those small, splendid efforts that make headlines in the neighborhood newspaper instead of the national journal." (See story on page 2.)

This determination to promote wider volunteer effort will, according to aides of the new President, show itself in these ways:

—Cabinet members will be directed to stress greater volunteer contributions in their special fields. Three already have shown enthusiasm for such efforts. Housing and Urban Development Secretary George Romney pushed a number of volunteer schemes as governor of Michigan; Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Robert Finch made the idea a major theme of his 1966 campaign for lieutenant governor of California and has co-authored a paperback urging wider volunteer effort; and Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans has indicated he is ready to push hard on business groups, which many experts think must make the biggest contribution of all.

—Mr. Nixon will plug the effort in television addresses and other appearances. He'll enlist the support of governors and mayors, business and civic leaders; invite groups to the White House to kick off new volunteer efforts and urge the mass media to publicize interesting volunteer projects. "Look what FDR did for the March of Dimes," one aide comments.

Role for a Computer

—A small White House office probably will be set up to stimulate the volunteer drive. It will serve as a computerized clearing-house, storing information on what volunteer groups are doing to cope with social problems in different parts of the country and feeding the facts to other areas where the solution can be copied or adapted.

—The President probably will set up some special reward—a periodic White House ceremony or a special insignia like the wartime E for excellent production—for individuals or organizations making an unusually large or imaginative contribution.

"The goal," says a Nixon adviser, "should be near-universal individual involvement in helping to solve the nation's pressing social problems."

One specific idea is to set up a youth volunteer agency that would combine the Peace Corps, the present Teacher Corps, a new Student teacher corps enlisting college and high-school students part-time, the VISTA slum-improvement workers and other youth service programs. Some Nixon men see high promise in getting big-city college faculty and students more deeply engaged in urban problems—by serving as think tanks to dream up solutions or working as interns in local government or tutoring slum children.

Enlisting Management Consultants

Some Nixonites also would like to get businesses to pool their efforts through trade associations. Management consulting firms might design and test a system to reduce hospital costs, they add, and defense and space contractors might agree to commit a small percentage of their research and development budgets to attacking social problems such as crime or drug addiction.

Individual and group volunteer work could be particularly helpful now, when Federal, state and local tax dollars for government-financed welfare programs are scarce. But the Nixon commitment to voluntary action seems more than a budget-balancing device. It fits Republican doctrine of trying to improve American society without big new government programs. It also fits Mr. Nixon's personal feeling—stemming, perhaps, from his Quaker background—that voluntary action is the traditional American way of solving problems, and that millions of Americans want to help but don't know how to go about it.

"I'm not sure why he believes in it so deeply," says one of Mr. Nixon's advisers. "But he does, and so does Romney, Finch and a lot of others. Two of the speechwriters—Ray Price and Jim Keogh—were writing about this long before they joined the campaign staff."

Broader citizen participation, indeed, is being urged not only by conservatives but by many liberals. They have concluded that one reason for frustration and unrest among intellectuals, young people and other Americans is that they have lost the sense of challenge and individual involvement in community problems.

The individual, said former Kennedy-Johnson speechwriter Richard Goodwin in a recent magazine article, must have a chance to "participate in the important enterprises of our society, from working in the underdeveloped world to improving the life of the ghettos. If citizens are to find a purpose beyond their daily lives, it will come from having a personal share in important public causes, and the causes must be large and worthy enough to tap moral will and energy."

Even the strongest advocates of voluntary action caution against exaggerating its potential. Says one Nixon man: "The thing about voluntary action is that it is voluntary—and that means you simply can't really do a very good job trying to channel and direct it."

Political attempts to encourage volunteer effort nevertheless have been increasing for some time. Many members of Congress have been adopting it in one form or another in their own proposals for meeting social problems; the late Robert Kennedy's program for rehabilitating the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, for instance, involves considerable extra effort by businesses and private groups. The Johnson Administration bore down heavily on "wider involvement of the private business sector" in some of its efforts, such as the life insurance industry pledge to invest up to $1 billion in ghetto housing and factories.

Mr. Nixon has been talking about voluntary action in his campaign, too. There were important "volunteer" ingredients in his proposals on black capitalism and youth involvement, and one of his major radio addresses was devoted to "the voluntary way." In that talk Mr. Nixon estimated that there are more than one million volunteer organizations in America—churches, foundation, welfare agencies, fraternal and service organizations and the like. He then cited a Gallup Poll finding that 61 million adult Americans would be willing to contribute 245 million man-hours a week to voluntary activities.

A Pledge of Recognition

"In a Nixon Administration," he promised, "there will be a new measure of reliance on voluntary efforts, and a new level of official public recognition of their immense contribution to the betterment of life in America."

To make this pledge come true, Leonard Garment, a Nixon law partner who became a campaign adviser, has been assigned to study and think about volunteer activities. One of the 22 Nixon task forces set up after the election also was devoted to voluntary action. It was headed by Richard Cornuelle, a leading popularizer of the idea and co-author of the book with Mr. Finch.

The fifteen other task force members included such liberals as Mr. Goodwin and Irving Kristol, executive vice president of Basic Books Inc., along with National Association of Manufacturers Vice President Wright Elliott, Readers Digest Executive Committee Chairman Albert Cole, and Louis Nunez, executive director of Aspira, an agency that helps high school students of Puerto Rican extraction get into college.

The task force met early this month in New York with Secretaries Finch, Romney and Stans and White House urbanologist Daniel P. Moynihan. Though endorsing, with surprising unanimity, the idea of Government encouragement of volunteer effort, it split sharply over whether tax incentives should be offered to stimulate this activity.

The Cornuelle-Finch book argues for a wide range of stimulants such as tax credits and faster depreciation for business firms setting up plants in ghettos, unlimited deduction of charitable contributions by individuals, tax reductions for people who permit their land to be used for public recreation and special deductions for the value of time donated by old people working as volunteers on social projects. During the campaign, Mr. Nixon pledged a number of similar incentives.

But one task force member contends that "tax incentives are not voluntary action." He maintains that they use "traditional market mechanisms to achieve voluntary goals. Tax incentives tend not to work anyhow unless they're really massive, and then you have a huge revenue loss."

Actually, when the aficionados talk of voluntary action (or sometimes the independent sector) they're really talking of two different types of activity.

Business Projects

One type involves companies carrying on social projects in a normal or nearly-normal business capacity. Examples include building-materials makers experimenting with new types of low-cost slum rehabilitation, banks lending to Negro businesses on slightly easier than normal terms and employers training the hard-core unemployed for jobs with their own companies. Also included might be such an innovation as a Chrysler Corp. agreement to keep part of its funds in ghetto banks, so that the deposits can be used as the basis for loans to Negro-owned businesses.

The second major thrust would embrace a whole range of voluntary activities by nonbusiness groups, such as fraternal organizations or church auxiliaries or individuals. It also would include certain nonbusiness activities of businesses and businessmen: Young executives devoting one night a week to training Negro businessmen, or an industrial plant "adopting" a nearby ghetto school, or employers giving sparetime reading and writing courses to their ill-educated workers.

"We are talking both," a Nixon man asserts. "But certainly business involvement is basic. That is the place to start. They are organized, they're ready to go. You can reach the big guys, and it fans out to the smaller."

WASHINGTON POST JAN 20

Lack of Negro Post-Graduates Laid to Job Gains

By Richard M. Cohen
Washington Post Staff Writer

A month ago David Reisman, author of "The Lonely Crowd" and a sociologist with a deep and sometimes critical interest in education, sat on a hotel couch here, shook his head back and forth and spoke softly and despondently about the dearth of black Americans in graduate schools.

Reisman blamed the situation partly on the efforts industry is making to recruit Negroes with college educations.

"The pressure on the black student is enormous," Reisman said. "He can get such a good job in industry. They take kids 24 years old and put them in charge of programs."

Now the Ford Foundation has completed a survey on the number of blacks in graduate school and the findings justify Reisman's pessimism.

Less than 2 per cent of the total enrollment in graduate schools of arts and sciences is black, the Foundation reported. And less than 1 per cent—0.78, to be precise—of all Ph.D.'s awarded went to blacks. Negroes comprise 11.5 per cent of the total population.

"Nothing less than massive, concerted and sustained efforts by the universities," wrote Fred E. Crossland, who directed the study for Ford's Office of Special Projects, "will bring about graduate enrollment parity for black Americans within a decade."

The Ford survey, which relied on estimates provided by administrators at 105 graduate schools of arts and sciences (most schools do not keep records on the racial composition of a class), found that while the total number of blacks receiving doctorates has increased, the percentage has not.

The lack of a positive trend—if anything, the percentage has slipped from a 1966-67 high of 0.83—has college administrators worried. They are worried because it comes in the face of an enormous increase in the number of blacks attending college in general.

There are now more than 400,000 black undergraduates. They represent about 6 per cent of the college population and their numbers have increased dramatically in the last two years alone. Based on projections made two years ago by the Census Bureau, there are now 100,000 more black students than anticipated. Clearly the recruiting efforts of predominantly white schools have begun to pay off.

But not in graduate school. And while several factors are involved, a principal reason is the very civil rights revolution that spurred the industry recruitment that Reisman mentioned.

"They're breaking their necks to get to these schools," an official of the College Placement Service said of industry's attempt to hire the graduates of Negro colleges. The Placement Service supported by the Ford Foundation, provides Negro colleges with career counseling.

But industry recruitment, at best, is only part of the story. "At various points along the line there are sieves," said Crossland in an interview. "The percentages change along the line. Of those who finish grammar school the black percentage in the school population may be down to 10. At the end of high school, the percentage may be 9. In college the percentage slips to about 5 and of college graduates not more than 3 per cent are black."

Continued on Page 5

CHICAGO TRIBUNE JAN 18

Project Job Needs with New Method

Results of a new method of projecting occupational employment in the 1970s using research techniques have been reported by the Illinois State Employment Service.

The method was developed by the service in cooperation with William Himmelbauer of the graduate school of Business, University of Chicago.

For instance, in 1975, sizable decreases in the number of persons to be employed in agriculture, mining, construction, manufacturing, transportation, communications, and public utilities are forecast by the service based on their findings.

Training for Jobs

On the other hand, more jobs will be available in trade, finance, services, and public administration. In general, by 1975, the survey showed that jobs in which extensive and moderate amounts of training will increase and occupations requiring little or no training will decrease.

There will be a high employer demand in 1975 for workers in three occupational areas. Among the professional and technical jobs, the most acute shortages will be in the health field: Registered nurses, licensed practical nurses, medical laboratory technicians.

There will be more than 57,000 jobs for registered nurses in Illinois in 1975, reflecting the rapid growth and expansion of medical and health care in the last few years, the survey reported.

Clerical positions will increase more than 42 per cent by 1975. This includes typists, stenographers, secretaries, and office machine operators.

Jobs for 687,000

In the third category, service occupations, there will be jobs for 687,000 persons in Illinois. At least three jobs require vocational training in this area: Restaurant cooks, nurse and other hospital aids, and barbers and beauty operators.

As continuing research reveals an occupation is on the wane, Samuel C. Bernstein, employment security administrator of the I.S.E.S said, it should be systematically phased out of the curricula and new ones added to anticipate peak employer demand.

"There also must be greater penetration by vocational training into the inner city, where a major pool of future applicants for employment now lives and where the need for job training is greatest," Bernstein said.

WASHINGTON POST JAN 21

Cleaning Jobs Scarce For Alexandria Group

By Maurine McLaughlin
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Alexandria branch of the Urban League is having trouble lining up jobs for participants in its program to train workers to run a cooperative cleaning service.

"Our most outstanding problem is selling our services," Ernest (Pete) Ward, branch director, said yesterday. "We have appealed to American Telephone & Telegraph Co. for some free expertise in how to develop the market and it is going to give us some advice."

The program, called SURGE, which stands for Services United for Responsible and Gainful Employment, got under way last July funded by $400,000 in Federal funds for a two-year period.

According to Ward, the objective is to curb "exploitation" of Northern Virginia domestic workers.

SURGE participants are trained in cleaning methods and guaranteed pay at the Federal minimum wage of $1.75 per hour for 40 hours a week plus free transportation and fringe benefits.

After being trained, they are bonded and sent out in pairs on cleaning jobs, which so far have been limited to Alexandria apartment houses.

At present not enough jobs have been found to keep the workers, all women, busy eight hours a day, Ward said. SURGE now has 18 workers, who put in about six hours a day, and seven other workers in training.

Earlier this month, Ward said, another problem was solved when the Urban League arranged to pay the workers itself. Previously they had been paid by the Virginia State Employment Commission, which administers the Federal funds, and complaints had arisen over delays in receiving pay checks.

Before the Federal grant expires, the League will help the workers form their own cooperative to take over the cleaning service. Persons who hire the service pay $7 a day and up depending on the size of the apartment to be cleaned.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR JAN 2

Job-training bill pushed

By the Associated Press

Washington

Rep. Charles E. Bennett (D) of Florida and 36 cosponsors have introduced a bill in the House providing tax credits to businesses that train hard-core unemployed.

BUILDING THE UNION

By William L. Abbott,
Education Director,
United Rubber Workers,
AFL-CIO, CLC

* Through individual needs
* Through social needs
* Through more effective thinking
* Through better communication

THE UNION MUST MEET CHANGING HUMAN NEEDS

"Working people do not hunger for the same things they did 25 years ago or even 15 years ago. We need to determine and evaluate present desires."

editorial in OCAW UNION NEWS

Modern students of the human personality show that the proper study of mankind is the whole man, many-faceted, complex, fascinating.

Let us follow the reasoning of A. H. Maslow, the motivational psychologist, who lists five fundamental human needs:

1. Physiological Needs. These are needs of the body. Examples: hunger, thirst, sex.

2. Safety Needs. These are the needs of survival. Examples: prevention of illness or injury.

3. Love Needs. These are the social needs. Examples: the need to belong, to find a place within the group, the need of friends, husband or wife.

4. Esteem Needs. Needs of the individual personality. Examples: self-respect, approval of others, achievement, recognition, freedom.

5. Self-actualization. Needs of the human spirit. Examples: justifying one's existence on earth, being the whole man, the best possible use of one's capabilities.

When a man satisfies his body needs, he moves on to attempt to satisfy his safety needs. He keeps moving up the scale of needs until he reaches the final need of "self-actualization" where he begins to really live and to develop his resources.

But each need must be met. Maslow says: "for the chronically and extremely hungry man, Utopia can be defined simply as a place where there is plenty of food. Life itself tends to be defined in terms of eating."

HOW THE UNION CAN MEET HUMAN NEEDS

Physiological Needs

In the 1880's Chicago doctors pronounced the average worker "dwarfed" because his diet was close to starvation. Unions meant food and later they meant meat on the table instead of mush.

Today, recreation is a mental and body need the union can satisfy through bowling, ball teams and other activities. There should be a Recreation Committee in the local union.

Safety Needs

Before the union children went to work dank mines or lint-loaded mills. They died an early death either through bad lungs or accidents. Union Safety Committees are changing all this. Too, union negotiated pension and hospitalization plans give members a vital form of protection.

The "union counsellor" can give union members advice on where to go to get help to solve their outside-the-plant problems. Thus, a Community Services Committee is fast becoming a necessity for a local union because of a changing need.

Social Needs

A social committee should do all it can to create a friendly atmosphere. A Ladies' Auxiliary can create a homey atmosphere by serving food and coffee after meetings and thinking up social events.

Why not a social room in the union hall where friends can meet and perhaps shoot a round of pool? Remember, the union hall can be used to show people on pension that the union has not forgotten them. The union should also show youth that it is looking their way. There should be a Pensioner's Club and a Youth Club.

Esteem Needs

The most important person in the union structure is the unpaid, unsung shop steward. He or she is the cord that binds the union together. Stewards should be honored at least once a year with a banquet to let them know the union appreciates their dedicated efforts.

A "steward of the month" feature in the local union paper would help greatly. Members who are outstanding in some field of endeavor should be written up and recognized. The local union

should also try to encourage its members to take part in community activities to give labor in general more recognition. A Public Relations Committee and a Fair Practices Committee can do much to satisfy these needs.

Self-actualization Needs

Are union goals sharply enough defined to convince members that they are fighting for a just and worth-while cause? An Education Committee can not only define goals but can arrange education programs and even art exhibits, for why not show off the talents of the membership?

Will success spoil the union by so changing the needs of members that unionism will have little meaning for them?

An increasing need is what to do with one's spare time? Moonlight? The union usually frowns upon such an activity. But could not the union promote hobbies and new interests which could substitute for moonlighting?

Many of the new needs of the modern worker are leisure time needs and to quite a few workers this has become a problem. According to Dr. A. R. Martin, chairman of the American Psychiatric Association's Committee on Leisure, free time can bring about low morale, feelings of guilt about wasting time, anxiety, depression, and even suicidal tendencies.

Relate to type of industry

If the union negotiates shorter hours and longer vacations, it has a responsibility to seriously consider the leisure time problem it and automation are creating.

Sociologists David Riesman and Warner Bloomburg, Jr., asked: "Are we coming to an era when workers have all the housing they care for and can no longer pour their energies into home-building? When possessions no longer lure them, when travel palls?

The new era is not far-distant according to British scientist Arthur C. Clarke: "There are no routine, noncreative activities of the human mind which cannot be carried out by suitably designed machines." He said that electronics will "ultimately separate men from their jobs."

Can the union rise to the challenge? As the need for self-actualization looms larger every year, unions must increase education, recreation, community services, and other programs. If unions cling to their old job-centered ways, they could well lose out to organizations equipped to satisfy the real and changed needs of workers.

Yet, what a future for unionism if it does change its orientation. Unions could play an important role in developing the whole man and they could give his life purpose and direction.

THE UNION AS A VITAL GROUP

In a discussion of "Trade Unions in the Welfare State as Seen by Their Members," M. Van De Vall, University of Utrecht, Netherlands, said, "the structure of the union members' needs is undergoing a change; there is less desire for all-around improvement than for individual advantages." He said the labor movement was "having difficulty adopting itself to these changing needs."

Youth saw the union in terms of individual needs and the image of the union was becoming blurred because the government was taking over so many welfare functions which were formerly identified as union goals. Whether the welfare state be Dutch or American the problem for unions is universal.

Unionism may well be on the downgrade if we do not heed Professor Van De Vall's suggestion: "the only effective solution would be to make union activities once more a part of the daily experience of the individual worker."

This is why the study of the union as a group becomes so important.

THE NATURE OF GROUPS

A group consists of interacting individuals who share activities, goals, values, beliefs, and patterns of action. They have common motives.

Why do people join groups? According to Hubert Bonner, author of "Group Dynamics," some people join groups to influence, lead or persuade others. Also, "being a social animal, man derives satisfaction from belongingness as such."

A survey of New England rubber workers, for example, showed a high number of union leaders drawn into activity because they wanted to influence the local (change its policies) or because of their social milieu. (They became active because of their family, friends or union social activities.)

Another reason why people join groups is that there is no other way to perform certain activities without a group. There would be no effective way to protest an injustice in the plant, for example, other than being a member of a union.

The group fulfills needs of the individual such as self-actualization, self-expression, recognition for individual abilities and skills.

The individual gives up a certain amount of his freedom when he accepts the "group norm." He adheres to the standards of the group. For example, in a work situation a "rate-buster" deviates from the group standards and is ostracized.

Groups are organized into a "functional hierarchy." People have roles to play. There is the expediter, the harmonizer, the dominator. What counts is the contribution of the member toward the achievement of the group goal.

Groups are also "ethnocentric"; there is a homogeneity about the members of the group which keeps them together. They are an "in-group" rejecting the "out-group." In a factory situation the union would be the workers' in-group while the foreman would be a member of the out-group. Because of the nature of the roles worker and foreman play, there is little physical distance between them, but much "social distance" often separates them.

MAINTAINING GROUP SOLIDARITY

Group solidarity is built through the following mechanisms:

1. Shared Norms. Certain standards of behavior are expected by members of the union. Those who violate the norms are expelled or punished in some way.

2. Morale. The identification of yourself with the cause of other people, a feeling of belonging together. The French term "esprit de corps" suggests a group mystique which gives its members the strength to persevere even in the face of impending calamity. It is the emotional involvement of a person in the group's goals, a team spirit.

3. Good Leadership. A leader both controls his group and is controlled by it. According to Bonner it is "the interaction between the total personality of the leader and the dynamic social situation in which he has his being." He is out in front but not too much so.

   An effective leader perceives group goals and functions and he devises ways of getting the group to its goal. He has more insight into the problem than others and he initiates more action than others to work the problem out. He must, however, share his activity with the group.

4. Group Attractiveness. The more attractive the group is to its members, the better its solidarity.

5. Effective Communication. The better the communication, the more cohesive the group. Why communication

6. Visible Goals. There must be some reason for the existence of a group. This is the existence of goals and the group is cohesive and dynamic in the relation to the clarity of the goals.

Group disruption is caused by the following factors:

1. Factionalism. Bitter factions with back-stabbing and intense intra-group hostility both divides and tends to paralyze a local union.

2. Giving Vent to Your Aggressions. Gossip, scapegoating, blaming others for your own faults are all divisive tactics in a group.

3. Escape from the Problem. If the problem seems tough, you run away from it instead of trying to solve it.

4. Disorganization. The group's morale breaks up when every member starts blaming every other member for the group's failures. The communication system breaks down. People feel isolated. This could be accompanied by a mass paranoia where members feel that everyone everywhere is "the enemy."

BUILDING THE UNION

Psychologist John Frederick Dashiell put the matter this way: "It can be fairly said that the problem of problems in the motivating of human beings is in the establishment and maintaining of morale."

Morale is the central union problem of today.

Remember, a union is still primarily a voluntary organization. The International Representative, the Business Agent, the President may be paid full time, but generally this is about all. One man cannot run a local union; it takes many people and many minds.

How is the local going to motivate the unpaid shop steward, the member of the committee, the unpaid officer? These people are the heart of the union; if the heart stops beating, the organism dies.

Dashiell examines morale which moves people into action. Good morale enables them to expend a greater amount of energy in more tenacious ways. Such ways are both more constructive and more concerted and they are reinforced by an emotional condition called "zest" or "hope" or "confidence."

Good physical health, confidence that one's cause is just, recreation, and "idealizing" one's cause are key elements in good morale.

The union member must know the goals of the union and have confidence in these goals, the union, and the leadership.

Here are some necessary steps for unions to take:

1. Have the Executive Board sit down at least once a year for a think session to redefine the goals of the union. Does the membership want different things? Has their attitude changed? What new goals has the international union developed to help the local? Is the leadership communicating new goals to the members?

2. Plan a short-range and a long-range program. The way to build confidence is to know yourself where you are going and to let others know you know where you are going.

3. Consider the disruptive facets in your local. The Education Committee, for example, can plan programs to help members creatively solve problems instead of running away from them.

4. Make members feel they are playing on the team instead of sitting on the bench. Good leadership delegates responsibility. Nothing is more demoralizing than an officer who tells an enthusiastic member, "No, we don't want you to try to do this thing." Such a statement creates inactive and even antagonistic members. If the thing the member wants to do will truly hurt the group, he can be tactfully steered into more socially-approved activity.

5. Idealize the union cause through programs which teach the history, goals, and traditions of labor and the local union.

   (a) Conduct a new member program. Historical films provide interesting content. Give each member a brief book on the history of labor and one on the history of the local.

   (b) Make the initiation of the new member a dignified one.

   (c) Talk up new labor and social ideas in the shop. Use your union paper, newsletter, and pamphlets.

   (d) See that the schools in your community teach children something about labor's history. Offer to provide schools and public libraries with union publications. Offer to speak to school classes. The Education Committee can undertake this activity.

   (e) Speak up. The image we want to create is an idealistic force doing battle for social justice, equality, and democracy. You don't fight by lying down and playing dead when attacked. When unions, when the poor, the oppressed, the unfortunate are under attack, the union must fight back through statements, letters, radio programs, literature, speeches to community groups, and, best of all, by offering positive programs.

6. Build the union through activities.

   Activity breeds activity. For want of a better name we shall call this principle "activism." A local which is alive has activity to offer its members.

   Another principle is that every member does not have the same interests. Therefore, a good local varies its activities to attract more members.

AFL-CIO's Community Services Activities illustrates the fact that people who never displayed any particular leadership in the union suddenly blossomed out into good leaders when it came to helping people with their outside-the-plant problems.

Many modern labor thinkers believe that non-job-related activities will supplant what are today called "bread-and-butter activities." The local union of tomorrow will be paying much more attention to community services, recreation, and education.

Creating more activities therefore becomes vital if the union is to have any meaning for the member. This is what Professor Van De Vall undoubtedly meant when he said union activities had to be made part of the worker's daily life experience.

Union activities should include handling on-the-job problems (Grievance Committees, stewards' meetings), general union problems (Education Committees), social and recreation problems (Recreation Committees), political and legislative problems (COPE or New Democratic Party in Canada), and internal and external communications (Public Relations and Community Services Committees).

HOW WE THINK

A California trade school says it "socially engineers" its graduates so they become "custom built men guaranteed to have the right attitudes from the employer's standpoint."

Would-be manipulators of the human mind, using modern psychological techniques, claim they can tell people what to like, what to think, and what to believe.

Time Magazine quoted Curtiss R. Schafer of Norden-Ketay Corp., who explored the future of biocontrol:

"The ultimate achievement of biocontrol may be the control of man himself... The controlled subjects would never be permitted to think as individuals. A few months after birth, a surgeon would equip each child with a socket mounted under the scalp and electrodes reaching selected areas of brain tissue... The child's sensory perceptions and muscular activity could either be modified or completely controlled by bioelectric signals radiating from state controlled transmitters."

Already, thought manipulators are starting to influence little children. "Children are living, talking records of what we tell them everyday," according to TV star Herb Sheldon.

Vance Packard wrote an authoritative book on the "Hidden Persuaders" operating below our level of consciousness. Ice cream ads were flashed upon a cinema screen, too brief for the audience to recognize them, but long enough to be absorbed subconsciously. The ads increased ice cream sales.

We think not only consciously but subconsciously through our prejudices and emotions. At a still more primeval level we think through instinct of which we are not even aware.

We can be fooled: A 14¢ item in a supermarket wasn't selling. Two were then offered for the "bargain price" of 29¢. Sales immediately went up.

People often react emotionally and compulsively in making political decisions. The "switch voter," according to one specialist, "switches for some snotty little reason such as not liking the candidate's wife."

WHY WE DON'T ALWAYS THINK RATIONALLY

Generalizing

Walter Lippmann said, "the attempt to see all things freshly and in detail rather than as types or generalities is exhausting." We cannot rationally analyze every person we meet or every situation in which we find ourselves placed.

We generalize or type or stereotype. We fit people into convenient mental slots. We often take a single trait in a person we see and then generalize this one trait into a stereotype.

We preconceive things: we imagine things before we actually see them. Very few have ever met an Eskimo but we all have an Eskimo stereotype in mind.

We pick our leaders this way. We cannot intelligently analyze all the candidates on a long ballot. We are asked to choose a Congressman, a state assemblyman, a state and county treasurer, a judge to the Supreme Court, a municipal judge, a coroner, an auditor, a sheriff, a county supervisor. How to choose? If we are Democrats, the tendency is to make up for any shortcomings the Democratic candidate may have by use of the "halo effect." We ascribe to this person all the attributes we feel a good candidate should have simply because of one trait - his political label. For all the Democrats knew, or cared, the Republican may have had superior personal qualities.

Symbols

We therefore think as an artist does when he wants to paint a picture. We use symbols which we paint on our mind as an artist applies symbols to the canvas.

Symbols unite people. Language is a collection of word symbols. We become united with others when we identify with a symbol like "American," "Christian" or "union." The social thinker Harold D. Lasswell calls this "multiple identification."

Take the problem of being a "Canadian." Multiple identification, Lasswell says, is "the inclusion of persons within a field of reference who are beyond the face to face experience of any one person." This would include the dead heroes who built Canada.

Canada speaks both English and French, and French-speaking Canadians feel they have been discriminated against. They wish to reassert themselves and their culture. Now they have to make a value judgment as to where their primary loyalty lies: in being an integrated Canadian first or a separate French-Canadian first?

Citizens of the state of Mississippi have a similar value judgment to make: Is Mississippi or the United States most important to them when the two loyalties come into conflict?

Values

"Most human endeavors are guided not by learned motives, but by learned values," says psychologist George A. Miller. Our values move us to action.

Miller says we are constantly being put into situations where we have to make a choice. We like to smoke, but we know it is not healthy for us to do so. Which is our greatest value? Money is important, but on occasion we may blow it all on something which, at the time, seems more important.

When the AFL-CIO expelled a number of unions for questionable practices, it tried to spell out a value system to help guide unionists in their everyday decisions. Is unionism a business or a social cause? The way unionists answer this question generally determines how they behave, how they conduct their affairs in the union, and even how they vote politically.

Notice the use of symbols in describing two different types of unionism.

Try out on the groups if level seems sufficient

"Business" can connote "efficiency," "respectability," "practicality," "success with money" or it can connote "amorality," "lack of understanding of people," "anti-democracy," "no idealism."

"Social" can connote "wild-eyed visionary," "radical agitator," "un-American," "fuzzy-brained egghead" or it can connote "people before profits," "a man with a warm heart and clear vision," "doing what's best for humanity."

You interpret these symbols through your own system of values.

Cultural Lag

A cultural lag is horse and buggy thinking in a space age.

Are unionists guilty of such a lag? In former times the employer, local, state, and federal government, the courts, the army, and public opinion whipped into hysteria by the press were all against unions. The union was like a fort bristling with guns pointed toward the surrounding woods. Men entered and exited through a secret tunnel.

This is the image many unionists still bear in their minds although the union has changed perceptibly in the last thirty years.

AFL-CIO Community Services Activities, to use a single example, has changed a hostile community into a community acceptance of labor playing a large role in health and welfare services. Before World War II there were less than 100 unionists on health and welfare boards across the land; today there are over 75,000.

Community Services shows how an a priori concept, an idea in this case, largely conceived by Leo Perlis, the present director of the program, can modify and even change the thinking of a major institution.

Community Services rejects the idea of Fortress Labor preaching social integration instead of class war.

A Priori and A Posteriori Ideas

The CIO was largely an a priori idea. In February, 1936, when an often-defeated, ragged band of rubber workers challenged the largest rubber company in the world - Goodyear - they reasoned from a general proposition, a priori, that they would win a struggle against impossible odds. Every previous "fact" said they would lose. Reason said they would lose. Too, these workers believed in industrial unionism although the idea had failed in mass production industries like steel.

The rubber workers were supported by a myth which became more powerful than the reality of no union. This was the "Myth of the Invincible Working Class," a myth which carried them to victory against tremendous odds and opened the floodgates of unionism to auto, steel, textile, and other workers who were struggling to build industrial unions.

A myth, said Alfred McClung Lee, in his book on propaganda, is "a stereotype of a cherished value usually based upon hope or fear."

The French social philosopher Georges Sorel, who advocated creating the myth of the Invincible Working Class, believed intuition played a strong role in man's thinking and therefore his destiny.

One word of caution. Myths often lose their usefulness. Today, ultra-conservatives are using the myth of the Invincible Working Class to attempt to pass restrictive legislation against unions. If workers are "invincible," then society must protect itself from them. And if workers still believe they are "invincible," they are guilty of a cultural lag and will not take steps to update their thinking.

The AFL is an example of a posteriori thinking. This is reasoning from a series of facts to a conclusion.

Samuel Gompers observed that the labor unions of his day were crushed because of their visionary idealism and their utopian political activities. He crossed such doings off his list.

What worked then? The craft system for one thing. Men of the same craft had a mutual goal and cohesiveness which gave them strength. Gompers watched craft unions in action and from their success drew a conclusion of putting them under one big tent called the American Federation of Labor.

Sensation, Perception, and Conception

Much of our knowledge comes from sensation. We feel that water is wet. Then we perceive that water is wet without having to feel it. We finally order or arrange our minds into a coordination of perceptions so that we can conceive of water everywhere, at all times, being wet.

A labor leader, for example, may be buffeted about from crisis to crisis in his local union. All grievances against the company, all gripes against other union members come to him. He is swamped. He feels he and the local union are getting nowhere. He feels uneasy, anxious.

Then he perceives the trouble. The steward body is weak. Stewards don't know what they're supposed to do. There is no delegation of responsibility to the other officers.

He conceptualizes his perception into a new administrative system. Complaints about the union are brought to the Executive Board. He involves them in thinking out ways to build a better union. He holds a training program for stewards so that they can better handle grievances.

The Syllogism

A syllogism has a major premise, a minor premise, and on the basis of both reaches a conclusion. This is how we think deductively. However, if a premise is wrong, the conclusion can also be wrong and therefore we have a false syllogism. Too, premises can be right and the conclusion wrong.

Dave Beck was a labor leader.
Dave Beck went to jail.
Therefore, all labor leaders should go to jail.

There is no logical conclusion drawn from either premise. This is an example of sloppy thinking. For example, the Right Wing uses this line of reasoning to try to abolish the income tax.

Karl Marx favored the income tax.
President Kennedy favors the income tax.
Therefore, both the income tax and J. F. K. are Marxist.

Morality

Is there such a thing as labor union morality. With AFL-CIO's expulsion of unions charged with unethical practices, with AFL's expulsion of alleged racketeers and CIO's expulsion of unions charged with following the Communist Party line, labor is making an attempt to define union morality.

Those who put personal gain or totalitarian ideologies above the interests of those they are supposed to represent are unfit to remain in good standing in the fraternity of labor. The fast buck or subservience to the policies of another nation have no place in labor.

A labor philosopher, Frank Tannenbaum, said a union has a "moral adhesion." Whereas the corporation "gave men no faith to live by and no credo they would die for..." The union, he said, "has attracted to itself the blind loyalty of men for more than a hundred years."

Thus the union becomes a quasi-spiritual entity because its moral adhesion commands loyalty of its members. This is the union's superiority over management and its very reason to exist. The Knights of Labor had a slogan: "An injury to one is the concern of all." We have empathy for our fellow worker; we suffer when he suffers. This binds us together in a large human bond of kinship.

Union morality also implies an answer to the philosophy of laissez-faire where every man is left free to pursue his own interest and somehow, according to the dogma, such self-interest will benefit society as a whole.

The doctrine of laissez-faire left the average person theoretically free but helpless. It destroyed his family and older patterns of society which took care of the aged, the infirm, the unemployed. Now, nobody cared. Thousands died in debtors' prison, slums grew up without sanitary facilities, men, women, and children led hopeless lives of "wage slavery." Children worked in the dark mines facing an early bitter death.

Labor's great contribution to American morality was to challenge the doctrine of laissez-faire. Society had a responsibility to those down on their luck, to the weak and helpless. Employers had a responsibility to their employees.

But if this is labor's moral role, then don't well-off American and Canadian workers have a moral responsibility to the weak and helpless all over the world? Should they not have a world-wide ideology? Hasn't the workers' "community" become the entire world?

HOW WE COMMUNICATE

Man is a social animal. He does not live in a vacuum. What we are, what we do is the result of communication between other people and ourselves.

Five factors are involved in communication:

1. The communicator
2. The communicant
3. The intended effect on the communicant
4. The content of the communcation
5. The effect achieved.

If, for example, the local union wishes to tell the employer the membership is solidly behind its wage demands, the content would carry weight if a strike vote resulted in an overwhelming majority of members first taking the trouble to vote and then voting to strike if necessary.

But what effect would have been achieved if the union made bombastic demands and refused to take a strike vote? Undoubtedly the opposite of the effect intended would have occurred.

THE PROCESS OF COMMUNICATION

We communicate three ways: (a) through written and spoken language, (b) through the para-linguistic aspects of the spoken language - rhythm, stress, pitch, etc., (c) through physical movements such as the smile and the frown.

Observe what happens when Mr. Smith talks to Mr. Jones:

1. An event occurs to stimulate Mr. Smith's senses.

2. Nervous impulses travel to his brain.

3. He begins to translate these feelings by arranging them in accustomed verbal patterns. He selects or abstracts.

4. Through sound and light waves Smith now communicates to Jones.

5. This stimulates the senses of Jones who repeats the same process.

But does Smith really communicate to Jones? How does Jones receive the message?

Smith must select the best possible words to express himself and he should know something about the communicant - Jones.

If Smith is a unionist and Jones is a member of the general public, he does not use the same words to describe a dispute with management that he might use with a fellow unionist.

The word "fight" in union circles means taking a complaint against management to arbitration if necessary. To a nonunionist the first image that enters his mind when he hears the word "fight" is a strike.

IS ANYBODY LISTENING?

Fortune Magazine once ran an article called "Is Anybody Listening?" The article was highly critical of management's communication system and it wondered out loud whether or not management officials were only talking to themselves.

Labor, by use of anachronistic symbols, often speaks only to itself. A youth entering the union in the 1960's simply does not have the same symbols or "frame of reference" as the unionist of the 1930's.

Worse, too many local unions do not even try to communicate with their own members let alone the general public.

There should be a new members program to acquaint new members with the traditions and programs of the union.

John D. House, URW Assistant Education Director, has developed a kit for new members which local unions can use. There should also be special educational meetings to which all new members are personally invited by the President.

There should be a Public Relations Committee to work with the press, radio, and TV and to provide speakers for community groups. An attack upon a labor or progressive viewpoint should be immediately answered by a letter to the editor.

There is no reason why city central labor bodies can't have a "Speak Up for the Union Day" in which teachers, clergymen, students, and members of the general public are invited to a brief but interesting program on labor's viewpoints.

Of course, nobody will listen if you don't speak up.

Good communication is helped by personal involvement. Don't be exclusive. The more people you can include in union

projects, the better your communication channels. Why not involve liberal-minded students in union political action programs? Why not housewives? Who does the work in political campaigns, after all?

CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION

A major union problem is the breakdown of communications. There is a breakdown of communcation between membership and leadership when only from 1 per cent to 5 per cent of the members attend union meetings. This is typical of the large or medium-sized local union.

There is a breakdown of communications between unions and the public, for according to UAW news commentator Guy Nunn the majority of Americans support most of the causes unions favor but they show "a high degree of fear, animosity or distaste for trade unions."

Once the local union identifies or perceives this problem, it should develop a communications concept. What are then the channels of communication?

1. The Steward Body. Communication specialists agree that the higher degree of "personalism" communication contains, the more effective it is.

   Nothing beats personal contact. The steward scattered throughout the plant is the ideal communication network.

   Also, a good steward should be an "opinion leader." The members presumably have picked him to lead them in their union thinking.

   It is, therefore, of prime importance to keep stewards informed about all policy matters and to allow for a feedback to gain the following flow of information:

   officers - steward - members - steward - officers.

   Communication is a two-way street and it is important the higher union echelons have their finger on the pulse of the members at all times.

   Special steward's meetings or steward's newsletters are methods of keeping the stewards informed.

2. The General Meeting. A direct way of personal communication between members and leadership is the union meeting.

Good physical surroundings help attract members to meetings. Pay attention to the size of the hall. It could have a demoralizing effect if a few scattered people rattle around in a huge hall.

Is the atmosphere informal? Does the member feel free to speak up? A simple device of putting seats in a semi-circle and seating the chairman on the same level as the members may make the members feel more at home. A social hour after the meeting helps to break down barriers between members.

Has the chairman planned the meeting? Does he have an agenda? Will the meeting start and end on time?

Does the chairman have command of some parliamentary procedure? Are there rules, for example, like a time limit on speakers so that meetings will not become boring and drawn out?

Are the officers sensitive to the needs of the members? For example, personal grievances, unless an appeal is being made to the membership, should be taken up elsewhere. Dull subjects should be ommitted if possible. The Education Committee could be used to plan interesting meetings.

3. The Written Word. Wouldn't a new member feel much better about the union if he received a letter of welcome from the President? If the union sent a special letter to a member's house, just the novelty of the act would tend to make him read it.

   A number of local unions have printed newspapers or mimeographed newsletters. This is a method of carrying the union message.

   Because the quality of what is said in the written word is important, the local union should select an editor who has an interest in writing and send him to University training programs in journalism and good writing.

   What you say and how you say it is much more important than the quality of the paper your message is printed upon.

4. Mass Media. It is not uncommon for newspaper editors to complain that while labor denounces them, labor has never offered to work with them by supplying news or background material.

You may dislike the editorial policies of the newspaper but most of the time you will get a fair shake in the news stories. Remember that a reporter is himself a workingman. But also, a reporter cannot be an expert on every field he covers. He needs help and the local union can give him the help he needs by keeping him informed about union policies and opinions.

A simple device of getting your opinions to the public is the letter-to-the-editor column. It's free and it is well read. A good letter is better than buying a half-page ad.

Only AFL-CIO and the UAW have radio programs. But live wire publicity or Education Committees can get free radio and TV time by notifying mass media of an event like an education program in their local union.

100 ACTIVE UNIONISTS LIST 20 DIFFERENT MOTIVATIONS

One hundred active unionists from all over the United States* gave 20 different reasons for their initial participation in union activity. These were URW leaders attending one of three 1963 Legislative Institutes in Washington, D. C. They were asked to write down their reasons for becoming active in the union.

The most frequent reason given (32) was outrage over some injustice in the plant.

Twenty-three were influenced by their family and eight by their friends. Two became active because of their political ideology; two were dissatisfied with local union policies and became active to change them.

Two persons were motivated by abstract idealism; eight said they wanted to improve general working conditions; four found themselves suddenly elected stewards; one was a former businessman reacting against business, but another wanted to better labor-management relations via union work.

One said becoming active in the union was an obligation of citizenship and another said "unions mean democracy" and this is what motivated him. Two remembered the depression and

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* The states included Alabama, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Indiana, Iowa, Maryland, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Tennessee.

wanted to create a full-employment society, and three said they just wanted to do something and the union was the handiest group around. One said he needed to be a member of a group and another said he wanted a voice and the union gave it to him.

In the order of general importance the primary motivations are (1) Getting mad over an injustice, (2) Family influence, (3) Idealism of one sort or another, (4) The need to belong to a group and to express oneself.

But if injustices decrease, and they must as the union keeps improving both the contract and the policing of it, unions must stress idealism and self-expression much more than they have in the past if they are to attract active members. This could be a matter of life or death.

LEADERSHIP AND MEMBERSHIP IN LOCAL UNIONS*

This is a trial run of a scale of leadership influence in the local union. The values on the scale begin with strong individual leadership on one end, fusing into successively weaker expression of leadership influence. The scale has two main segments: individual leadership and collective leadership. The raw material for the leadership values along the scale is derived from part of the sizable stock of local union case studies. Words like "scale" and "values" are used in a figurative meaning; there is no intent to suggest mathematical preciseness.

This paper is part of a general discussion dealing with the inter-relationships between public and private programs in the regulation of internal affairs of unions. My justification for discussing a topic that seems to be at several removes from this theme is that, I think, we need to know more than we do about prevailing private practice before we can sensibly talk about the public interest. As it is, this paper goes only part of the way in prevailing practice because it deals only with prevailing democratic practice.

I have been able to identify six main points of reference along the leadership scale: (1) the charismatic leader; (2) the ideological leader; (3) the leader as power "operator"; (4) the administrative leader; (5) collective leadership of one kind or another; (6) effective control by the membership.

The Charismatic Leader

The charismatic leader literally leads in a creative, imaginative way. By temperament he seeks the new because it is new and minimizes the old because it is old. He thinks in broad scope and magnitude. He is public relations-minded. He thinks in terms of plan and program.

We have undoubtedly an authentic charismatic leader in the man identified by Neufeld as the "business manager" of Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in New York City.[1] It is generally known that the "business manager" is Harry Van Arsdale. "The most important single force within the administrative life of the union is the personality, human sympathy, historical perception, philosophy and energy" of the business manager of Local 3. Under the business manager's leadership the local has grown from 7,000 to more than 30,000 members.

The core of the local's interest is, to be sure, the classic job control of the craft union but with the difference in Local 3 that job control has been given new dimensions. Van Arsdale has created the "welfare union" which is breathtaking even in a simple listing: death benefits, pensions, disability pensions, supplemental pensions, hospitalization and surgery, serious injury benefit, tool and work clothes replacement benefit, convalescent home benefit, scholarship benefit, a dental benefit, diagnostic and preventive services, a loan fund, housing projects, vacation expenses. "Yet," Fortune Magazine comments, "the industry seems to manage the burden." Contractors themselves have been beneficiaries of the welfare union. A surplus in the administrative fund of the welfare plan was spent for a $10,000 life insurance policy for two principals of each of the 600 member firms and for assessments of the New York State Disability Fund which are usually borne by the employers.

Charles Yale Harrison has said about Van Arsdale, "There are gaps in the man, in the human sense, but he is still basically a rank-and-filer. He thinks

*Presented by Jack Barbash, Professor of Labor Education, University of Wisconsin, Spring Meeting, Industrial Relations Research Association, Boston, May 2, 1959.

like his men and reacts like them, but with greater acuteness. He has the dedication of a crackpot, but he is enormously sane."[2]

The local meetings of Local 3 are, according to Harrison, "unbelievable . . . . There are long debates from the floor, with every man who has something to say getting his chance, items in the treasurer's report being challenged: '$600 for postage, that's a lot of money Brother Chairman, why can't we send postcards?'" It was "democracy carried almost to the point of tedium."

Van Arsdale "administers efficiently and often in a consciously ingenuous manner. His methods are controlled and tight. He surrounds these devices, however, with a democratic spirit of friendliness, openness, and genuine interest in individuals. The breat of freedom within the administration of Local 3 is, therefore, partly illusory and partly real."[3]

Another highly creative local union leader has been Harold Gibbons, director of the St. Louis Joint Council of Teamsters and currently executive vice-president under James Hoffa. Gibbons' base is the several locals of retail, wholesale and warehouse workers in St. Louis. His Labor Health Institute has been regarded as a pioneer and model of superior health care financed by a negotiated health and welfare plan.

Arnold Rose observes that "in December 1945 Gibbons received the CIO award for carrying out a no-discrimination policy. Among the activities for which the union received this award were (1) engaging in interracial sports in St. Louis's largest public park, thereby establishing a precedent which led to general use of the park's sports facilities by Negroes; (2) holding interracial banquets and balls in some St. Louis hotels, leading to a no-discrimination policy in at least one of them; (3) employing Negro office girls; (4) putting no-discrimination clauses into contracts with employers; (5) standing firm against wildcat strikes called to protest the up-grading of Negroes."[4]

When Rose asked a sample of the membership who they thought decides policies in the union 20% said the union's director - that is, Gibbons - 39% said the steward's council, 30% said the rank and file members, and 10% answered they didn't know. Under Gibbons' leadership the union has developed ambitious programs in education, in small group organizations and in community and political participation. The general concensus was that Gibbons was the most powerful labor leader in the city of St. Louis.

A New Republic article on Gibbons reports that he earns $15,000 a year as secretary-treasurer of his home local, including expense account. There has been criticism of Gibbons' "high living". His critics think Gibbons is "power mad" and Gibbons himself says, "Sure, I like authority - because it lets me get things done."[5] Subsequent to the Rose study Gibbons was a specific subject of a McClellan Committee investigation.[6]

Tannenbaum and Kahn describe another sort of charismatic leader.[7] The "Sergeant" local has 850 members and a long, militant history. At one of the regular union meetings of the local

> "strong sentiment had been mobilized . . . for strike action in order to obtain desired concessions from management. The proponents of this view had spoken vigorously, and the attending members expressed agreement with their ideas. There was an obvious majority in favor of strike preparations. Opposition was relatively weak and came mostly from some of the local offiers, who cautioned the members against rash action. Their appeal,

however, was ineffectual. Finally, the president arose. He expounded in simple, eloquent and forceful terms the need for the members to stand behind the bargaining committee. The bargaining committee, he felt, could get exactly what they wanted without striking. Furthermore the strike action advocated by some of the members would ensnare the union in some of the technicalities of the Taft-Hartley law. A ten-minute speech - listened to with great attention by the members - turned the tide and a voice vote completely supported the president's view."

The Ideological Leader

Further along the scale of personal leadership is the ideological leader. The ideology need not be, and is increasingly not, cast in the traditional Marxist mold. It is ideological in the sense that the leader has a conscious commitment to a large view of society, of labor-management relations or of the role of the union. The ideological leader has much in common with the charismatic leader in his disposition to move out ahead of the membership. But the ideological leader differs from the charismatic leader in that his reference for action is likely to be a well-thought out philosophy. Where the charismatic leader moves on the basis of intuition, the ideological leader moves on the basis of the larger view of the situation. Like the charismatic leader, he believes that it is the function of the leader to lead, and to lead vigorously.

The National Planning Association study of the relationship between the Hickey-Freeman Company and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in Rochester provides us with an insight into one of these ideological leaders.[8] The leader here is Abraham Chatman, manager of the Rochester Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. (The "ideological" label is mine, not the NPA's.)

Hillman's philosophy of union-management cooperation has provided the foundation stone of Chatman's approach to the problems of the Rochester men's clothing market. The Amalgamated organization in Rochester is strong and Chatman's position as Joint Board manager is "unchallenged". In the opinion of workers, company executives and union officers Chatman "has retained his position through genuine popularity. . . . While many of the workers are aware that the leadership of their organization appears to be self-perpetuating, almost all vehemently asserted that this was the democratic expression of the membership and that no one, not even Abraham Chatman, could hold his office without rank and file approval."

What are the ingredients of the ideology in operation here? Essentially it can be characterized by what has come to be known as the Amalgamated's "industry" point of view. Union decisions nationally and locally are based on the health of the whole industry "rather than on temporary or local opportunities to gain a concession." The decisions may at times run counter to the sentiments of the rank and file "such as moderation in wage demands when costs are soaring, or strict adherence to a contract when, in the opinion of the workers, a strike or slowdown has been justified. And again the question must be raised: could a truly democratic organization maintain such a logical and reasoned course and still retain its effective unity? The answer here seems to be 'yes' and the reason is this: over the years the philosophy that only what is good for the industry can, in the long run, be good for the workers, has become thoroughly accepted by the membership."

Chatman's characteristic method of operation is illustrated by excerpts from the minutes of the Joint Board. For example: "Last week a group of pressers from Hickey-Freeman requested the office to secure an increase in wages for them. The manager informed them that such a move at the present

time is impossible; however, when the time comes that it will be possible to secure increases in wages, it will be done for all members in general, and not for any individual group."

Or at another meeting, "Brother Chatman stated that because time and one half for overtime [this was in 1936] cannot be enforced in other union markets at the present time, due to uncontrollable causes, he proposed that we follow the procedure in other markets. He urged the Joint Board to be on guard and under these circumstances, not place this market at a disadvantage with other clothing centers because in the long run our membership pays the price for it. The Joint Board adopted the recommendation."

The ideological leader as exemplified in Chatman, much like the charismatic leader, is concerned with effective identification and participation by the union member with his union. To this end he will press for better attendance at union meetings, involvement - not only in the local union but in the larger labor movement as well. Educational and welfare functions of the union have a high priority on the program agenda.

The "Operator"

The leader as "operator" is acutely conscious of what is required to remain in power and of the methods and tactics through which this is achieved. He tends to assess a situation both on its merits and the implication of the situation for the balance of power forces. He puts a good deal of stock in his ability to keep things from getting out of hand in the local union and to contain rival claimants for position and prestige who might by comparison reflect unfavorably on him.

The Rosens have provided many insights into this role of the leader as operator.[9] They base their observations on a study of 21 business agents on the staff of a regional union organization with about 40,000 workers "from many manufacturing crafts, and at all levels of skill." As the business agent sees his role, it is "to represent his constituency, not passively, but in an active way by molding their behavior and beliefs and by actually initiating bargaining issues and selling them to the membership. . . . [He] makes it explicit that 'bread and butter' membership demands cannot determine completely the union's operations in collective bargaining.

"There is little place in his scheme of things for a short-sighted view born of emotion rather than of logic. . . . The business agent recognizes that he must be sensitive to the demands of his membership, but he has faith in his power to shape many of these demands along appropriate lines." He is conscious of the need "to have his finger on the pulse of the rank and file and to know not only what they want but how badly they want it." Since he can't see the rank and file personally he builds up the shop stewards and the bargaining committee as channels of communication. The Rosens "frequently heard . . . such comments as these: 'You have to explain and teach (and often select) the stewards and committeemen so they will keep you informed and support you with the rank and file.'" But "conspicuous by its absence, however, is any mention of the stewards' or committeemen's active part in negotiations per se. Actually, in most cases, the bargaining committee plays only a supporting role.

"If the committee attempts to dominate the situation, pursuing its own interests or the specific demands of the membership, its action meets with strong disapproval from the business agents. Moreover, the business agents make quite a point of 'control of committee and stewards' in evaluating the competence of their fellow agents. The poor agent, in their eyes, is one who 'lets the committee get out of hand - loses control.'"

Another example of the leader with a strong sense of power awareness is the business agent of a Laborers' local in "Illini City." "Although the union met once a month and many issues were discussed, the business agent's recommendations were generally followed. His attitude was well typified by a statement that he wasn't one for letting one of his boys question his authority. It was either he or the steward (talking about a jurisdictional problem) and if he called a decision, the steward had better live up to it. . . . 'It's the case of him or me - one of us goes down the road. If I'm right, as long as I'm business agent, that's that. If I happen to be wrong, then I have to let somebody else take my job.' In negotiations, the business agent usually worked by himself, without a committee, but all agreements were voted on by the membership."/10] The business agent in question had held office for 14 years except for 2½ years when he was in prison.

A contractor whom the business agent dealt with sized him up like this: "You know it takes a certain type of man who is able to keep a bunch like that under control - especially when the union has men who aren't working. If there are 100 men out of work and an order comes in for 6 men, the 94 he doesn't send out will all hate him."

Or another "operator" type in "Illini City," this time the business agent of a Painters' local, who expressed himself as follows: "'My men will do what I tell them. I don't order them either. I sell my men. A lot of business agents don't operate that way but I do. I sell my men on everything before I do it. I explain to them point by point what we ought to do and why. I don't give them orders, I give them reasons and I don't have trouble with them either. They will listen to me. That is part of my job, selling my men on the best deal. If you can't do that then you have got trouble. I don't know, maybe if I wasn't so independent I could be an international man but taking a lot of that guff is too much for me.'"/11]

Although the contract provides for grievance machinery it's the union business agent who makes the "basic interpretation of the contract." A member talked about the business agent's power in these terms.

> "'Now [the business agent] he is honest. He won't spend money wrong nor has he kept any himself. He runs everything legal and he's honest, but the way I look at it there is just too much power and authority there for one man. It was voted to him - he came by it legal - but it's wrong I think. Well, here is where it is wrong. You take the assistant business agent - he's the president of the union - and he's appointed as assistant business agent by [the business agent]. Then there's the girl in the office - she's appointed by [the business agent]. Why, they are both appointed by [the business agent]. He has the power to hire and fire them or to hire and fire whomever else he wants. The next election I would like to see the rank and file vote on it. By God, that's just what the companies used to do. I think that all should rest in the rank and file.'"/12]

When the question of having a committee take an active part in the negotiations came up, the business agent opposed it and was successful in persuading the majority of the membership to vote down the use of a committee. But as one member put it, "We do vote on everything for final action and it isn't all his way."/13]

The Administrative Leader

The impulse of the local union leader to act on his own power is further diminished, but by no means eliminated, in the "administrative" leader. His primary orientation is the job at hand. For example, the business agent in the construction industry is intrinsically a one-man job. Now the building trades business agent may view his dominant role as a power operator or as an administrator, and perhaps a combination of both. Here I am trying to distinguish the local union leader who, while accomodating himself to the one-man character of his job, seems to orient himself more toward the membership rather than to his personal drive for control and power.

George Strauss has studied building trades business agents in 13 unions in a community of 400,000. He draws none of these distinctions or generalizations; nevertheless if I read him correctly, it is possible to infer this validly from Strauss' account.[14]

> ". . . . The most secure business agents, politically, are those who campaign 12 months a year. Their contacts with members on the job and at meetings serve the dual purpose of revealing what the members want and of advertising the effectiveness of their own leadership."
>
> ". . . . The business agent can satisfy only a few of the demands made upon him. In self-defense against these pressures he has two alternatives. The first is to establish a set, formal system of distributing job opportunities and other advantages. (This is often called 'going by the book' and corresponds to the formalized system of considering grievances utilized in some industrial unions.) The second alternative is to engage in out-and-out favoritism, to give the best plums to your friends, and to leave the crumbs for the rank and file. This is possible only when the agent has already strongly solidified his control of the union and has little fear of being kicked out. None of the business agents studied enjoyed such power."

Strauss concludes "that the locals in this community were democratic, to the extent that the business agents were forced to be responsive to the desires of the members - with defeat looming if they were not. The degree of membership participation and interest was higher than is common in industrial unions of the same size." He hypothesizes that "the effectiveness of the membership controls was to some extent a function of the local's small size and cohesiveness."

That the size of the community need not be a determining factor in the exercise of membership control is suggested in the Seidman group's study of a Plumbers' local "in one of the metropolitan centers in the Middle West," with a membership of about 4,000 journeymen and 400 apprentices. Seidman singles out the following comments from the rank and file concerning this Plumbers' business manager.[15]

> "We have a good organization now. We have democracy here. You can get up and speak without fear of reprisal. And that's always done. I've known steamfitters who had to leave the city because they became marked men who spoke against the leadership. This couldn't happen in our union. He [the business manager] is a different kind of fellow compared to what we had in the old days. . . . He believes in running the union with brains not brawn. . . . He cleaned up the union a long way from what it used to be.

"We all got a voice now; we can say what we like. It's not like the old days. If a guy tried to argue back with the leaders in those days, he'd get conked on the head with a spittoon. We didn't know how the money was spent and when you'd ask you'd more than likely get a beating in the alley behind the hall. Now it's not like that; we have our arguments and disagreements, but we discuss it and after it's decided we're all friends again."

Collective Leadership

When we get to the category which I have designated as collective leadership we reach a major division point. Instead of the individual leader as the prime mover in the local union, we now observe leadership by a collectivity within the union. This is not to say that one leader may not be more important than other leaders but the leverage for the exercise of power and influence comes from a group rather than an individual. Joint consent and participation of the leadership group is the dominant leadership characteristic here.

The tie that binds the collective leadership may be derived from common status interests as members of (a) full-time paid leadership, (b) strategic bargaining group, (c) ethnic kinship, (d) union old-timers, (e) high-wage and skill group, (f) constitutionally authorized group. Finally, the leadership group may be bound together because nobody else wants the job.

Ky

The interest of the full-time paid leadership group in preserving its position against inroads by the volunteer shop leadership is what holds together the 21 business agents in a midwest joint board.*

". . . . The local unions have formal autonomy on purely local matters and, in this union, shop bodies have the final say on shop matters such as contract negotiations. (Shops and locals usually are not coterminous, and shop matters, therefore, cannot be a local union concern.) . . . . It is the business agent assigned to the local or shop who makes recommendations to the unit and meets dissenting remarks or requests for clarification that come off the floor. Usually his recommendations are not solely as a result of his own thinking however. They tend to be either based upon established joint board policy (formal or informal) or to have been brought up at the business agents' staff meetings for discussion and decision in cases where policy is not clear. . . . The [business agents] group tends to reject any possible solutions to problems that would increase the authority of non-paid union officials even though a rejection of an alternative on this basis may have other undesirable effects."[16]

The influence of a key, strategically situated group within a larger group is another form which collective leadership takes. Local 3 of the IBEW is a case in point. Here we saw earlier the "charismatic" role of a union leader, but the power base of this union leader is derived from a key group of electrical construction journeymen in the local. As Neufeld observes, "All of the less skilled crafts and trades within Local 3 owe their organization, economic and social welfare, continued existence, and consequently, their administrative life to the power and good will of the electrical construction workers who have repeatedly voted special assessments upon themselves to aid their weaker brothers. These top craftsmen, in turn, give their undivided allegiance to their business manager when the votes are cast."[17]

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*This is apparently the group that is discussed on Page 4 in connection with the leaders as "operators," but I think the same group in this instance can properly be used to illustrate two dominant tendencies in leadership style.

Consciousness of ethnic kinship forms the basis of collective leadership in several locals investigated by Sayles and Strauss. "One local has been the scene of a seesaw battle between Italians and Irish." A needle trades local "was the scene of a long-term struggle between Jews and Italians."/18]

Where the leadership does not come from a dominant ethnic group it may continue in power only so long as it maintains a balance of support among dominant ethnic groups. "In two situations, rival ethnic groups were of equal strength. . . . The local president was elected from the small minority of Anglo-Saxons. In each case the president's most difficult task was to avoid charges of favoritism by one group or another."/19]

Collective leadership is frequently exercised by the high skill group not so much as a result of a will to leadership by these groups as from the natural dynamics of the local union situation which tends to push the skilled groups to the fore./20]

Thus far we have been discussing extra-constitutional (not unconstitutional) factors in the location of power. There are local union situations, however, in which the reality of power conforms to where the local union constitution has actually vested power, most typically in an executive board, the bargaining committee and the stewards although local circumstances are likely to weight power in the direction of one group of leaders.

In a study of a Buffalo UAW local Shister and Hamovitch observe that power over job problems is located in the president and the shop committee rather than the stewards. But "this power cannot be exercised without restraint. There are real and important limitations on the use of this power, for these reasons: (1) the factionalism in the organization; (2) the active interest in union affairs displayed by the membership - witness the relatively high attendance at union meetings."/21]

The constitutional allocation of authority seemed to be the real thing in the 200-member Illini City electricians where "the active membership . . . had a strong voice in the organization. Committees were appointed by the President rather than by the business agent. Bargaining and grievance sessions of a general nature were conducted by committees rather than by a single individual." A comparable situation prevailed in the Illini City carpenters./22]

At the farthest end of the scale of leadership we encounter the situation in which the leadership situation is fluid and where the mass of the membership effectively carries out its end of the democratic bargain. "There seemed to be considerable evidence[in Illini City Garment Workers situation] that almost anyone [with a few exceptions] who wished to be a leader in the local could fulfill this desire. . . . A case in point is that of a worker who was fired after eight weeks at her first job in a garment factory. She was reinstated through the efforts of the union, and one week after her reinstatement she was elected steward and a member of the union's executive board."/23]

Another highly fluid leadership situation is reported in the Textile Workers' Union local in the American Velvet Company where the investigator found that "the membership is entirely responsible for actions of the union." There is constant turnover in the leadership not so much because of dissatisfaction but because "it is time to give someone else a chance." There have been eight presidents of the local in 13 years.

Membership meetings are well attended and lively, even after the "achievement of good employment conditions." The leadership is "intelligently questioned," and management proposals are subject to detailed debate.[24]

The seven local unions functioning in the Nashua Gummed and Coated Paper Company is another instance of where the "real locus of power . . . is in the membership." The membership exercises influence at various stages in the bargaining process: in drafting proposals, in instructing the bargaining committee and in the final approval of the contract. During protracted negotiations there are likely to be additional meetings. Officers and grievance committeemen are changed frequently, in one local by deliberate rotation. Membership attendance at meetings is average "yet on issues which affect the members more directly, such as approval of a proposed new contract, the membership attendance is greater" than 50%.

There was general agreement that membership participation in these locals was "important and that it did not have the 'rubber stamp' quality found in some other groups." On several occasions the membership rejected tentative settlements and the negotiators were directed to "go back for more."[25]

A similar situation seems to obtain in the United Steelworkers' local in the Lapointe Machine Tool Company where "the union's governmental processes are democratic in nature. There is ample opportunity for the expression of majority will and deep respect for the rights and opinions of the critical individual. These opportunities do not go by default. Members vote heavily on important issues and in elections for union offices, and many of them take a willing and active part in administering the union's day-to-day business. By all tests, local 3536 meets the standards of a democratic society."[26]

Concluding Thoughts

The aim here has been to lay out along a scale types of power interaction between leaders and members in the local union. Obviously these are not hard and fast types. In a real sense any given leader or group of leaders are likely to show all of these leadership qualities. The only claim that is made for this scale is that it seeks to locate the single most important quality.

All of the major points along the scale are consistent with the idea of democracy in the local union because, in everyone of these situations insofar as one can tell from the reports of first hand investigations, the ultimate sovereignty is effectively exercised by the membership.

There are two grounds for holding that all of the leadership values along the scale are consistent with democracy in the local union. First, reputable investigators studying the local situations at first hand have said they were democratic. Second, independent of such characterizations and relying on what we have in the way of facts in the accounts cited here, it is possible to say that these varying leadership styles are consistent with the theory of democracy.

This last brings us to the nature of democracy. The most penetrating analysis of the nature of democracy, I think, is that of the British political scientist, A. D. Lindsay in a most illuminating passage in The Modern Democratic State. Lindsay is writing here, to be sure, about the democratic state but it seems to me that his analysis is just as applicable to the democratic union.

"Democracy," Lindsay says, "is not, properly speaking, government by the people. For the people, if we mean by that as we ought to mean, all the members of society in all their multifarious relations, cannot govern.

"Government involves power and organization, administration, and decision. Even a small public meeting cannot administer or organize. It can only express approval or disapproval of the persons who govern or of their general proposals. . . .

"It is essential to any sound democracy to recognize what part the ordinary public can take in the government of a state and what it cannot. Experience has shown abundantly that, if in the name of democracy you ask the ordinary member of the public to do more than he can or will in fact do, the result is a sham. We must, therefore, distinguish between the various processes by which the government of a country is kept responsible to public opinion from the highly technical and specialized processes of government itself."[27]

The local union situations that we have examined here have shown differences in the "technical and specialized processes" of union government. These differences turn on (with some exceptions) whether the locus of power is in the business agent or his equivalent, or in the working plant leadership. For most union situations there is little choice as to which it will be because, as Kennedy has so perceptively analyzed the problem,

"the key role of the business agent in nonfactory unions is the product of all the employment and market factors which we have attempted to sum up in the term, 'nonfactory.' These conditions demand that a local union of any size have one or more full-time, salaried employees working out of the union office, performing a very wide range of functions, and exercising broad powers. By the same token, nonfactory employment conditions militate against the maintenance of an effective shop steward type of representation at the work level. The number of union members at each place of employment is usually quite small and the rate of turnover among them relatively high. The stratified management hierarchy which helps support a steward system in many factory situations is largely absent. Most of the crucial union business is conducted from the union office and is in the hands of the business agent. In the absence of large numbers in concentrated work groups needing frequent representation at the work level it is difficult to keep an effective steward system alive."[28]

The circumstances under which leadership must function in the nonfactory union tend to minimize shared power. The circumstances of factory unionism maximizes shared power.

There is room, however, for wide variations within the individual leadership segment and within the collective leadership segment. And in some instances we have seen the impact of "cultural lag" on union leadership - that is where the union grew its roots as a "business agent" oriented union and continues to apply this pattern in a later period to its factory union situations.

What does all of this discussion add up to for purposes of the general theme of this meeting?

1. There is more than one authentic expression of democracy in the local union, if democracy is meant to be relevant to legitimate function.

2. When local union government is examined in the setting of legitimate function the generating circumstance in the degree of shared power is to be found in "employment and market factors."

3. To the extent that public policy and opinion is concerned with union democracy it must take into account the diverse ways in which human beings accomodate union government to the circumstances of the environment, and not be taken in by excessively romantic or idealized images of democracy.

4. There is an enormous stock of case study literature dealing with local unions which has not been tapped for purposes of generalization. I hope that this paper has suggested some of the possibilities of generalization.

FOOTNOTES

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6] United States Senate, Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field, Hearings, Part 39 and Part 40, 85th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1958.

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9] Hjalmar and R.A.H. Rosen, "The Union Business Agent Looks at Collective Bargaining," Personnel, May 1957.

10] Milton Derber and Associates, Labor-Management Relations in Illini City, Vol. I, The Case Studies, (Champaign: University of Illinois, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, 1953), pp. 682-683.

11] Ibid., p. 571.

12] Ibid., p. 616.

13] Ibid., p. 572 ff.

14] George Strauss, "Control by the Membership in Building Trades Unions," The American Journal of Sociology, May 1956, p. 533 ff. (Emphasis added.)

15] Joel Seidman, Jack London, Bernard Karsh and Daisy L. Tagliacozzo, The Worker Views His Union, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), p. 56.

16] Hjalmar and R.A.H. Rosen, "Decision-Making in a Business Agent Group," Industrial Relations Research Association Proceedings, 1955, pp. 290-291.

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19] Ibid., p. 217; see also Seidman et al, op. cit., p. 70 ff.

20] Sayles and Strauss, op. cit., p. 143 ff.

21] Joseph Shister and William Hamovitch, Conflict and Stability in Labor Relations: A Case Study, University of Buffalo, Department of Industrial Relations. 1952, p. 14.

22] Milton Derber and Associates, op. cit., p. 683 ff.; see also Tannenbaum and Kahn, op. cit., Ch. VII.

23] Ibid., pp. 412-413.

24] George S. Paul, Causes of Industrial Peace Under Collective Bargaining, American Velvet Company/Textile Workers Union of America, National Planning Association, Case Study No. 11, April 1953, p. 18 ff.

25] Charles A. Myers and George P. Shultz, Causes of Industrial Peace Under Collective Bargaining, Nashua Gummed and Coated Paper Company/ and Seven AFL Unions, National Planning Association, Case Study No. 7, February 1950, pp. 30-31.

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27] A. D. Lindsay, The Modern Democratic State, Vol. I, (London: Oxford University Press, 1943), pp. 281-282.

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PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP

1. The principle of KNOWLEDGE

   a. Can't pool ignorance and provide leadership.
   b. Know individuals, the group, the subject.
   c. "Empathy" - the imaginative projection of oneself into another's mind; putting oneself into another's boots; knowing how others will react. — How To Get Knowledge to another

2. The principle of PARTICIPATION — for others

   a. If you think you helped do it, you are more ready to accept the outcome.
   b. People accept best the things they have helped to originate.

3. The principle of the GROUP MIND

   a. No one individual has all the answers.
   b. No one individual can develop all the angles.
   c. Exchange of ideas within a group may actually create new ideas.

4. The principle of PROCESS

   a. The way in which a thing is accomplished has a bearing on the result. Roughshod — Discussion — Foot dragging
   b. Situations should be viewed in terms of what people can learn in the process of accomplishing something.
   c. "Process" must be balanced against "Purpose" - there are times when a thing must be done NOW, with little regard to process.

* 5. The principle of PURPOSE

   a. The leader must know where the group is heading, and why.
   b. The group must also know, and it is a responsibility of leadership to so inform it.

6. The principle of DIRECTION

   a. The group may need it from the leader.
   b. The leader may need it from the group.
   c. The leader may need it from above. — organizationally
   d. Can't always wait for the group to direct you.
   e. Group thinking needs stimulation.
   f. The "action phase" needs direction.

7. The principle of CHALLENGE

   a. Challenge is stimulating:through challenge comes movement to knowledge.
   b. Make use of issues which are vital, rather than trying to squeeze by.
   c. Leadership must not be afraid to get behind the 8-ball. — Take a chance

8. <u>The principle of EXPERIENCE</u> and for others

a. Learn from watching, listening, reading, but most of all, from experience - from doing it.
b. Leadership may develop a program, but make the people do it; (principles of participation and process)
c. Provide opportunities for leadership practice.

9. <u>Principle of INTEGRATION</u> Committees in locals

a. Relate goals and methods of smaller groups to each other and to the total program.
b. Look for opportunities to work together on a common goal.

locals & Committees in Central Body

BUILDING THE UNION
The University of Wisconsin
School for Workers

THE CLIQUE IN THE UNION

(adapted from the writings of A. Stanley Ezekial)

Word has been received by the Executive Board of your union that it is run by a clique. Upon investigation, we find this statement to be true. Furthermore, we find the clique is composed of faithful members who are present at every meeting, who accept appointments to committees, who give willingly of their time, energy and effort, and who sincerely believe that the more one puts into his union, the more he will get out of it.

There is no question that the enthusiasm, responsibility and efforts of these members are of inestimable value to your union. And we would, therefore, suggest that you join this clique. It is not a difficult matter to do so -- in fact, it is very easy.

Begin by attending meetings regularly - take a livelier interest in union activities; make helpful, constructive suggestions and accept responsibility to serve on committees. Show a continual interest in all affairs related to your union.

Before you realize it, you will have become a member of the clique, and you will be surprised to find out how anxious they are to have you!

July 6, 1965

Collective Bargaining

Democracy on the Job

THE EXECUTIVE BOARD - TO ESTABLISH GOALS AND A PROGRAM

1. LONG RANGE PLANNING

The idea of at least an annual meeting of the executive board and the standing committee chairmen (and maybe the other union actives too) to lay plans for the year's activities is a godd one.

This group can set organizational, collective bargaining, educational, recreational, community and political goals for the year and begin the planning of programs to achieve these goals. Each phase of the program can be related to the whole. Important meeting dates can be noted and plans for these meetings can be prepared. Meeting dates when interest may be slackened can be noted and special programs prepared to keep up the interest and attendance of the members. Recreational programs can be planned and if necessary plans can be made to improve the attractiveness of the meeting hall.

2. SHORT RANGE PLANNING

There is quite a bit to be said for the idea of a regular meeting of the executive board before each regular and special union meeting.

Some of the following things can be done:

a. Run through the correspondence, deciding what needs to be read in full, what can be summarized and what can be announced simply as received.

b. Discuss in detail the items which are known to be coming up at the meeting.

c. Prepare recommendations on the basis of this discussion to be acted on by the membership.

d. Lay plans for adequate discussion of the recommendations which are offered by the executive board.

e. Make sure that everything that should come up at the meeting is placed on an agenda, so that important deadlines relative to contracts, conventions, voter registration, elections, etc., are not missed.

The University of Wisconsin
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1-4-66

TAKING THE UNION TO THE MEMBERS
- A Program for Home Visiting

The University of Wisconsin
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School for Workers

There is no better way to build understanding of the union and participation in union affairs than through personal contact between active union members and members who are less active - or workers who do not belong.

Union meetings, labor papers, leaflets, movies, radio programs and other union activities are extremely important in building the union. But you can't educate workers who are not at the meetings, who do not read labor papers, who are not present to see movies and who don't turn on the radio to hear labor programs.

In such cases, THE UNION MUST BE TAKEN TO THE WORKERS. If a good job of personal contact is done, workers will develop the union understanding which will make them want to be active and the union will be just that much stronger.

Just because the plant has been organized for sometime does not mean that the workers automatically become and remain union minded. The job of organization should continue. A personal contact program requires effort on the part of the active members but it can do more than anything else to increase the number of active members and in this way, make the job easier for everyone while making the union stronger.

A PERSONAL CONTACT PROGRAM CAN INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING:

1. Set up visiting committee: have committee meet to discuss approach to workers. Divide up those to be seen. Prepare notes and simple literature on union gains, what happens to dues, union structure, etc., which can be left with the person visited. Have committee meet regularly and exchange experiences on what approach worked, what failed, what questions or comments came from the people, and to exchange visits where one committee member has not had much success. It's a good idea to have teams of two for visiting. Committee chairman and members should make regular reports to the local meeting, and other members should suggest people to be visited.

2. The membership list should be broken down by area, address, shift and department. Visiting can be done by area or by department or both.

3. The most successful type of visiting is contact at the worker's home. But the program should include contact in the shop and phone calls (especially to remind workers of meetings and in arranging to pick them up and take them to the meeting).

4. Where the member is made active by a visit, she or he may be willing to help in visiting others in the neighborhood or department. When a worker suddenly sees the light, he is sometimes very effective in developing the same understanding among other workers.

5. Part of the visiting job should include visits to members who are sick at home, in the hospital, or who have suffered some personal tragedy.

6. The visiting program should be considered as a permanent part of the union's program, and not something that stops when all have been seen.

7. Visiting on straight union building can lay the ground-work for a more effective job in political action. The best work in this field is also accomplished through home-contacting and the precedent will have been set.

HOW TO RUN A UNION MEETING

Interesting
Democratic
Business-like

AFL-CIO MANUAL FOR SHOP STEWARDS

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A PERSONAL CHECK-LIST FOR EFFECTIVE LEADERS AND GOOD TEAMWORK

		YES	NO
1.-	Do I try to remember people's names?.....	___	___
2.-	Do I like informal procedures wherever possible?...	___	___
3.-	Do I consult regularly with other leaders?.....	___	___
4.-	Do I rarely "blow my top" at other members?.....	___	___
5.-	Do I attempt to find out how other like my ideas?..	___	___
6.-	Do I encourage others to bring me their problems?..	___	___
7.-	Am I willing to have my opinions challenged?.....	___	___
8.-	Will I change my opinions if proven wrong?.....	___	___
9.-	Do I let others do their part of the total job?....	___	___
10.-	Do I plan work out ahead of time with others?.....	___	___
11.-	Do I give credit to those who deserve it?.....	___	___
12.-	Do I like to keep myself in the background?.....	___	___
13.-	Do I keep myself adequately informed?.....	___	___
14.-	Do I try to avoid manipulating people?.....	___	___
15.-	Do I seek out new people and new ideas?.....	___	___
16.-	If things are not working right do I like to try something new?.....	___	___
17.-	Do I like to help others get ahead?.....	___	___
18.-	Do I consult people before committing them?.....	___	___
19.-	Do I make suggestions instead of giving orders?....	___	___
20.-	Do I have a system for following up on projects?...	___	___

7-20-67 (Adapted from UAW Education Department Fact Book)

Youth: protest and the democratic process

by Tom Kahn

What's with these crazy kids? That's the way the question usually gets posed nowadays—as if some alien and mysterious force had suddenly appeared in our midst, some inexplicable phenomenon for which there is no precedent in the annals of western civilization.

And it must be admitted that some of the antics of some of the New Youth (everything today is New) seem so far out as to defy rational analysis. Take the weird costumes, for example, or the fascination with identity-changing chemicals, or any of the other systematic and self-conscious efforts to exchange old personalities for new.

Yet like it or not, the young are here, in droves, and they will make their mark felt on the labor movement as on every other major institution in American life. Many of them are young workers who are just coming into trade union ranks. They often have special problems and they need to be educated and trained for future leadership. They are a great challenge to the labor movement.

Many others are college students who will be the writers, journalists, professors, politicians and other public opinion molders of tomorrow. How they think and feel will be an important factor in the future of the liberal-labor coalition in national politics. Moreover, as the economy—and in turn the collective bargaining process—becomes more complex, unions will increasingly find it necessary to draw on the skills of college-trained experts.

So the young are important.

The first thing to be said about the young in America is that there are so many of them. Thanks to the post-World War II baby boom, nearly half the entire population is now 25 years of age or younger.

The ways, interests and tastes of young people have always constituted a kind of subculture; today it has grown into a mass culture—and a mass market. In music and clothes, radio and TV programming, commercials and advertisements, books and magazines, the accent is on youth. Our very vocabulary and the way we use it has been forever transformed. Thus quantitative reasons alone would dictate that this current younger generation, whatever its distinctive characteristics, would have a tremendous impact on the rest of society.

The second point is that today's youth are the best educated of any in the nation's history. There are nearly 6 million students in the colleges and universities today, compared with only 3.5 million in 1960. Moreover, a larger proportion of young people are going to college than ever before. About one out of every two high school graduates will apply to college this fall.

One doesn't have to be a sociologist to recognize that education can be a source of friction between the generations. It has become a legend that every Ameri-

TOM KAHN is Executive Director of the League for Industrial Democracy. The LID has been active in strengthening the ties between the labor movement and the intellectual and student communities.

WHY UNIONS?

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

NO. 1-70 Jan. 5, 1970

MEMO from COPE

COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL EDUCATION, AFL-CIO
815 16TH STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

GEORGE MEANY, Chairman WM. F. SCHNITZLER, Secretary-Treasurer ALEXANDER E. BARKAN, National Director

1970 Elections in a Nut-Shell

U.S. SENATE ELECTIONS

Total—35

Democrats—25 Republicans—10

Present Make-up D 57, R 43

GUBERNATORIAL ELECTIONS

Total—35

Democrats—11 Republicans—24

Present balance—D 18, R 32

U.S. HOUSE ELECTIONS

Total—435 (all seats)

Present Make-up—D 245, R 189 (one vacancy)

STATE LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS

Total—45 states. Present balance: Democrats and GOP each control both houses of 20 legislatures, eight are split, two non-partisan.

• • • *The Stakes* • • •

The security of working people and their unions, the direction of domestic policy on social welfare programs, the control of Congress in the 1970s.

1. Working people and their unions are under the gun in 1970. Only the Congress remains as a safeguard of their interests. The national administration is at variance with many of the goals of the labor movement, and from some quarters in the administration there is open hostility. The Supreme Court faces a turn to the right, with several appointments probable in the near future.

Only Congress remains with a pro-worker balance, and conservatives are going all-out to capture it. How they will use it, should they win, was tipped off when the Fannin amendment was proposed last month to drive unions out of politics (Memo December 7 and December 22).

The Fannin-Right to Work Committee proposal was defeated. But it will be back if conservatives take over Congress, and the attack will range far beyond labor's political programs. Conservatives are taking dead aim, too, on placing unions under anti-trust laws; outlawing coordinated multi-union bargaining like that with General Electric; replacing the National Labor Relations Board with a so-called "labor court"; a national open shop law.

2. Only action by Congress has been able to restrain the administration's instinct to cut back progressive domestic programs. Congressional action salvaged some relief and reform in the tax bill after administration and conservative efforts to enfeeble it. Congressional action boosted social security increases to 15 percent—still inadequate, but a substantial improvement over the administration's proposed 10 percent.

3. There is added significance to state legislative elections this year. The legislatures elected in November will redistrict congressional seats, and because of this they will in large measure determine the make-up of Congress throughout the 1970s. Some legislatures presently under conservative control already have blueprinted redistricting plans that would seriously reduce progressive representation in Congress. So, if conservatives grab the state legislatures this year they will move to cement control of Congress for a decade.

JAN 1970

"We're spread too thin. One man can't do all the council work by himself."

"We've got the numbers but we can't get the locals to support a high enough per capita to pay the salary of full-time men."

"Everything we've done through our council has reaped dividends."

"The larger locals think they don't need to join the Council because they have full-time officers of their own."

"The small locals that need the help of a Council the most, won't join."

"We can't get enough locals to affiliate to gain a base for full-time operation."

"If we can't get more financial support, we're going to have to go back to part-time operation."

Straight talk about our District Councils

By Walter Allen, Director of Education and Information Department

The quotations listed above express the pride, disappointments, frustrations and conclusions of some of those who have been in the thick of the council programs.

A quick summary of these comments would conclude that strong support remains for the council idea, but few believe that their councils have come close to reaching their full potential. Nearly all complain of failure to obtain affiliation of all the locals in the council's area and of inability to get enough financial support to run a full-scale council program.

Also, a common concern is that, because of the voluntary nature of the councils, there is a continual threat that key locals may withdraw their support. It is recognized that many union members don't seem to understand the importance of the council programs or why additional financial support is needed to make councils function at maximum effectiveness.

What is a council?

Our union has two kinds of councils. One we call a District Council and we mean an organization formed by locals of a single branch of our unions, such as specialty worker locals. The other, which we call a District Joint Council, is composed of more than one branch of the union, usually all kinds of locals in an area, state or province.

Both kinds of councils are commonly referred to as "district councils," but most of the councils chartered by our Union actually are District Joint Councils. There are nine chartered District Councils, all except one composed of specialty worker locals. Each of the Specialty District Councils have full-time officers and have enviable records of achievement.

We define a District Council as an organization composed of duly-authorized delegates of kindred Local Unions within a limited geographical area. To the District Council is granted such authority and duties as are acceptable to the affiliated Local Unions and as prescribed in a Constitution adopted by member Locals by vote of their memberships. Although a Council is a voluntary association, the delegates and member Locals may jointly adopt rules and programs which may become mandatory upon each and all affiliated Local Unions and their members. Typically, dues are established on a per capita basis and each local has equal voting rights or voting is related to size of membership.

This article is intended to discuss the reasons why we need councils and these apply equally to District Councils and District Joint Councils. However, most of our discussion relating to problems are referring to those of the District Joint Councils.

Why councils?

The Printing Pressmen's Union has approximately 740 local unions, and about 116,000 dues-paying members. Of these 740 locals, more than half have less than 50 members, and nearly 200 of these have less than 25 members. Many of these small-sized locals are barely functioning. These 400 smaller locals account for only about 10% of the total membership of the Union.

Councils—In a Nutshell

If you went down to your auto dealer and bought a shiny new 1970 model car you would know that you would have to put gasoline in it to make it go where you wanted to drive it.

If you can't run your car to the next corner without gasoline, neither can you expect to get a council program moving without union members coming up with the necessary per capita payments to fuel the operation.

Simple logic, isn't it?

Yet, to show how inconsistent and illogical we can be, there are several councils suffering from financial anemia and badly in need of a financial transfusion. Worse than that we have about twenty District Joint Councils which have never been able to really get moving because affiliated locals have not been willing, in the past, to raise dues high enough to meet the expenses of a full time operation.

Bear in mind that the Councils are not seeking large amounts of money from the individual members who are in their affiliated locals. In most cases all that is needed is about 25¢ *per month, less than a penny a day.*

Further, in every instance in which a Council is operating on a full-time basis, the International Union has been matching expenses, *dollar for dollar,* **up to $1,000 per month.**

We are no longer talking about an idea or a dream of what Councils can do. In every instance in which a Council has gone on a full-time operation, the benefits have come back to the individual union members, just as we have said.

At the present time wage increases for our members have been averaging better than 20¢ *per hour.*

Doesn't it border on the ridiculous that members who have increased their take-home pay by more than $35 per month, could hesitate about investing a mere quarter (25¢) in increased support to a District Council?

The small locals

Smaller-membership Locals seldom are financially able to meet the expense of even minor labor disputes, particularly if there is a work stoppage or arbitration involved. Such small Locals cannot afford the services of full-time officers or business agents and, ordinarily, do little to police the inferior working conditions they are able to negotiate. They are badly in need of help at contract bargaining time and are seldom in a position to demand proper improvement. But that's only part of it.

The administration of a local union is becoming increasingly more complex and technical. Legal penalties for failure to do certain things, in a certain way, at a certain time, have added to the burden of the already over-burdened local union officers. Smaller locals have always been dependent upon those members who are willing to devote time, after regular working hours, to take care of the union's business. A token payment is usually made to officers but this can no longer make up for the many hours needed to take care of the details involved.

The larger locals

The larger sized locals, including those which have their own full-time salaried officers and business representatives, have reason to be concerned about wages and working conditions in other cities in their area. No local union can function effectively, if it acts as though it dwelled upon an isolated island. In America, United States and Canada, there are no trade or industry barriers erected at the geographical boundaries of our cities. Modern transportation and communication systems encourage a free flow of goods in all directions. What is produced in one city may be sold in another.

Need for standard conditions

It follows that labor unions need to guide their actions according to these economic facts of life and face the necessity of pooling their resources. Collective bargaining

(Continued on next page)

is seldom truly local in its effect. High wage scales and conditions obtained in one city are meaningless, if an employer who is in national competition decides to transfer his customer's orders to a plant where his labor costs are considerably less because a weaker union permits sub-standard conditions.

Suburban employers may underbid a major city employer for a customer's business for the same reasons as above.

A District Council can aid in standardizing area wages and working conditions and discourage competition based upon cheaper wages, etc. Thus, the larger locals gain if a council succeeds in bringing conditions up in the area and a better job is done in organizing non-union plants which threaten all union conditions.

Higher quality of services

District Councils can serve the needed function of revitalizing our local unions. This inevitably follows upon the stimulating transfusion of new ideas brought back to the local by council delegates.

Local unions become aware of their increased economic strength through their improved ability to bargain for their members, with the aid of full-time union officials.

Local unions which have never had the benefit of full-time officers, because they could not afford such from a limited treasury, now find that a small increase in dues can help support such leadership, if shared with other locals. Not only does this mean better bargaining policies, it means better policing of contract terms, speedy settlement of grievances, and proper attention to the organizing of non-union plants.

When each twig stands by itself it can easily be broken. When a number stand together, in the manner of a District Council, they cannot be broken.

Strong defense

District Councils, too, serve as a strong defense mechanism. Legal difficulties may be better avoided by a more informed leadership engendered by a council. If it is necessary to take defensive legal action, a local, supported by a District Council, is more likely to stand up for its rights rather than guide its defense by the size of its treasury.

Employers or government officials are apt to tread more softly if they know they may be dealing with District Council strength rather than that of a small local. This goes, too, for other Unions who may be contemplating raiding the plants of the small locals. Not to be overlooked, either, is the security given to larger locals in the knowledge that big city employers are not apt to run away to suburban or nearby towns, if a District Council affiliate is located there.

Leadership pooled

Perhaps the greatest bonus obtained in the formation of District Councils is found in the pooling of leaders. Obviously the quality and kind of leadership varies in each local. Opportunity for exerting leadership is certainly more limited in a small local. The same leaders serving as delegates may greatly expand their influence as their unique abilities become available to all affiliated locals.

Consolidation is the order of the day in this unprecedented age of merger. Labor unions are effective because they gather together the strength of many workers. Councils are effective because they gather together the strength of many locals.

Where does the International Union fit in?

When the council program was first promoted for our Union in the early 1960s, it was pointed out that the International Union could never successfully service all of the local unions by assigning International Representatives to scurry about. Not only was this prohibitively expensive, mainly because of ever-mounting traveling expenses. It was also expecting an International Union trouble-shooter to overcome the day by day failures of many locals to properly operate their affairs. The answer was better informed local leaders, aided by a full-time union agent covering a limited area and available for quick action.

This did not mean elimination of International Representatives. It meant that their services could be limited to the more difficult bargaining or dispute situations and allow greater time for organizing.

To prove full support of the council programs, the International Board of Directors agreed to share the cost of operating a council on a 50-50 basis. At first, the Board agreed to match every dollar collected in per capita from affiliated locals for the councils with a dollar from the International's general fund.

Later, this policy was modified to the matching of operating expenses, up to a maximum of $1,000 per month for any council. Additional special assistance has been granted to assist in promising council programs.

The International Union Officers and Representatives have aided in the formation of councils and have been available for advice and help upon request.

Financing has been the hang-up

When the district councils were being formed in the early 60s, it was assumed that a council would be sufficiently financed to support a full-time operation, if there were 1,000 members in affiliated locals and a per capita tax of 50¢ per member per month. This would be $500 income plus $500 from the International. If a council could muster more than 1,000 members it could possibly reduce the per capita needed. Ideally, however, a council that could raise a $1,000 more per month could receive a $1,000 from the International and be in a sound financial position.

Unfortunately these simple mathematical formulas for council financing have only rarely been put into effect.

The difficulty has either been in getting sufficient locals to affiliate to meet the 1,000-plus member goal, or affiliated locals have not agreed to a 50¢ per member council per capita. Those few councils which have obtained the minimum goals for financing are finding that present day expenses have increased so much that the original formula of 1,000 members x 50¢ per capita is insufficient.

The few District Joint Councils which have managed to raise enough income to hire a full time representative are, nevertheless, under-financed to do the two-fold job of service and organizing which is so obviously needed.

The great majority of the District Joint Councils have never been able to get enough income to launch a full time program. Either insufficient locals have affiliated to get the necessary numerical base or the locals which have affiliated have not voted for a per capita tax high enough to supply the necessary income.

Much has been gained

Fortunately, the years spent in part time operation of the District Joint Councils has not been a complete waste. Locals have been helpful to one another by sharing information and, sometimes, in helping with negotiating or organizing problems. Lines of communication between locals are much more open which is all to the good.

Unfortunately, a few District Joint Councils, after months or years of frustration and failure to gain sufficient financial support, have thrown in the towel. Some of these councils will some day be revived when locals realize how important it is to be functioning on an area rather than a purely local basis.

It is a sad but true fact that most district council leaders are on the horns of a dilemma. They know, full well, that a full-scale, full-time council program is badly needed and, once in operation, will pay for itself many times over by being able to achieve higher wages and better working conditions for all members and to add to each member's security by organizing the non-union plants.

But—these same council leaders are fearful of their ability to sell the membership of the affiliated locals that they must increase their per capita tax to a level which will get the councils into full operation. Many have tried again and again and have been rebuffed by the membership.

Time to move ahead

We believe that the facts for council support all go in one direction—for full support and approval.

We believe that it is time for each council to go back to the membership of affiliated and non-affiliated locals and make a new appeal for additional funds. In most cases less than a penny a day is needed.

IT IS TIME FOR FULL SPEED AHEAD IN OUR COUNCIL PROGRAMS!

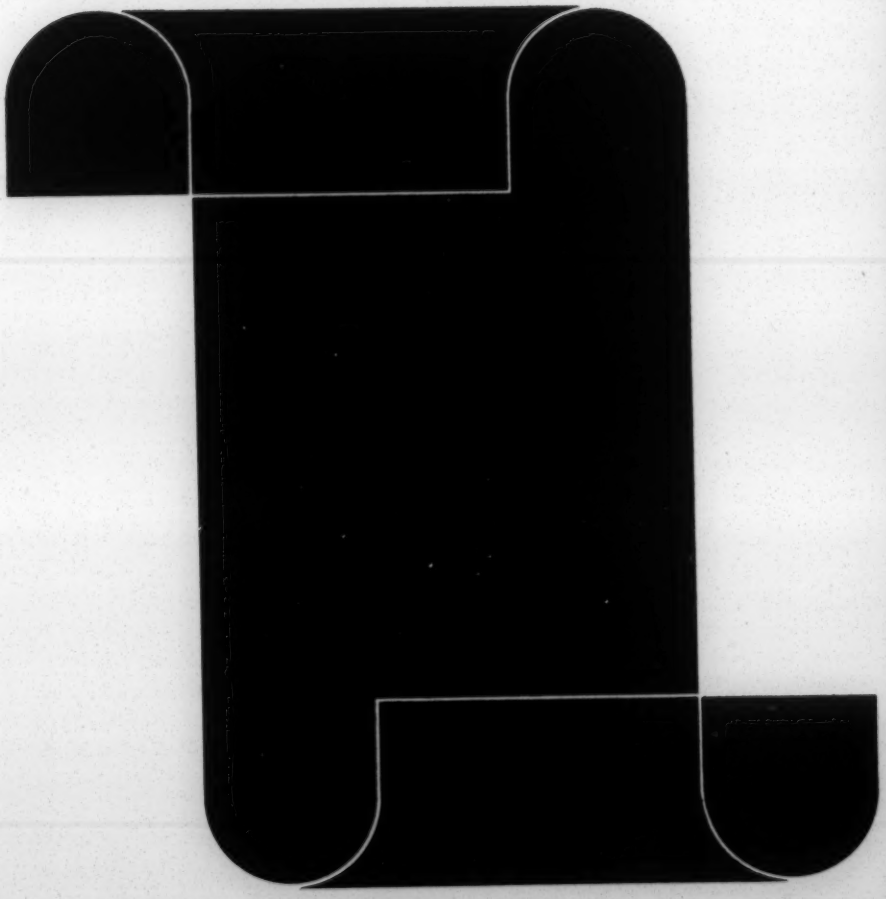
22 22

Public Empl. Unions — Teachers

Protecting Teacher Rights

a summary of constitutional developments

NATIONAL
EDUCATION
ASSOCIATION



Public Employee Unions

REPRINT SERIES NO 226

INSTITUTE OF LABOR AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Collective Public Employee Relations Without Adequate Legislative Guidelines

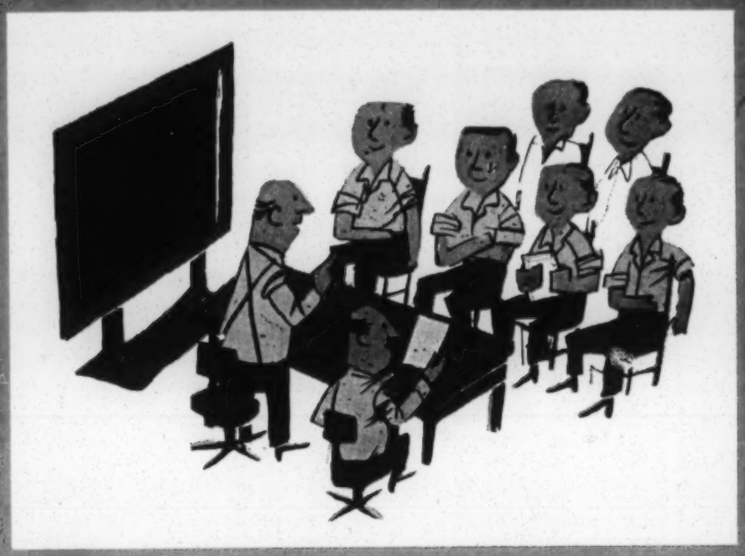
By MILTON DERBER and
IAN McANDREW

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS BULLETIN

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

20 IDEAS FOR STEWARD MEETINGS

BASED ON MATERIAL ORIGINALLY PREPARED BY INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS' EDUCATION DEPARTMENT



1. STEWARD'S JOB

Ask the group to comment on the question, "What is the biggest problem a new steward faces when he takes office?"

If it is a large group, stewards can write their answers on a slip of paper and hand them in. As comments are made, a panel of experts, such as the local President, the Chairman of the Grievance Committee, and the Business Representative, add remarks. The session should be summarized by the chairman. who presents three or four main points that are important for a new steward to remember. This session is usually a good review for experienced stewards.

2. CONTRACT INTERPRETATION

It is not very effective to read the contract or lecture about it. Instead, prepare a sheet of five or six specific questions about one or two sections of the contract. For example: "If John worked 40 hours during the week and 8 hours on Saturday and his pay is $2.00 an hour, what should his gross earnings be?"

The group can then work out the correct answer. A couple of "experts" from the Grievance Committee can act as a resource panel for the group.

3. GRIEVANCE WRITING

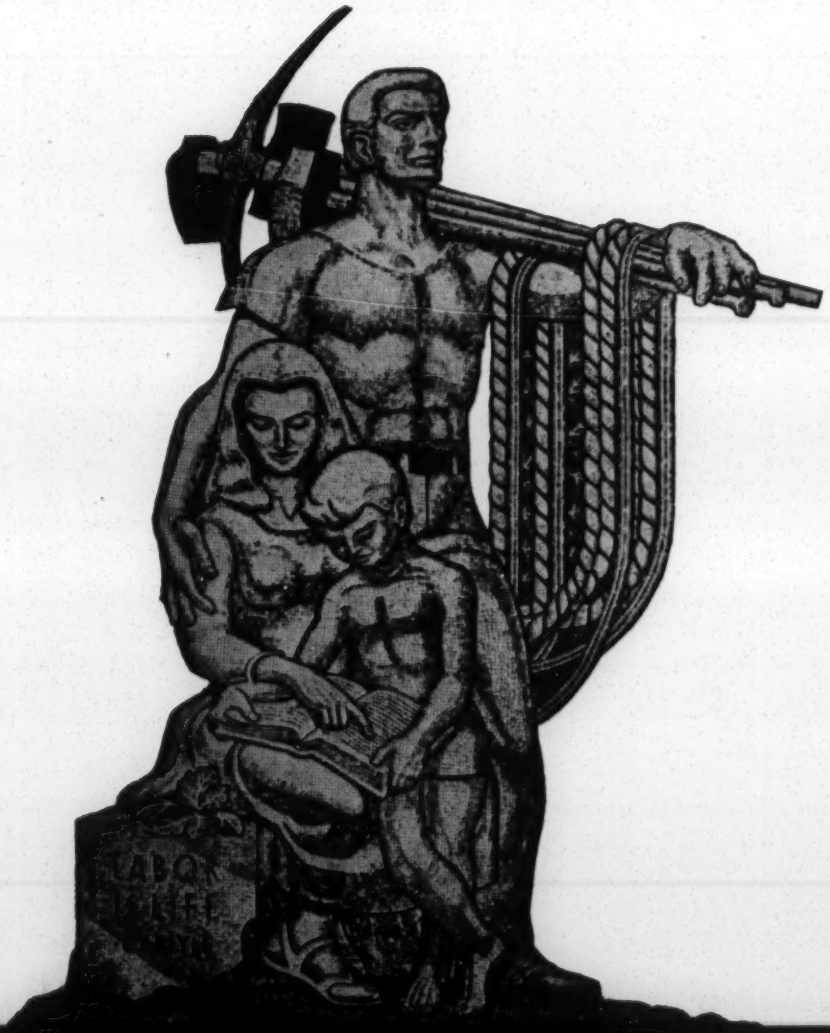
Pass out a sheet of instructions on how to write up a grievance along with a sample grievance situation and blank grievance forms. Have the stewards discuss the contract violation involved in the sample grievance and then have them write it up as a grievance on the blank form. Go over the way various stewards have written the grievance and discuss how it should be worded.

4. GRIEVANCE PRESENTATION

Pass out a sample grievance situation or use the situation from a grievance film. Ask the stewards what they would do in preparing to argue this case with a foreman. Then have a couple of stewards role-play the grievance with one acting as the steward. After they have acted for two or three minutes, discuss the way they presented the grievance and what the "actors" did best. In order not to "stigmatize" an individual for playing the part of the foreman, it is sometimes a good idea to have them act it out a second time reversing their roles. They will often do a better job the second time.

FROM THE BEGINNING;

The Rise of American Labor



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Special Pamphlet Rates: Educational institutions, $1.50 each; quantity order, 10 percent discount on orders from 10 to 50 and 20 percent on larger orders.

YOUR COPE DOLLAR DRIVE

As you go about your plant, or organization, one of the most frequently asked questions will be, "What do I get out of COPE?" or "Why should I give a dollar to COPE?" BE READY WITH THE ANSWERS. POLITICS COST MONEY -- Members of Congress are Very Important Persons . . . they can be friendly . . . or they can be unfriendly . . . to labor.

With COPE DOLLARS we must:

1. Educate members to the need for political activity.
2. Keep members informed of the candidates' records.
3. Take the issues and candidates before the public.
4. Assist endorsed candidates financially in order to help get them elected.

<u>YOU NEED COPE TO</u>:

Protect your rights as a citizen . . . as an American . . . and as a member of a labor union. You may ask, PROTECT - - PROTECT from what??

1. From the election of unfriendly legislators elected with the money from Big Business, which regularly pours millions of dollars into politics to try to elect conservative candidates, most of whom are ANTI-LABOR.
2. From political extremists who are intensifying their efforts to take over the county, many of whom have strong financial backing.

3. From repressive laws which protect the financial interests and expose the wage earners to the hazards of high prices and low wages.

4. From officials elected and controlled by the few, who have authority to harass and undermine the efforts of the working people to improve their conditions.

COPE depends on $1.00 contributions from individual workers and their families to help finance campaigns of candidates for federal offices. Union dues and assessments are not permitted by law to be used in federal campaigns.

Without such funds, only the candidates backed by the wealthy could afford to run for federal office, and such candidates are seldom friends of the working people.

These are the reasons WHY we have the annual COPE Dollar Drive - - the best way to assure a systematic effort to get every AFL-CIO member to participate in his union's political action programs.

HOW TO SET UP THE COPE DOLLAR DRIVE:

First, you need a chairman for your local union. The Chairman should have full knowledge of COPE, its activities and should have enough time to do a good, thorough job. He (or she) should divide the membership into small manageable units. From within these smaller units, the persons who will conduct the Dollar Drive should be selected.

Each should be given a list of 10 to 20 members within his department or section to contact during the COPE Dollar Drive. If you have union members who already have an active interest in political affairs, they should be selected.

TRAINING THE COLLECTORS:

Don't keep facts to yourself. Get all the literature you can, and this should be used in a training session or sessions for Dollar Drive collectors. The sessions should be conducted by the fund-raising chairman, and held a few days before the COPE Dollar Drive begins. Discuss today's legislative or political issues in case the collectors have to answer any questions.

TIMING:

The local union president should send letters to the membership announcing the start of the COPE Dollar Drive and asking each member to make his contribution.

Remember, paydays are good collection days. Don't embarrass members by asking for your COPE dollar when they are least likely to have money.

GET YOUR MESSAGE ACROSS:

Order literature and posters from National COPE. Announce your Drive in your union newspapers and bulletins. Run news stories, editorials, cartoons and advertisements. Use your imagination and your mimeograph, but if you need help, let your State COPE know about it.

Promote friendly competiton --

Keep your members informed --

Strive for 100 per cent success --

SAVE SOME IDEAS AND SOME EFFORT FOR THAT LAST BIG PUSH --

THAT IS WHAT GETS YOU OVER THE TOP!

There are other ways to raise money (for supplementary funds)

A. Banquets, dinners, luncheons, or picnics.

B. Dances, card parties or play bingo.

C. Raffles (if local law permits) or run a contest.

D. Sales - tie tacs, cuff links, other.

These methods have been successful. Taken step by step, the results will be surprisingly good. Good luck!

SECURING MEMBERSHIP PARTICIPATION IN UNION ACTIVITIES

WHY DO WE WANT UNION MEMBERS TO ATTEND LOCAL UNION MEETINGS?

1. To know policy of your union.

2. To maintain democratic control through broad participation by members.

3. To back up officers and the union programs.

4. To develop a feeling of brotherhood.

5. To locate new people for leadership.

6. To educate at the meeting on:

   Basic trade unionism
   Current collective bargaining program
   Legislative and political program

WHAT ARE YOUR UNION'S GOALS? (HAVE YOU EVER THOUGHT OF DISCUSSING THIS?)

Who decides your union's goals? Officers? Members?

Does your local have any goals?

Many locals have a poor attendance at meetings because their goals are too narrow. Many locals just have two goals:

1. To negotiate for better wages and working conditions.

2. To handle grievances (administer the contract).

If these are the only goals the local has, why hold meetings once a month? Contract negotiations come up once a year at most and a few meetings at negotiation time would take care of this. Grievances are settled in the plant by stewards and officers, so meetings don't help here except in the odd case where overall policy is involved.

SOME GOALS SUGGESTED BY UNION MEMBERS

1. Job Security

2. Fair Wages

3. Job Training

4. Supplying workers with information on matters that affect them.

5. Developing common views on social, economic and political problems.

6. Inspiring new interests.

7. Developing more knowledge and understanding of people and human relations.

8. Developing feelings of adequacy, importance and belonging in each member.

9. Helping the needy and disadvantaged.

10. Working with other organizations to create better social conditions, better community life, and better living standards.

OFFICERS SHOULD PLAN MEETINGS SO MEMBERS MAY PLAN FOR THE UNION

Develop goals that the members can help actively to achieve, that the members can get personally involved in. Members should not consider their union as a slot machine that hands out increases when they put in dues. But in some cases this is all the union does. Members want to DO something.

> Officers should not do the planning for the union. MEMBERS SHOULD!
>
> Officers should help the members plan by giving them alternative goals, problems to solve, and all facts relating to the situation which make the problems.
>
> This means that officers should plan the meeting.
>
> Officers should not attempt to sell their solutions to the members.
>
> Officers should help the members find their own solutions and define their own goals.

BUILDING AN ACTIVE UNION

Are Local Union Meetings the Best Place to Accomplish Objectives?

Many unions place a great deal of emphasis on getting the membership out to local union meetings. They feel that a large local union attendance will help accomplish some of the objectives listed above. However, it is doubtful that attendance can be substantially increased over a long period of time. It is quite apparent that the average member is not interested in the day-to-day routine business operations of his union. When local unions take up petty business they get petty attendance. When big issues like elections, strike votes, dues increase, contract negotiations come up the attendance is large. Because it is impossible to regularly schedule big issues on a regular basis it is difficult to increase regular meeting attendance to any great degree.

Even if it were possible to bring out all the members of a big union having more than 500 or 1,000 members it is doubtful that all the problems indicated above would be solved. If every local union did have full attendance this might not be any more democratic than the normal attendance of 5 to 10%. Mass bodies can only set general policy as is done at conventions through the use of resolutions. They cannot effectively handle the day-to-day routine operations required of local unions. Therefore other methods must be used if the local union is to be effective and democratic.

Getting Participation

Department meetings generally get much better attendance than do local union meetings. Because these meetings are generally held around a crisis issue it is difficult to hold them on a regular basis. They are used most successfully when workers either punch out an hour early or the meeting takes place immediately after the shift break.

Some large local unions elect representatives who conduct routine business. They in turn report back to department meetings. A mass membership meeting is held once a year or more often if necessary. This, in effect, serves the same function as a convention for an international union. Basic issues, like election of officers, are decided by referendum.

The normal day-to-day operations of the unions are primarily conducted by elected representatives who are expected to be specialists on these matters. They have a feeling of responsibility because they are given authority.

Local Union Operation

Unions find that many of their goals or objectives can best be dealt with by a small number of people working on a committee.

Some committees will be standing. Others will be elected or appointed for a short time to deal with a problem.

Main education efforts should be directed at officers, stewards, and committee members.

Check your committees by first listing your union goals and then indicating which committee could best deal with the problem. For example:

Major Objectives	Committees
High Wages Job Security	Stewards & Negotiating
Democracy in the Shop	Executive, Stewards
Good Housing Good Schools	Education, Legislative, COPE and Executive
Recreation	Recreation, Education, Community Services
Good Government	Education, Legislative, COPE
Good Ventilation and Sanitation	Safety, Stewards, Negotiating
Jobs for all	Education, Legislative, COPE
Better communication with members	Publicity, Education, Stewarts and Executive

Educating at Local Union Meetings

The active people who usually attend meetings are very important. They talk to people everywhere. If they get ideas from a speech, a film or a discussion,you have taken a big step toward educating your local union members.

Big membership turnouts generally mean there are big issues to be discussed and there is little time available for education. In large groups it is easier to arouse enthusiasm than to provide understanding. Show a film, sign union songs -- break them up in buzz groups to discuss one subject.

Plan to pass out a leaflet or union pamphlet at every local union meeting. Be sure someone describes the pamphlet before it is released.

Because 90 to 95% of the membership do not attend meetings other methods of informing them must be worked out. Many problems can best be talked about in a short education discussion. This will bring understanding and motions for action during the meeting.

Ways of Reaching Union Members

1. Word of mouth by stewards and officers.

2. Shop papers leaflets or handbills.

3. Education programs at union meetings and classes.

4. Training sessions, conferences, and discussion groups.

5. Bulletin Boards, Posters, Radio and TV.

Most effective method: Education work done by a steward in his department generally results in better attendance at local union meetings. Stewards or committeemen should keep workers in his department informed of what's going on. People will participate only if they are informed.

The use of other ways to educate, build solidarity, find leadership or get participation, does not mean the union meeting should become less interesting.

Locating New Leadership for Union Activities

This is one of the most difficult jobs for a union. The same amount of care ought to go into this process as was used in organizing the plant. A systematic effort must be made to sort out those seeming to have leadership qualities. Often a person originally opposed to the union can develop into a leader. It is important to look for the special interests of the individual. A person may be interested in legislative problems but not in the job of a steward. Such a person may be eager to serve on a COPE committee.

Developing a Feeling of Brotherhood

Social functions are often a useful device in getting people to know each other better. Often a program conducted in a department rather than on a plant level may be more successful in this field.

A sports program particularly among the younger workers can accomplish the same purpose.

An initiation program where new members are formally sworn in and welcomed by the membership can build brotherhood. The ceremony should have dignity. However, it must be realized particularly in a large local that it may be difficult to get people to attend an initiation if they live any distance from the meeting place.

Personal Contacts

Officers or stewards should have leisurely talks with workers to explain the union, give background on the union's positions on in-plant and out-of-plant issues. This will give individual members a chance to ask questions privately.

Many locals have found that house calls upon members are the most effective way to reach the membership. Each local union officer works from an assigned list so everyone is covered during a given period. (Warning: Don't get into arguments in a member's home.) Keep records of these house calls and report back to Executive Board meetings, Steward meetings, education, legislative and all other interested committees. Discuss ways of approaching workers and persuading them of the union way and its benefits.

BUILDING UNION UNDERSTANDING

THE PROBLEM

Most union officers and active members are concerned about the lack of participation on the part of too many union members in the affairs of their organizations. The severity of this problem varies from situation to situation. How accute it is depends largely on the degree of union understanding and activity which union officers and active members believe SHOULD exist. But whatever standards and goals may be set, there are few union members who feel that the problem has been solved in their organizations.

In order to attack this problem intelligently, it is necessary to uncover and understand some of the reasons behind it.

SOME REASONS FOR THE EXISTENCE OF THIS PROBLEM

1. The theory that union activity must be based on dissatisfaction: "I will come to the union meeting if I have a gripe", or "As long as I think that things are going OK, why should I participate?"

2. The relative prosperity of workers: the progress which workers have made through union organization has given many of them a feeling that they have a greater stake in keeping things as they are; there is less willingness to take chances. Many estimate that they have more to lose and less to gain through union activity than in the old days.

3. The absence of a tradition of trade unionism in a community: in some areas, there are few visible standards of comparison for older members between their situation and others; young people coming into industry and the crafts have little experience with or knowledge of the struggles of workers in other areas and other years.

4. Joint incomes: where husband and wife both work, the pressures on the budget are felt less keenly than by the man or woman who is trying to support a family alone.

5. Temporary employees: the introduction of temporary employees into the working force at different seasons of the year who have other sources of income or who are working only for extra cash, presents a problem to the local union.

6. Management publicity: as directly sponsored by some employers or their associations, or indirectly encouraged through outside "spokesmen"; either out-and-out anti-union material, or publicity designed to soften pro-union attitudes on the part of present union members, young people coming into industry and the public.

7. Lack of attention in the schools to unions as necessary and constructive parts of our economy, and our political and social life.

8. Age, and the difficulties of obtaining continued employment in the event of displacement or retirement.

9. The problem of unemployment: an unwillingness in periods of slack employment to call the company's attention to oneself by being active in the union, particularly in the area of grievances.

10. Out side attractions and activities: often made possible for the worker and his family by union wages and working conditions, but leaving little time for activity in union affairs.

11. Human nature: the willingness and enthusiasm with which many people seek "something for nothing", plus the unwillingness to accept responsibility: "let George do it".

BUILDING A PROGRAM FOR INCREASED UNION ACTIVITY

1. It must stimulate activity on the basis of the human motives to which it appeals.

People do things because they WANT TO, because they feel they SHOULD, out of HABIT, because they HAVE TO, or because they HAD BETTER, OR ELSE.

The union program should try to develop attitudes of personal desire (want to) and obligation (should). It should meet members at their own levels of knowledge and interest. It should . . .

... give personal satisfaction
... give personal enjoyment
... provide for personal growth
... require participation in order to maintain self-respect and the respect of others
... promote loyalty to the ideals and programs of the union
... develop a sense of individual and group responsibility
... develop a tradition of union participation

2. The setting of goals and standards of achievement.

The union should set its goals high but must realize that perfection cannot be obtained. The standards of achievement must be set considerably lower. Success cannot always be measured in mass terms - often it must be on an individual basis. A program for increasing union understanding and activity must be uncomplicated enough to offer some measure of success in order to avoid the feeling of frustration which may follow the failure of a program which is too elaborate and which falls short of its goals.

The University of Wisconsin
Extension Division
School for Workers

FIELD TRIP REPORT

Emory Via

CITY Waco STATE Texas

DATE February 27-28,1969 BY Ralph C. Smith

REASON FOR VISIT: CSA Program development. Unions — Community Services

PRINCIPAL CONTACTS

Roger Jones	New Chairman, CSC, McClennan Co.,CLU (ITU)
Rudolf Zalman	Co-Chairman, CSC (Operating Engineer)
Robert L. Herbert	Executive Director, United Fund
Dean Maberry	Executive Director, Planning Council
Jesse Sapp	President, CLU

February 27 Spent entire day with Roger Jones, new Chairman, McClennan Co.,CLU, providing orientation, materials and planning CSA Program development. Jones, age 32, is a family man with four children,(boys). A member of the Typographical Union,(ITU), owns and edits the "Waco Farm and Labor Journal." (Jones Printing Co.) He plans to change the name of the newspaper to "Waco Labor Journal" in the near future. Jones is a Sunday School teacher and a member of the Junior Chamber of Commerce. He is intelligent, aggressive and displays an excellent attitude regarding social welfare issues and educational programs. His address: 8730 Panther Drive, Waco, Texas 76710. Phone #772-2408/817

February 28 Met with Jones, Herbert and Maberry. Mayberry, Action Planning Council Director was enthusiastic and pledged full support and cooperation regarding development of educational programs. Herbert, United Fund Executive Director, was cordial and did not rule out the possibility of hiring Labor Staff. (He needs an additional staff member).

Met with CSC for discussion and orientation.

COMMENTS

The appointments of Roger Jones as CSC Chairman and Rudolf Zalman as co-chairman represent excellent selections on the part of CLU President, Jesse Sapp. Although the hiring of Labor Staff is a year, possibly two, away there is a distinct possibility provided the CSA Program develops as planned and labor participation increases.

RECOMMENDATION

All requested assistance should be provided. Despite the estimate of 8,300 union members in the area the potential for growth is there. "Manpower Trends" lists employees as Manufacturing-13,085; Construction-3,335; Trades-14,800 and Government-8,315. With other non-manufacturing listed at 19,060, this adds up to 58,595 non-Agricultural employees in the area! Another trip to Waco should be made while in the area.

IMPORTANT FOOTNOTE

Please make a careful study of the attached report, "Welfare, Welfare, Who Gets Your Dollar." As stated in the Foreword, "this material attempts to relate discussion of welfare to the local situation" and, in my opinion, material of this type should be made available in every county, particularly where there is a large city. Local statistics really provide a strong impact when used in institutes and educational programs involving people in a given locality. Breaking down the myths and commonly shared misconceptions regarding welfare is vitally important to the success of our total program. Material of this type would provide our lobbyists at the local, state and national levels with knowledge many now lack and would greatly enhance their effectiveness. Government officials, representatives of the News Media and Labor Leaders are generally unaware that such conditions do exist.

Bear these facts in mind:

1. The statistics contained in this type of study are readily available at state and federal welfare departments at the local and state level.

2. The maximum assistance provided to citizens, age 65 and over, is $110 per month with an average of $62 per month. The fact that over 4,000 senior citizens are receiving assistance in McClennan County as opposed to less than 1,000 parents and children receiving aid to families and dependent children (page three) graphically proves a statement made by Emory Via at the Texas AFL-CIO Institute in Wimberly. "A larger percentage of the aged are provided assistance because they vote."

3. The maximum for a family receiving aid is $123 per month regardless of the size of the family. (This will be cut to $115 a month, in the near future, due to a referendum vote recently conducted in Texas). Have babies to get more welfare?

4. Of the total of 5,324 individuals receiving aid, less than 3% are employable. Make those people go to work? (Aged-blind-disabled-minor children).

5. The infant mortality rate in McClennan County is the second highest in the state and this is the only county where the infant mortality rate has increased over the past ten years. (Malnutrition principle cause).

6. The federal government pays most of the "bill" in Texas (Page four). Counties relatively nothing.

It is long past the time when major organizations who are, or profess to be, dedicated to solving the social ills of our time should join in a concerted effort to eliminate the primary cause of unemployment, crime, low quality education, and other unmet needs. STARVATION.

This report is not meant as a criterion of McClennan County. These conditions exist in every county in the nation to one degree or another. This is why local statistics are so important. Too many people, including some who should know letter, would dismiss a report of this nature with a shrug and the thought, "That's McClennan County, not my county."

Local statistics are the only weapons available to prove to them. "This is your county."

ccs: Leo Perlis
Ed Carlin
Gus Shea
A. B. Smith

(This material was prepared for presentation to a group of adults at Central Presbyterian Church studying "Changing Society," a book by Dr. O. Z. White, of Trinity University. This material attempts to relate discussion of welfare to the local situation.)

WELFARE, WELFARE, WHO GETS YOUR DOLLAR?

We play a deadly game with words like "welfare," which usually charge the atmosphere of any adult discussion with considerably more heat than light. Webster defines "welfare" as:

> "the state or condition of doing or being well; good fortune, happiness or well-being of a person, community, or thing."

We easily make the word a dirty word and for even the well-meaning citizen, the word evokes thoughtless criticism unsupported by facts, which presents an unflattering image of people, an equally unflattering image of a program designed to meet the needs of less fortunate citizens; in the process we do a grave disservice to our community and disservice is based on a lack of knowledge of truth.

Let's play another game, equally deadly, for it may point the finger at us. Can you name the person who has ever made one of the following remarks, and not have to name yourself:

1. "We ought to make all those able-bodied men on welfare go to work."
2. "We just make it too easy for 'em. They'd certainly rather get those welfare payments than have to work at an honest job."
3. "Women on welfare have one baby after another, just to get more welfare money."
4. "I simply can't get anyone to do day-work for me - they're afraid their welfare payments will stop."
5. "No, she's not on welfare - she gets an old-age pension. You know, everybody in Texas over 65 gets it."
6. "If we didn't have all this welfare give-away, there wouldn't be so much crime. Those people just don't try to raise their children right."
7. "All those people on welfare are immoral - they live with anybody that comes along and all they're interested in is sex and liquor."
8. "Of course you can't get anybody to work. They'd rather lie around and draw unemployment compensation."

What does "welfare" mean in McLennan County, and what are "welfare funds" in this county? The facts are readily available from programs supported by state and federal welfare departments with McLennan County providing offices in Waco. There are some very specific categories of welfare assistance:

1. Old-age Assistance
2. Aid to Families with Dependent Children
3. Aid to the Blind
4. Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled.

What is the story in McLennan County with regard to the number of persons served and the number of dollars involved in service under these various programs? In 1968, 4,038 citizens in Waco and McLennan County received old-age assistance. The maximum grant under this program is $110.00 per month and the average payment is $62.00. Since all these persons are above the age of 65, it may be difficult to level against them the charge that they are "lazy, able-bodied men" and "immoral women."

In 1968, 195 families in Waco and McLennan County received Aid to Families with Dependent Children, representing a tofal of 771 children. The maximum grant for a family of four children and caretaker (mother, father or foster parent) is $123.00 per month. (That's $4.10 per day, to pay rent, buy groceries, pay utilities, buy clothing, for five people - or 80¢ per person per day.) Regardless of family size, the maximum grant is $123.00 a month. It may be questioned whether this is a "profitable" way of life. If it is true that crime can be traced back to families receiving welfare payments, under this category of assistance, the inclination to crime would seem to come more from too little, rather than too much give-away.

In 1968, 70 legally blind persons received Aid to the Blind, at an average payment of $73.50 per month. 250 persons received aid because they were permanently and totally disabled. This aid averaged $50.30 per month. It might be difficult to maintain that either the blind or the permanently and totally disabled are contributing to many of the typically tossed-about concepts of welfare abuse.

There still remains the question of unemployment compensation. Actually unemployment insurance is not welfare; it is an earned benefit. That doesn't keep us from blaming most labor problems on the person whom we contend would rather draw welfare or unemployment than work. To get the facts straight, to be eligible for unemployment insurance, an individual must have worked for an employer who has in the past year had four or more employees for at least twenty consecutive weeks. Employers not meeting this criteria are not required to make unemployment insurance payments. Obviously, this provision eliminates the day-worker, domestic and many unskilled workers. A second requirement is that an individual must have worked and earned enough wages to qualify him for the minimum weekly payment of $15.00. The maximum weekly payment is $45.00. The rate of payment is based on 1/25th of earnings in the highest three months of his base pay period. The maximum amount of benefits that can be drawn during a given year is based on total wages reported in a preceding twelve months period of convered employment. The maximum number of weeks per year that an individual may qualify for unemployment insurance is twenty-six, but the actual number is also based on previous employment and earnings. Further, to qualify for unemployment insurance, an individual must register for employment at the Texas Employment Commission and he must be able to work (not sick) and available (in town) for work. If he refuses a job offered for inadequate causes, he may be disqualified from further payments; he may also be disqualified if he leaves a job for inadequate reason. The obvious point is that an individual must have worked enough within a given year in order to qualify for minimum unemployment insurance, and the minimum is just above $60.00 per month. He must be laid off by employer (layoff)

For the record, the annual reports of the State Welfare Department for the last eighteen years reflect the following assistance provided in the assistance categories discussed above to residents of McLennan County:

See page 3

Key Note!

$712 a year
Grade $58.864 month

$90 Per Family Dependent
Separation Bill year
$120 month supplement

	Old-age Assistance		Families with Dependent Children			Aid to the Blind		Permanently and Totally Disabled	
Year	Persons	Dollars	Families	Children	Dollars	Persons	Dollars	Persons	Dollars
1968	4,038	$2,875,732	195	771	$173,539	70	$61,741	250	$151,049
1967	4,097	2,980,432	109	406	107,851	68	63,969	177	124,721
1966	4,124	2,851,479	78	305	73,593	77	62,889	169	111,000
1965	4,177	2,815,759	63	221	52,795	78	65,172	161	106,324
1964	4,291	2,880,883	49	171	37,325	85	67,926	153	99,459
1963	4,275	2,789,986	40	116	42,284	83	74,529	139	88,000
1962	4,127	2,572,984	53	149	49,573	96	77,529	136	76,442
1961	4,196	2,532,669	68	207	53,311	112	76,270	126	74,088
1960	4,225	2,588,481	89	291	106,022	105	75,372	108	57,868
1959	4,300	2,604,521	185	623	177,793	114	74,986	83	44,559
1958	4,376	2,401,975	241	794	205,828	108	68,367	56	12,757
1957	4,332	2,313,287	235	743	195,042	123	71,385		
1956	4,388	2,175,778	216	698	155,746	124	67,979		
1955	4,440	2,047,974	219	688	142,152	124	64,601		
*1954	4,456	171,038	180	549	10,778	115	5,229		
*1953	4,378	166,323	131	411	8,989	114	5,031		
*1952	4,388	148,824	129	409	6,930	122	4,825		
*1951	4,532	148,109	177	573	8,974	116	4,399		
*1950	4,696	157,577	228	697	10,360	130	5,187		

*Amount of assistance (dollars) reported from 1950 through 1954 represents payments for only the month of August of each year. Amount of assistance reported after 1954 represents the total payments for the state fiscal year.

The figures above relate entirely to McLennan County and represent payments made through the State Welfare Department. In the fiscal year ending August 31, 1968, Texas spent a total of $354,294,462.00 for its Public Assistance Programs in the four categories above and in Medical Assistance under Title XIX and in Refugee Assistance and Aid to U. S. Citizens Returning from Foreign Countries. The administrative cost of this problem was $18,640,501.00, or 5% of the total amount of funds expended. The following table gives the breakdown of both the category of expenditure and the source of funds for assistance which was granted in the fiscal year ending August 31, 1968:

Program	Amount			Per Cent From State
	Total	Source		
		Federal	State	
Total	$335,653,961.16	$251,511,457.42	$84,142,503.74	25%
1. Old-age Assistance . .	167,529,066.54	119,366,167.78	48,162,898.76	29
2. Aid to Families with Dependent Children . .	32,425,700.00	26,276,272.27	6,149,427.73	19
3. Aid to the Blind . . .	3,719,944.00	2,319,978.17	1,399,965.83	38
4. Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled .	10,020,681.00	5,773,561.75	4,247,119.25	42
5. Medical Assistance. . . Title XIX	121,890,159.06	97,707,066.89	24,183,092.17	20
6. Cuban Refugee Assistance	48,036.07	48,036.07	0.00	0
7. Aid to U. S. Citizens Returned from Foreign Countries	20,374.49	20,374.49	0.00	0

Thus far all of the "welfare" assistance talked about has come from state and federal sources. What about McLennan County itself and its financial responsibility toward its indigent citizens? The county has assumed certain responsibilities as follows:

1. Payment of Hospitalization and Emergency Care
2. Provision of Transportation to and from State Hospitals
3. Supplementing Nursing Home Care Where Necessary
4. Furnishing Some Clothing for Nursing Home Patients and Tuberculosis Patients
5. Pauper Burials
6. Provision of Groceries and Limited Aid in Emergency Cases.

In addition, the county department is responsible for certifying eligibility of persons for federal surplus commodities. The scale used in determining eligibility for commodities is the maximum allowable in Texas: a family of two with an income of less than $150.00 per month; a family of three with less than $170.00 monthly; a family of four with less than $190.00 monthly.

One does not need to make the claim that the planning, programs and projects which we describe as "welfare," are perfect. One can ask for care in seeking to understand both the problem and the efforts being made to meet the problem. Ill-informed, prejudiced remarks are depressing and destructive. They resolve no problem. On the other hand, informed criticism of agencies and the community is healthy and frequently welcomed, when based on facts. An immeasurable service can be rendered in a changing society by the citizen who cares enough to learn the truth and then uses his talents in an effort to solve problems which do exist. We do better to go to the dictionary, rather than to the gutter, for our words to define the word "welfare."

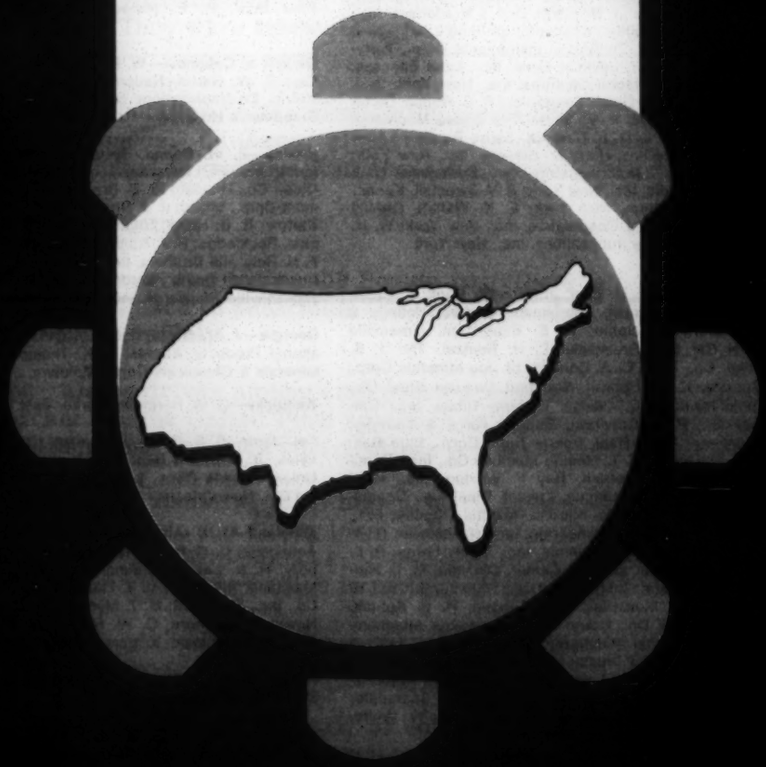
MAY
1971

SURVEY NO.
94

Union & the Community

COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Personnel Policies Forum®



BNA

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Alabama Unions Plan Low-Cost Housing Units

Tuscaloosa—The Alabama AFL-CIO has received federal approval for the drawing of initial plans to build low-income-family housing in Birmingham, Florence and Decatur, council officers reported at the eighth biennial convention of the state central body.

That means the start of preliminary work on 800 housing units to be built with federal loans costing $11 million, Pres. Barney Weeks advised 550 delegates from the state's affiliated unions. Eventually the state council hopes to sponsor low-cost housing in every Alabama city where union members are concentrated, Weeks said.

The convention gave Weeks and Sec.-Treas. A. G. Trammell new two-year terms, and authorized the executive board to proceed with its housing program.

Weeks reported a membership gain of 15,000 since the 1968 convention and noted the success of a state-wide prescription drug program launched by the state body. Since its start 18 months ago, more than 32 stores have signed contracts to furnish members of affiliated unions with needed medicines at actual cost plus what Weeks called "a small professional fee."

Members of AFL-CIO unions are saving more than $500,000 a year on drugs because of the program, Weeks estimated.

Among convention speakers were Gov. Albert P. Brewer (D), whose term in office expires Jan. 15; Chief Justice-elect Howell Heflin of the Alabama Supreme Court; Bill Baxley of Dothan, attorney general-elect; Jerry Beasley, lieutenant-governor-elect; Stanton Smith, AFL-CIO central bodies' coordinator, and Irma Angevine, executive director of the Consumers Federation of America.

The incoming state officials assured the delegates that labor and the consumer will get fair treatment when they assume office next January.

The convention called on the state attorney general to set up a consumer protection department, and Baxley promised the delegates he would do just that early in his new term of office.

Heflin pledged that labor will get a fair hearing in the state's top court, and Beasley announced that legislation of interest to labor will be referred to fair committees in the next session of the legislature.

The convention adopted a policy statement calling for a state minimum wage of $1.60 an hour. On the federal level, it voted to back the AFL-CIO drive for national health insurance and an occupational health and safety law.

Georgia Labor Asks Improved Minimum Pay

Augusta, Ga. — The Georgia State AFL-CIO laid the groundwork at its 14th annual convention for an all-out drive to boost the state minimum wage to $1.50 an hour.

The 650 delegates also called on the state legislature to extend coverage of the wage law to more workers. Through labor's efforts, the legislature earlier this year adopted the state's first minimum wage law setting a floor of $1.25 an hour for covered workers.

Delegates voted to increase monthly per capita payments from 10 cents to 12 cents. The additional income will be channelled mainly into COPE operations and legislative programs of the state body.

Pres. J. O. Moore told the convention that 8,000 new members were enrolled in the state body since the last convention to boost the total membership to 74,000 members.

Moore was re-elected to his second two-year term as president, defeating former Sec. J. W. Giles. In the contest for secretary, H. H. Marbry of the Carpenters was elected over Melvin Tate of the Pulp-Sulphite Workers. Mrs. Louise Dean was re-elected treasurer.

Speakers at the three-day convention included Assistant Sec. of Labor W. J. Usery and Georgia Commissioner of Labor Sam Caldwell.

Times, News Reach Pacts With Guild

New York—Wage increases as high as $100 a week are provided in new three-year contracts tentatively agreed upon by the Newspaper Guild and the New York Times and the Daily News.

Guild negotiators reached agreement a few hours before a scheduled walkout and sent the terms to a vote Nov. 9 by 2,600 Guildsmen at the Times and about 1,400 at the News.

No details were released pending unit votes, but a Guild spokesman said the papers offered the same 41.69 percent package increase won by the Guild at the Post, and by other unions from the publishers.

Under the pattern formula, top minimum wages for experienced reporters, copy editors and advertising salesmen will rise at the Times from $255.25 to $361.66 a week in the third year and at the News from $242.55 to $343.67.

Guild members have been working under a contract extension since Mar. 30. Besides wages, which will go up in yearly increments of 15, 11 and 11 percent, issues at the two dailies include a full union shop, percentage increases applied to top minimums in all Guild classifications, conversion of a six-minute reduction in working time per day to cash or other benefits, and improved pensions.

Theodore W. Kheel, chief mediator in the talks that started last February, said contract approval by members of the Guild and the photoengravers would close out the 1970 round of negotiations. Kheel was aided by federal and state mediators.

Eugene Goslee Named Labor Board Solicitor

The appointment of Eugene G. Goslee as solicitor of the National Labor Relations Board was announced by NLRB Chairman Edward B. Miller. Goslee, 48, is a veteran NLRB attorney.

Goslee succeeds William Feldesman, now on leave for an assignment on behalf of the International Labor Organization in Africa. On his return, Feldesman will become a special assistant to Board Member John H. Fanning.

Handbook for Young Workers

- Labor Laws
- Training Opportunities
- Sources of Help

Bulletin 271

1965

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary

BUREAU OF LABOR STANDARDS

Nelson M. Bortz, Director

Union Admins – Younger Workers

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION

The University of Wisconsin
432 North Lake Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53706
Telephone: Area Code 608 262-2111

School for Workers

May 23, 1969

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sir:

We have received your request for a copy of the study on the "generation gap" in labor unions which was mentioned in the Wall Street Journal of April 1, 1969.

A complete report of the findings is being prepared for possible publication. In the meantime, we are enclosing all that we do have available at this time which is a copy of the advance summary which we released to the Milwaukee Journal and to the Wall Street Journal.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Robert Ozanne

Robert Ozanne
Director

SCHOOL FOR WORKERS
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
MADISON, WISCONSIN

Questionnaire On

Union Leader Predictions

Dear Union Leader:

As you probably know, questionnaires were recently mailed to one out of every four Local 19806 members (a 25% random sample). More than 650 of the questionnaires have been answered and returned to the University of Wisconsin.

The object of this second short questionnaire is to have you, a union leader, PREDICT how you think the majority of the rank-and-file members answered certain of the questions on the earlier questionnaire.

INSTRUCTIONS:

1. Read each question carefully to make sure you understand it.
2. Place a check mark next to the answer you think the majority of the union members selected. Remember, you are to PREDICT their answers.
3. If you want to supply additional information about what you think the opinions of the union members are on any one question, write in your comments under the question.
4. DO NOT PUT YOUR NAME ANYWHERE ON THE QUESTIONNAIRE.

REMEMBER: WE DON'T WANT YOUR OPINION ABOUT THE QUESTIONS; WE DO WANT YOUR PREDICTION AS TO THE WAY YOU THINK THE UNION MEMBERS ANSWERED.

Original question number

4. Do you think present union dues are too high, too low, or about right? (Check one)

1 _____ Too high. 2 _____ Too low. 3 _____ About right

7. Do you think the union shows favoritism toward any department or group or not? (Check one)

1 _____ Yes, I think the union favors _____ (write in name of group or department you think members mentioned most often as receiving favored treatment)

2 _____ No, I think the union treats all groups and departments about the same.

3 _____ I don't know.

8. Do you think the funds of the union are properly cared for or not? (Check one)

1 _____ Yes, I think the union's funds are properly cared for.

2 _____ No, I don't think the union's funds are properly cared for.

3. _____ I don't know.

9. Which one of the following is the best way to find out what is going on in the union? (Check only the one way which you think most of the members checked)

1 _____ Reading the Chronicle
2 _____ Talking to a steward
3 _____ Talking to an officer
4 _____ Reading A. O. Smith Newsletter
5 ____ Attending the union meetings
6 ____ Going to the union office.
7 ____ Reading bulletin boards.
8 _____ Some other way

10. Do you think the union favors any particular age group or not? (Check one)

1 _____ Yes, I think the union favors the older people.
2 _____ Yes, I think the union favors the younger people.
3 _____ No, I think the union treats everyone about the same.
4 _____ I don't know.

12. All things considered, what kind of a job do you think the present union officers are doing? (Check one)

1 _____ I think they are doing a good job for the workers.
2 _____ I think they are doing an average job for the workers.
3 _____ I think they are doing a poor job for the workers.

13. In general, what do you think of the new contract? (Check one)

1 _____ I think it is better than contracts in most other plants in this area.

2 _____ I think it is worse than contracts in most other plants in this area.

3 _____ I think it is about the same as contracts in most other plants in this area.

4 _____ I don't know.

14. How good or poor a job do you think your steward does in handling grievances? (Check one)

1 _____ Good job.

2 _____ Average job.

3 _____ Poor job.

4 _____ I don't know.

15. How good or poor a job do you think your committeeman does in handling grievances? (Check one)

1 _____ Good job.

2 _____ Average job.

3 _____ Poor job.

4 _____ I don't know.

16. In future negotiations, which TWO of the following issues do you think it is most important for the union to push the hardest on? (Check only the two issues you think most members checked or wrote in.)

1 _____ Shorter work week.
2 _____ Improved grievance system.
3 _____ Improved transfer system.
4 _____ Improved seniority system.
5 _____ More vacation time, holidays.
6 _____ Improved insurance program.
7 _____ Improved piecework system.
8 _____ Higher wages, general increase
9 _____ Inequity increases in your classification.
10 _____ Others (What do you think they most often mentioned under "others"?)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

18. What do you think about the involvement of Local 19806 in politics? (Check one)

1 _____ I think our union should be more involved in politics.
2 _____ I think our union is involved too much in politics.
3 _____ I don't know.

_____

_____

_____

_____

19. Which one of these statements do you agree with (Check one)

1 _____ A person should be able to refuse to sell his house to anyone he doesn't want to.
2 _____ A person should be able to buy a house anywhere he wants to if he has the money.
3 _____ I don't know.

_____

_____

_____

_____

20. Do you think the government should help everyone rise above the poverty level? (Check one)

1 _____ Yes. 2 _____ No. 3 _____ I don't know.

21. What do you think should be done about the war in Vietnam? (Check one)

1 _____ Go all the way militarily, including use of atomic arms.
2 _____ Step up military pressure as much as necessary, except use of atomic arms.
3 _____ Follow LBJ's present policies.
4 _____ Stop the bombing, de-escalate, negotiate, gradually withdraw American troops, turn the fighting over to South Vietnamese.
5 _____ Pull out altogether as soon as possible.
6 _____ I don't know.

22. What do you think about the involvement of Local 19806 in civil rights? (Check one)

1 _____ I think the union should be doing more in civil rights.
2 _____ I think the union is already too involved in civil rights.
3 _____ I don't know.

31. If you had your way, would you want to make any changes in the way the union runs things or not? (Check one)

1 _____ Yes, I would make a lot of changes.
2 _____ Yes, I would make a few changes.
3 _____ No, I would not change anything.
4 _____ I don't know.

Write in the changes which you think most members would like to see:

_____

_____

_____

_____

PLEASE GIVE THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION ABOUT YOURSELF:

1. About how long have you been a member of Smith Steel Workers Union? (Check one)

1 _____ Less than 1 year.
2 _____ 1 to 4 years.
3 _____ 5 to 9 years.
4 _____ 10 to 14 years.
5 _____ 15 to 19 years.
6 _____ 20 to 24 years.
7 _____ 25 to 29 years.
8 _____ 30 to 34 years.

2. Have you ever been a member of other labor unions? (Check one)

1 _____ Yes.
2 _____ No.

3. If yes, for about how many years total have you been a member of other labor unions? (Check one)

1 _____ Less than 1 year.
2 _____ 1 to 4 years.
3 _____ 5 to 9 years.
4 _____ More than 10 years.
5 _____ I have never been a member of other unions.

4. About how old are you? (Check one

1 _____ 20 or under
2 _____ 21 to 25
3 _____ 26 to 30
4 _____ 31 to 35
5 _____ 36 to 40
6 _____ 41 to 45
7 _____ 46 to 50
8 _____ 51 to 55
9 _____ 56 to 60
10 _____ Over 60

FINAL INSTRUCTIONS:

1. Make sure you have made predictions for all the questions.
2. Make sure you have not written your name or identified yourself in any way.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION.

RESULTS, BY AGE, SMITH STEELWORKERS QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTION	all	45 and under	46 and over
5. Do you look on your job at A.O. Smith as being permanent or temporary?			
Permanent	79	66	94
Temporary	7	12	1
Don't Know	14	22	3
6. During the past year did you give a dollar to COPE, that is, did you buy a COPE ticket sometime during the past year?			
Yes	33	31	37
No	55	56	53
Don't Remember	12	13	10
7. Do you think the union shows favoritism toward any department or group or not?			
Yes, I think the union favors _____	24	24	24
No, I think the union treats all groups and departments about the same	50	44	58
Don't Know	26	32	19
8. Do you think the funds of the union are properly cared for or not?			
Yes, I think the union's funds are properly cared for	48	39	60
No, I don't think the union's funds are properly cared for	14	19	8
Don't Know	37	42	32
10. Do you think the union favors any particular age group or not?			
Yes, I think the union favors older people	14	22	5
Yes, I think the union favors younger people	7	3	11
No, I think the union treats everyone about the same . .	64	57	73
Don't Know	15	18	11

at least 55% D.K. what COPE is

	all	45 and under	46 and over
11. How would you judge the working conditions at A. O. Smith?			
I think working conditions are better here than most places . .	40	35	46
I think working conditions are worse here than most places . .	10	14	5
I think working conditions are about the same here as most places	42	41	43
Don't Know	8	10	6
12. All things considered, what kind of a job do you think the present union officers are doing?			
I think they are doing a good job for the workers	34	28	42
I think they are doing an average job for the workers . .	55	58	51
I think they are doing a poor job for the workers	11	14	7
13. In general, what do you think of the new contract?			
I think it is better than contracts in most other plants in this area	43	40	47
I think it is worse than contracts in most other plants in this area	12	13	10
I think it is about the same as contracts in most other plants in this area	38	38	38
Don't Know	7	9	5
14. How good or poor a job do you think your steward does in handling grievances?			
Good job	26	25	28
Average job	41	38	45
Poor job	20	21	19
Don't know	13	16	8
15. How good or poor a job do you think your committeeman does in handling grievances?			
Good job	25	22	28
Average job	41	37	46
Poor job	15	19	10
Don't know	19	22	15

	all	45 and under	46 and over
17. Who would you like to see elected President of the United States next month?			
Humphrey	51	53	50
Nixon	17	16	18
Wallace	18	16	20
Somebody else	8	10	6
No Response	6	5	7
18. What do you think about the involvement of Local 19806 in politics?			
I think our union should be more involved in politics	31	31	30
I think our union is involved too much in poltics	29	26	33
Dont' Know	40	42	37
19. Which one of these statements do you agree with?			
A person should be able to refuse to sell his house to anyone he doesn't want to	41	33	52
A person should be able to buy a house anywhere he wants to if he has the money	55	64	44
Don't Know	4	4	4
20. Do you think the government should help everyone rise above the poverty level?			
Yes	51	52	50
No	36	36	36
Don't Know	13	12	14
21. What do you think should be done about the war in Vietnam?			
Go all the way militarily, including use of atomic arms	9	10	8
Step up military pressure as much as necessary, except use of atomic arms	32	34	30
Follow LBJ's present policies	11	9	12
Stop the bombing, de-escalate, negotiate, gradually withdraw American troops, turn the fighting over totthe So. Vietnamese	25	28	22
Pull out altogether as soon as possible	14	12	17
Don't Know	9	7	11

	all	45 and under	46 and over
22. What do you think about the involvement of Local 19806 in civil rights?			
I think the union should be doing more in civil rights . . .	31	36	25
I think the union is already too involved in civil rights . .	34	25	44
Don't Know	35	39	31
31. If you had your way, would you want to make any changes in the way the union runs things or not?			
Yes, I would make a lot of changes	10	14	6
Yes, I would make a few changes . .	53	54	51
No, I would not change anything . .	16	12	21
Don't Know	21	22	22
32. (COMMENTS)			
Comments	47	54	39
No Comments	53	46	61

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

SCHOOL FOR WORKERS

Madison, Wisconsin

UNION OPINION QUESTIONNAIRE

INSTRUCTIONS

Here is what you are supposed to do:

1. Read each question carefully to make sure you understand it before marking your answer.
2. For most questions you only have to put a check mark in front of the answer you want to choose. Like this ___✓___ .
3. If you want to supply additional information about what you think, turn to page 7, copy down the number of the question, and write in any additional comments you might want to make.
4. When you have answered the questions carefully, fold the questionnaire, put it in the envelope provided, and mail it to The University of Wisconsin in Madison. NO STAMPS ARE NEEDED. Just close the envelope and drop it in the mail.
5. DO NOT PUT YOUR NAME ANYWHERE ON THE QUESTIONNAIRE.
6. Please return this questionnaire by mailing it within the next TWO OR THREE DAYS.

NOW BEGIN WITH QUESTION 1

1. About how many union meetings have you attended in the last 12 months? (Check one)
   1 _____ None at all.
   2 _____ A few of them.
   3 _____ About half of them.
   4 _____ Most of them.
   5 _____ All of them.

2. Have you ever been a steward or committeeman or held any other office in the union? (Check one)
   1 _____ Yes.
   2 _____ No.

3. Please check the type of work you do at A. O. Smith. (Check one)
   1 _____ Office or clerical.
   2 _____ Piece work.
   3 _____ Shop day rate.

4. Do you think present union dues are too high, too low, or about right? (Check one)
   1 _____ Too high.
   2 _____ Too low.
   3 _____ About right.

5. Do you look on your job at A. O. Smith as being permanent or temporary? (Check one)
   1 _____ Permanent.
   2 _____ Temporary.
   3 _____ I don't know.

6. During the past year did you give a dollar to COPE, that is, did you buy a COPE ticket sometime during the past year?
   1 _____ Yes.
   2 _____ No.
   3 _____ I don't remember.

7. Do you think the union shows favoritism toward any department or group or not? (Check one)
   1 _____ Yes, I think the union favors _____.
   (Write in name of group or department you think gets favored treatment from union.)
   2 _____ No, I think the union treats all groups and departments about the same.
   3 _____ I don't know.

8. Do you think the funds of the union are properly cared for or not? (Check one)
   1 _____ Yes, I think the union's funds are properly cared for.
   2 _____ No, I don't think the union's funds are properly cared for.
   3 _____ I don't know.

9. Which one of the following is the *best* way to find out what is going on in the union? (Check only the way in which you get most of your information)
   1 _____ Reading the Chronicle.
   2 _____ Talking to a steward.
   3 _____ Talking to an officer.
   4 _____ Reading A. O. Smith Newsletter.
   5 _____ Attending union meetings.
   6 _____ Going to the union office.
   7 _____ Reading bulletin boards.
   8 _____ Some other way.

10. Do you think the union favors any particular age group or not? (Check one)
    1 _____ Yes, I think the union favors the *older* people.
    2 _____ Yes, I think the union favors the *younger* people.
    3 _____ No, I think the union treats everyone about the same.
    4 _____ I don't know.

11. How would you judge the working conditions at A. O. Smith? (Check one)
    1 _____ I think working conditions are better here than most places.
    2 _____ I think working conditions are worse here than most places.
    3 _____ I think working conditions are about the same here as most places.
    4 _____ I don't know.

12. All things considered, what kind of a job do you think the present union officers are doing? (Check one)
    1 _____ I think they are doing a good job for the workers.
    2 _____ I think they are doing an average job for the workers.
    3 _____ I think they are doing a poor job for the workers.

REMEMBER: IF THERE ARE ANY COMMENTS YOU WISH TO ADD, TURN TO PAGE 7, WRITE THE NUMBER OF THE QUESTION AND YOUR COMMENTS.

13. In general, what do you think of the new contract? (Check one)
    1 _____ I think it is better than contracts in most other plants in this area.
    2 _____ I think it is worse than contracts in most other plants in this area.
    3 _____ I think it is about the same as contracts in most other plants in this area.
    4 _____ I don't know.

14. How good or poor a job do you think your steward does in handling grievances? (Check one)
    1 _____ Good job.
    2 _____ Average job.
    3 _____ Poor job.
    4 _____ I don't know.

15. How good or poor a job do you think your committeeman does in handling grievances? (Check one)
    1 _____ Good job.
    2 _____ Average job.
    3 _____ Poor job.
    4 _____ I don't know.

16. In future negotiations, which TWO of the following issues do you think it is most important for the union to push the hardest on? (Check *two* only)
    1 _____ Shorter work week.
    2 _____ Improved grievance system.
    3 _____ Improved transfer system.
    4 _____ Improved seniority system.
    5 _____ More vacation time, holidays.
    6 _____ Improved insurance program.
    7 _____ Improved piecework system.
    8 _____ Higher wages, general increase.
    9 _____ Inequity increases in your classification.
    10 _____ Others. What? _____

    _____.

17. Who would you like to see elected President of the United States next month? (Check one)
    1 _____ Humphrey.
    2 _____ Nixon.
    3 _____ Wallace.
    4 _____ Somebody else. _____
    (Write in name of person if you want somebody else.)

18. What do you think about the involvement of Local 19806 in politics? (Check one)
    1 _____ I think our union should be more involved in politics.
    2 _____ I think our union is involved too much in politics.
    3 _____ I don't know.

19. Which one of these statements do you agree with? (Check one)
    1 _____ A person should be able to refuse to sell his house to anyone he doesn't want to.
    2 _____ A person should be able to buy a house anywhere he wants to if he has the money.
    3 _____ I don't know.

20. Do you think the government should help everyone rise above the poverty level? (Check one)

    1 _____ Yes. 2 _____ No. 3 _____ I don't know.

21. What do you think should be done about the war in Vietnam? (Check one)
    1 _____ Go all the way militarily, including use of atomic arms.
    2 _____ Step up military pressure as much as necessary, except use of atomic arms.
    3 _____ Follow LBJ's present policies.
    4 _____ Stop the bombing, de-escalate, negotiate, gradually withdraw American troops, turn the fighting over to South Vietnamese.
    5 _____ Pull out altogether as soon as possible.
    6 _____ I don't know.

REMEMBER: IF THERE ARE ANY COMMENTS YOU WISH TO ADD, TURN TO PAGE 7, WRITE THE NUMBER OF THE QUESTION AND YOUR COMMENTS.

22. What do you think about the involvement of Local 19806 in civil rights? (Check one)
    1 _____ I think the union should be doing more in civil rights.
    2 _____ I think the union is already too involved in civil rights.
    3 _____ I don't know.

23. About how long have you been a member of Smith Steel Workers Union? (Check one)
    1 _____ Less than 1 year.
    2 _____ 1 to 4 years.
    3 _____ 5 to 9 years.
    4 _____ 10 to 14 years.
    5 _____ 15 to 19 years.
    6 _____ 20 to 24 years.
    7 _____ 25 to 29 years.
    8 _____ 30 to 34 years.

24. Have you ever been a member of other labor unions? (Check one)
    1 _____ Yes.
    2 _____ No.

25. If yes, for about how many years total have you been a member of other labor unions? (Check one)
    1 _____ Less than 1 year.
    2 _____ 1 to 4 years.
    3 _____ 5 to 9 years.
    4 _____ More than 10 years.
    5 _____ I have never been a member of other unions.

26. Are you single or married? (Check one)
    1 _____ Single.
    2 _____ Married.

27. What is your sex? (Check one)
    1 _____ Man.
    2 _____ Woman.

28. About how old are you? (Check one)
    1 _____ Under 20.
    2 _____ 21 to 25.
    3 _____ 26 to 30.
    4 _____ 31 to 35.
    5 _____ 36 to 40.
    6 _____ 41 to 45.
    7 _____ 46 to 50.
    8 _____ 51 to 55.
    9 _____ 56 to 60.
    10 _____ Over 60.

29. About how many years of school have you completed? (Check one)
    1 _____ Some grade school (grades 1 to 8).
    2 _____ Completed grade school (8th grade).
    3 _____ Some high school (grades 9 to 12).
    4 _____ Completed high school.
    5 _____ Some college.
    6 _____ College graduate.

30. Have you had any special schooling or training besides that shown above? (Check one)
    1 _____ None.
    2 _____ Business school.
    3 _____ Vocational school.
    4 _____ Apprentice training.
    5 _____ School for Workers.
    6 _____ Other. What? _____

31. If you had your way, would you want to make any changes in the way the union runs things or not? (Check one)
    1 _____ Yes, I would make a lot of changes.
    2 _____ Yes, I would make a few changes.
    3 _____ No, I would not change anything.
    4 _____ I don't know.

REMEMBER: IF THERE ARE ANY COMMENTS YOU WISH TO ADD, TURN TO PAGE 7, WRITE THE NUMBER OF THE QUESTION AND YOUR COMMENTS.

32. If you answered yes, you would make some changes, what kind of changes would you want to make? List them below.

ON THE NEXT PAGE WRITE ANYTHING ELSE YOU WANT TO.

33. On this last page, please feel free to write anything about anything you want. If you want to comment on any of the previous questions, just write the number of the question or questions and write in whatever you would like to say. If you do not want to write anything, just leave this page blank.

FINAL INSTRUCTIONS

1. Make sure you have answered **all** of the questions.
2. Make sure you have **not** written your name anywhere or identified yourself in any way.
3. When you have made sure that you have answered all of the questions, then fold the questionnaire, put it in the envelope that came with the questionnaire and mail it to The University of Wisconsin in Madison. The address is already on the envelope.
4. Do **not** put your return address on the envelope. NO STAMPS ARE NEEDED.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION

RESULTS, RESPONSES NOT CATEGORIZED BY AGE,
SMITH STEELWORKERS QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTION	RESPONSE %
1. About how many union meetings have you attended in the last 12 months?	
None at all	34
A few of them	47
About half of them .	11
Most of them	8
All of them	1
2. Have you ever been a steward or committeeman or held any other office in the union?	
Yes	20
No	80
3. Please check the type of work you do at A. O. Smith.	
Office or clerical .	10
Piece work	53
Shop day rate	36
4. Do you think present union dues are too high, too low, or about right?	
Too high	17
Too low	2
About right	81
23. About how long have you been a member of Smith Steel Workers Union?	
Less than one year .	9
1 to 4 years	18
5 to 9 years	6
10 to 14 years . . .	4
15 to 19 years . . .	24
20 to 24 years . . .	14
25 to 29 years . . .	13
30 to 34 years . . .	12
24. Have you ever been a member of other labor unions?	
Yes	48
No	52

25. If yes, for about how many years total have you been a member of other labor unions?

Less than 1 year	9
1 to 4 years	20
5 to 9 years	10
More than 10 years	8
I have never been a member of other unions	52

26. Are you single or married?

Single	22
Married	78

27. What is your sex?

Man	94
Woman	6

28. About how old are you?

Under 20	4
21 to 25	14
26 to 30	9
31 to 35	6
36 to 40	7
41 to 45	16
46 to 50	9
51 to 55	13
56 to 60	12
Over 60	10

29. About how many years of school have you completed?

Some grade school.	10
Completed grade school . . .	16
Some high school	23
Completed high school . . .	34
Some college	16
College graduate	1

School for Workers
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

LABOR UNIONS AND THE GENERATION GAP: A PRELIMINARY REPORT

Is there a "generation gap" in labor unions or are organizations of working people, with their traditions of brotherhood and solidarity, immune to the inter-generational stresses felt by our society as a whole?

On the face of it one might guess that however young and old might diverge in the community at large the gap would be bridged in the work place where both young and old are presumably jointly concerned with improvements in their wages, hours and working conditions. Have there not always been younger and older workers and have their differences not always dissolved as they bargain with their employer?

A recent study conducted by the School for Workers of the University of Wisconsin finds, nevertheless, that the gap between old and young in the union, --as concerns their attitudes and opinions, --is apparently as pronounced in work society as in the rest of the community.

In October, 1968 the School for Workers' researcher Miles Galvin, under the direction of the School's Director and Associate Director Robert Ozanne and Irving Brotslaw, mailed 1,260 questionnaires to a random sample of 25 per cent of the membership of Smith Steel Workers' Directly Affiliated Local Union 19806, AFL-CIO. The results have been partially tabulated and provide insights into the current thinking of a cross section of today's working men and women.

Most earlier studies of the attitudes of union members had failed to distinguish between old and young, apparently assuming that whatever differences might exist were transitory. In recent months, however, many observers of the labor scene have warned that chronological homogeneity

is no longer the rule. A new type of young worker, --one who gives little indication of eventual mellowing, --is emerging and making himself heard.

The leadership of the Smith Steel Workers' Union, aware of the shift in outlook of their younger members, was anxious to learn more and cooperated with the University of Wisconsin in carrying out the opinion poll. Local 19806 Secretary Treasurer Robert Durkin was instrumental in obtaining the cooperation of the union's Executive Board, in counselling on the design of the questionnaire, and in making available the 5,000 member union's address list.

One of the earliest indications of the generation gap in unions was provided by a 1967 nation-wide survey of AFL-CIO membership. The union members polled tended to overwhelmingly support the union leadership on most legislative issues, but on certain items a difference in degree of support could be noted between old and young. Statistical evidence also began to emerge clearly indicating that the proportion of young to old in the labor force was shifting from an easily assimilated minority to a harder to handle majority. By 1967 a quarter of all union members were under 30 years of age and nearly half were under 40.

In certain industries the proportion is changing even more rapidly. Fifty per eent of Ford's male workers have less than four years of seniority.

The age change was taking place at both ends of the labor force. Older workers, who had begun to build seniority in the late thirties and early forties, were retiring in ever-increasing waves. Young workers were flooding in to replace them at the lower end of the ladder in what has been described as an "avalanche of youth."

In taking a close look at this phenomenon, the School for Workers found that the proportion of young and old workers at Smith Steel Workers' Union compared typically with the nation-wide sample. Fifty-five per cent are under 45 years old.

No precise dividing line between "young" and "old" can be established because of widely varying individual differences, but, on the average, a cutoff point of those older or younger than 45 seems to provide two sufficiently distinct groups for purposes of analysis and comparison.

Those over 45 have had direct experience of the depression, of the formative period of industrial unionism, and of the unifying process of World War Two. Most of those under 45 grew up in an era of relatively full employment, of seemingly endless cold war, of turbulent race relations and social problems, --and had stayed in school longer before going to work. Both groups came of age in different worlds, as it were, and now look at the world they jointly occupy in quite different fashion.

Both the leadership of Local 19806 and the School for Workers' researchers were gratified by the large percentage of union members, 650 in all--more than fifty per cent, who took the time to fill out and return the questionnaire. A 30 per cent response would have provided a statistically reliable sample from which it would have been possible to generalize about the membership as a whole with reasonable accuracy. The larger sample is, therefore, felt to be extremely accurate. The age distribution of the sample, for example, corresponds to the actual age distribution of the union's membership as a whole to within a percentage point.

A total of 33 questions were included. Most could be answered by simply checking off one of the answers given with the option of writing in supplementary comments if the respondent so desired. One question, for

example, asked "How good or poor a job do you think your steward does in handling grievances?" and the union members were asked to check either "Good job," "Average job," "Poor job," or "I don't know."

The questions are designed to elicit opinions about the internal administration of the union, about the collective bargaining relationship, and about social problems. The object was to ascertain what the rank-and-file members were thinking about relationships of the union with the workers themselves, with the employer, and with the larger community.

Data as to age, amount of schooling and other personal items were obtained which permit cross-tabulations which will hepefully reveal relationships between such variables as age and support of the union's collective bargaining goals, for example.

Complete anonymity was guaranteed the respondents by the School for Workers. Those members included in the random sample were asked not to identify themselves in any way. The questionnaires themselves, even though nameless, are not shown to the union's leadership. Only the combined results, as tabulated, are made public.

The guarantee of anonymity brought forth a torrent of spontaneous commentary. Nearly half of the respondents, 47 per cent, took the time to unburden themselves of miscellaneous suggestions, gripes, accusations, explanations. Virtually every conceivalbe category of union activity is included in the 720 individual comments, several respondents writing in more than one comment. The result is a difficult to analyze, but nevertheless potentially rich lode of sociological raw material waiting to be mined and assayed.

It is in this outpouring of comments that one of the clearly significant differences between young and old emerges. Only 39 per cent of those

over 45 volunteered comments while 54 per cent of those under 45 did so. Can this mean that young workers are not nearly so apathetic about their union as is generally charged? "The kids today got on a silver platter everything we had to fight to get and they couldn't care less" is the typical comment. Or, does it mean that older workers have given up hope to a greater degree? Or is the difference not the result of an age difference at all, but instead the manifestation of a greater facility with pen and pencil on the part of the better educated younger people?

Some of the results were easily predictable. Not surprisingly, the younger workers tend to want money increases now while the older members are much more interested in retirement benefits. The younger workers want more leisure, the oldsters aren't as interested.

But, other responses were not so foreseeable. When asked their opinion of the union's leadership, it turned out that 42 per cent of the older group think that the officers are doing a "good" job, while only 28 per cent of the younger group agree. Seventy-four per cent of the older members think tht committeemen are doing an "average" or "good" job at handling grievances but only 59 per cent of the younger people agree.

In fact, the younger group is consistently less supportive of the union leadership in virtually all of the union administration and collective bargaining issues, --grievance handling, union officers, the contract, working conditions, union meetings, union finances. The older group, on the whole, tends to be much more tolerant.

Conversely, the younger group is somewhat more supportive of the union as concerns at least some of the social and political programs the union officially espouses. Sixty-four per cent of the younger group, for example, favor open housing, but only 44 per cent of the older group do. Is this

a question of age, however, or of something else? The questionnaire provides no information as to race or color of the respondents, but it is known in a general way that a higher proportion of the older generation is white.

On other questions virtually ao age difference is discernable. Precisely 24 per cent of each age category is convinced that the union shows favoritism to a particular group within the union. Thirty per cent of each group, young and old, thinks the union should be more involved in politics with approximately equal percentages convinced either that the union is already overly involved in politics or has no opinion.

A question on the war on poverty provided a very depressing display of the extent to which the average citizen has been misled into believing that large numbers of able-bodied people are receiving welfare assistance. Thirty-six per cent of both age groups responded negatively to the government's attempts to help the poverty stricken. A large number of respondents, even of those supporting the poverty program's efforts, offered the provise that assistance be tendered only to those "willing to work." Apparently, a very large proportion of our citizenry is unaware that the vast majority of welfare recipients are the aged, the blind, the infirm, people unable to work.

The questionnaire was mailed out less than a month before the November presidential election and the union members were asked who they would "like to see elected President of the United States next month." The responses showed no significant age difference with approximately equal proportions of those under and over 45 making up the 51% who favored Humphrey, and the 18% who favored Wallace, the 17% who favored Nixon, and the 14% who were undecided.

Another indicator that perhaps young people are not as apathetic about their unions as is often charged, at least potentially, can be seen in the responses to the question "if you had your way, would you want to make any changes in the way the union runs things or not?" Sixty-eight per cent of the younger group said they would make some changes, but only 57 per cent of the older group.

Communication presents a problem, --indeed, perhaps it is the problem. Only nine per cent of the membership report that they attend all or most of the meetings, a figure that is probably representative of most union.. When queried as to what is the best way to find out what is going on in the union about a third of the yonng members indicated "attending union meetings;" another third answered that the best way is by reading the union's newsletter, (19806 Chronicle) and seventeen per cent thought reading the company's newsletter was the best way!

Of the 720 spontaneous written comments a total of 174 had to do with the grievance procedure, 145 commented on issues for future negotiations, 54 made suggestions concerning the officers, 43 about union meetings, 36 about poverty programs, 30 commented on the new contract, and smaller numbers wrote in petitions for greater or lesser militance and a variety of other issues.

The general tenor of the spontaneous comments is the perpetual demand for "more" and impatience about getting it, --especially among the younger group. Cracks in union solidarity along lines other than age can be perceived. When asked if they feel the union favors any particular group within the union the most typical answer is "yes, everyone but my group!"

For the observer who believes that vigorous, democratic labor organizations are essential elements in a democratic, progressive society, there

are both encouraging and discouraging signs. The younger element is better educated and apparently more willing than their elders to challenge social inequity in the larger community, but, although far from apathetic, appear to have less sense of solidarity on shop issues, less of a sense of sacrifice of individual advantage for the common good. A depressing aspect of the study results from a reading of the spontaneous comments in categorized, concentrated form, many of which are frankly petty and carping and which seem to indicate little appreciation on the part of the inactive members for the efforts expended in their behalf by the active members.

As always in studies of this sort more new questions emerge than are answers found to old questions. How typical is this particular union? Can we safely generalize beyond the sample? Will the attitudes of today's younger members change drastically over time and if so how? Is age really the critical variable or merely a proxy for something else altogether, -- wage differentials, occupation, amount of education, rural or urban origin, length of union membership? They probably all contribute to differences in attitude, but which are the most potent and what are the policy implications?

The Smith Steel Workers' Union has shown the way for other labor organizations interested in finding out what their members are thinking. The responses to the questionnaire made clear that among the thousands of anonymous rank-and-filers are scores of very thoughtful, concerned citizens of our industrial society. The problem remains one of constructively channeling their criticisms and frustrations into united, progressive action.

VOL. CLXXIX NO. 100 ★

Free at Last

Job Pressures Induce Blue-Collar Workers To Opt to Retire Early

But Talks With Some Show End of Drudgery Presents A Problem: Keeping Busy

Soap Operas & More Sleep

5/22/72

By THOMAS ~~LINDLEY EHRICH~~
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

SYRACUSE, ~~N.Y.—Until last January,~~ Albert Buono dragged himself out of bed at 5:45 each morning and faced the prospect of another exhausting day at the General Motors Corp. parts and accessories plant here. Noise, fumes and intense pressure from his supervisors to speed production were the main components of a typical workday, Mr. Buono says. But despite complaints, his work as a GM tool-and-die repairman continued day in, day out for 35 years.

Then, early this year, Mr. Buono retired. Now he gets up at 7:30 and spends a leisurely morning puttering around his apartment on the second floor of a small frame house on one of the many streets of small frame houses in this industrial city. After lunch, Mr. Buono sometimes goes fishing; or he may visit friends or run errands for his son, who owns a used-car lot. After supper, while his wife cleans offices at a local bank, Mr. Buono stays home and watches television.

"I get on that old box and see what's good to look at," he says. "I watch until 11 or 12, and that's the evening. Then I go to bed and get up and do it again."

A Dull Prospect?

To some Americans still on the job, a day in the life of Al Buono—or in the lives of countless other retired workers—seems so dull that the prospect of continued work is bright by comparison. But Mr. Buono jumped at the chance of retirement. Indeed, he even chose to retire early, at age 59, the age when many white-collar workers are just hitting the peaks of their careers, and six years earlier than the retirement age of most Americans.

And Mr. Buono isn't alone. Around the country, growing numbers of blue-collar workers are opting for early retirement. At GM's plant here, for example, about 125 workers, or 10% of the average blue-collar work force, have taken early retirement since the "30 and out" provision was put into the United Auto Workers union contract with GM eight years ago.

(Under the plan, as modified in the 1970 auto labor agreement, a worker with at least 30 years service can retire with a $500 monthly pension as early as age 58. The minimum age drops to 56 next October. Furthermore, any worker younger than 58 can retire early—although at a reduced pension—if he can muster 85 "points" by adding his age to his years of service.)

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"The trend (toward early retirement) is definitely up," says Harry Davis, an economist with the Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics. "I talked to six companies in one week recently, and I was surprised. They estimated 40% of their people are going out before 65."

Special Package at IBM

Among various labor groups with early-retirement plans, the United Steelworkers obtained a "30 and out" provision in their 1965 agreement with steel companies. Recently, New York's dock workers won the right to retire after 25 years of service. And for four months last year, International Business Machines Corp. offered a special early-retirement package that was accepted by some 2,000 workers.

Certainly, not all workers yearn to retire early. "It seems to be more attractive to people in nonprofessional work where job monotony makes the option of retiring more attractive," says Robert Risley, dean of the New York State School of Industry and Labor Relations and vice provost of Cornell University. Adds the Labor Department's Mr. Davis: "The blue-collar worker, given the chance, will retire before the white-collar worker. His work is harder and duller, and he's having more trouble meeting production standards."

While those blue-collar workers who retire early may do so for a variety of reasons, some of them unrelated to the nature of their jobs, interviews with retirees here (most of them from GM) indicate the theories of Messrs. Risley and Davis are on target. Emerging from these interviews is the fact that the GM workers had a common early-retirement goal: to escape drudgery.

"Retirement means getting away from something you've learned to hate," says retiree Kenneth Finkler. Others say they found their work dull, exhausting or too pressure-packed. Some say they hated every minute in the plant. And all say they figured that retire-

Please Turn to Page 18, Column 1

And How's the Old Gang At the Plant? Who Knows?

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

SYRACUSE, N.Y.—With all their free time, recent retirees from General Motors Corp.'s plants here aren't about to spare a few minutes for a return visit to their former place of work.

Not one of a dozen retirees interviewed here has been inside the plant since he or she retired—even though several say they miss their plant friends. Indeed, most left the plant so quickly that they skipped a special retirement luncheon in the executive dining room.

Nor do all the workers treasure the plastic-bound retirement "diploma" that GM gave them on their departure. The document looks like a college diploma, has the worker's name hand-printed on it and is given "in acknowledgement of service and contribution to General Motors Corporation."

"A 'diploma,' they call it," scoffs retiree Angeline Oliva. "Now what are you supposed to do with something like this? How about a $25 bond? That would have been more like it."

Free at Last: Pressure on the Job Leads to More Early Retirements

Continued From First Page

ment, even a dull one, had to be an improvement.

But other conclusions also emerged from the interviews:

—Poor health—or fears of poor health—was a principal reason for leaving early. Many workers feared they would die before reaching 65.

—Racial tension was an inducement for some. "I had to get away from the niggers," says a white retiree, one of the Italian-Americans who, along with workers of German, Polish and Irish stock, once constituted almost the entire work force of the GM plant. (The work force is currently 12% black.)

—Retirement benefits, especially the $500-a-month pension and continued fringe benefits (including medical benefits and life insurance), seemed attractive. One worker figures that her annual income dropped little more than $1,000 when she retired.

—The workers don't expect much from retirement beyond peace and quiet and a chance to be their own bosses. They planned their retirement finances with care, building savings accounts, paying off mortgages, and, in some cases, even buying vacation homes. And now, most seem content to take day-to-day living as it comes.

—And they're finding retirement tolerable, although perhaps duller than they'd like. As with their former jobs, their retirement life is something to be accepted. In any case, they're trying hard to keep busy, and they don't for a minute regret having left the plant.

The drudgery, the workers say, had become unbearable. Work at the GM plant was never an easy job, they complain, and it got steadily harder in recent years as the company sought to offset wage increases by pruning the work force and speeding up production.

"I couldn't take it any more," says Angeline Oliva, a thick-set woman with short-cropped graying hair. Miss Oliva, called Angie by her co-workers, ran a hot-stamping machine that puts emblems on hubcaps.

"The speed was too much," she says. "They kept retiming the job. They wanted more all the time. Once when they couldn't raise the quota, the foreman still went behind the machine and turned up the speed. And the noise, the noise was terrific."

So were the fumes. "I couldn't take the smell again," Miss Oliva says. "It makes you sick to your stomach." And so rather than spend another summer at the plant, she took a cut in her pension (to $399.97 a month) and retired, after 29 years, last January 1; if she had waited until next October, she'd have had the full $500 monthly stipend.

Nowadays, Miss Oliva quietly putters around her small white house on the north side of Syracuse. She spends her days talking softly in Italian to her 80-year-old mother and turns on the radio only for the evening news. "I love music, don't get me wrong," she says. "I just need peace and quiet for a while."

Angie Oliva, like most of the other retirees, city. Nor does he know anyone there. But sitting at the table in his spotless, sparsely furnished kitchen, he talks hopefully of his trip.

Pulling out a dog-eared pamphlet he obtained from the Denver Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Finkler quotes Denver's selling points—particularly a low tax rate and good weather. "It's cold there," he says, "but there's no shoveling. I've had enough of this snow—157 inches last year."

"There used to be a trend to go to Florida," Mr. Finkler goes on, "but they're discouraging that down there. I thought of California, but that's as nutty as New York State. So I chose Denver. What the hell?"

Kenneth Finkler is an outgoing man, and he expects to make friends easily in Denver, especially among his fellow German-Americans. He admits he'll miss his neighbors in the hilly industrial town of Solvay, but he expects to keep in touch with neighborhood gossip by mail. "We'll really live it up out there," Mr. Finkler says. "We'll join the Turners (a club for German-Americans), and we'll make friends."

Don Fenner's story is different. He doesn't plan to budge from South Onondaga, a tiny town south of Syracuse, where he says he's thriving. "I retired to enjoy myself," says Mr. Fenner, a former paint-booth worker. "I'd like to enjoy a couple or three years before I die."

"It used to be I'd come home after supper, sit in the chair and fall asleep," he says. "When someone laid into me at the plant, I'd come home and be mean to my family. Now there's no pressure, and I enjoy my family. I used to be so tired."

With his new free time, Mr. Fenner's main chore is renovating an old house he bought five years ago. He claims the project is currently in high gear, although he adds that he can't concentrate long enough on any one room to see it through to completion. "My wife wishes I'd finish just one," he chuckles.

Keeping Busy

Houses play varying roles in the lives of the GM retirees. Some, like Fannie Torio and Angie Oliva, stay in their homes most of the time; their main interest is in maintaining their property. Others just as determinedly avoid the house. "I'd become an alcoholic if I stayed home all day," says Angelo Rossi, a former blow mold operator. "Or I'd watch the soap operas." Consequently, Mr. Rossi works an hour or two each day for his son, who owns a grocery, and is busy at the union hall organizing activities for retirees.

But all the retired interviewees, even the homebound ones, are fighting to keep busy. A case in point is Mike Komar, a retired Syracuse steelworker. Every morning before breakfast, Mr. Komar takes a 90-minute walk around the neighborhood. After breakfast, he reads newspapers until lunch. Every afternoon, he and his wife visit their daughter and then either read some more or stroll around one of five nearby shopping centers for an hour or two. After an early dinner, the Komars often take another stroll and then sit down in front of

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Angie Oliva, like most of the other retirees, doesn't have many plans. The kitchen needs painting, she says, and she's worried about the foundation on one side of her house; a neighbor piled snow there last winter and caused some rotting. Little major work, she says, has been done on the house since her father died four years ago.

Otherwise, Miss Oliva foresees little change in her life. She hopes to organize a group of retired GM women to attend the lively monthly meetings at the local union hall and then "make a day of it" downtown. And she also talks vaguely about travel. But she concedes that she's bound to her home for now by her semi-invalid mother and, besides, wouldn't know where to go. In her lifetime, Miss Oliva has only been outside Syracuse on three occasions.

Already Bored

Angie Oliva isn't alone in the basic formlessness of her future. Fannie Torio, another GM retiree in Syracuse, also says she doesn't have many concrete plans for the coming days. And she admits she's already bored. "I just wanted to get out of the rat race," says the 58-year-old former production-line inspector, who retired last October after 34 years at GM. "The high pressure and all the noise. I'd had it. And the getting up in the morning. I had to get up at 5:15. It was terrible."

"On our low salary, we were working for $7,000 to $8,000 a year," Miss Torio says. "Now I'm getting $6,000 for staying home. I can stand that little loss."

Nevertheless, the days drag slowly. Miss Torio enjoyed the camaraderie at the plant. In snapshots taken at two plant retirement parties, the short, dark-haired woman is shown flashing a broad smile that's missing now. She dresses somberly; and in her home she speaks softly despite the blaring television from the room where her mother watches soap operas.

Miss Torio spends most of her days in her small frame house, caring for her mother and drawing companionship from a little black poodle named Missy. She sleeps until about 8:30 and then spends the morning doing household chores: "There's sleeping and TV in the afternoon," she says, "and I watch TV at night."

"I wish there was something more to do with my time," she says. "I might do some volunteer work and join some clubs. I don't know yet. These are the thoughts going through my mind. I'm doing a lot of reading in my spare time. Church magazines and things like that. I'm just more or less staying home all the time."

"No Cares, No Worries"

"I didn't expect much," Fannie Torio says softly. "And I don't let it get the best of me. I just accept it. These could be the best years of your life. No cares, no worries. Everything's taken care of for you."

Kenneth Finkler expects more from his new freedom, including a change of scenery. The former machine operator retired Feb. 1, sold his house 10 days later, patched up his snowthrower to last out the winter, and is currently getting ready to move to Denver.

Mr. Finkler hasn't seen Denver since World War II, when he passed through the Colorado

All Two Qualified Voters Favor Texas Bond Issue

Special to THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

LEAGUE CITY, Texas—The entire eligible voting population of the Bay Ridge Utility District near here turned out last week to approve a $5,650,000 bond issue. The vote was two to nothing.

The district contains only six people, and four of them are ineligible. The funds from its bonds will be used for water and sewage systems and related work for a housing project.

League City vigorously opposed the bond issue. It would inherit the debt if it annexed the area.

ing activities for retirees.

But all the retired interviewees, even the homebound ones, are fighting to keep busy. A case in point is Mike Komar, a retired Syracuse steelworker. Every morning before breakfast, Mr. Komar takes a 90-minute walk around the neighborhood. After breakfast, he reads newspapers until lunch. Every afternoon, he and his wife visit their daughter and then either read some more or stroll around one of five nearby shopping centers for an hour or two. After an early dinner, the Komars often take another stroll and then sit down in front of the television for three or four hours.

"It's good to get out for at least an hour," says Anne Komar. "It breaks the monotony."

As crushingly dull as the Komars' routine might seem to some, the Komars nevertheless revel in their retired life. For one thing, they enjoy seeing one another for long periods of time—a novel experience since Mr. Komar used to work the day shift, and Mrs. Komar worked from three o'clock to midnight. Now they do chores around the house, eat regular meals, go out together and, Mrs. Komar says, "We get along a lot better."

Together Again

Togetherness is a new experience for most of the married retired workers. When Kermit Wagner, a former GM salvage inspector, retired six years ago at the age of 56, his wife retired at the same time after 38 years of office work. "We decided we'd might as well get some enjoyment out of life," Mr. Wagner says. "You never know when you're going to die."

Underscoring his point, Kermit Wagner tells of a 50-year-old fellow worker who stopped by Mr. Wagner's desk six years ago and wistfully said he wished he could retire, too. "I waved to him and said I'd see him Monday, my last day," Mr. Wagner says. "He dropped dead in a bowling alley that very night."

In the six years since their retirement, the Wagners have settled into a routine revolving around their summer home on Lake Ontario, where they fish, and their white frame house on the west side of Syracuse, where they spend the winters.

The Wagner home here in Syracuse is filled with furniture and treasures they've collected over the years. But the dominant piece is a massive color television console in the living room. Two sofas and all the chairs face it.

"I don't watch too much," Mr. Wagner says. "I watch maybe three or four hours a day, sometimes seven or eight. It's more for my wife. If she doesn't have anything to do, she'll have the TV on from 10 in the morning."

But reruns are starting to catch up with the Wagners, and they figure they might be getting to bed earlier because of that fact. "I like the shows," says Mary Wagner, "but they keep bringing back the old ones I've seen."

Transocean Drilling Co. Awards $16.5 Million Job To West German Firm

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

OKLAHOMA CITY—A contract for a new outrigger barge, semisubmersible drilling unit for Transocean Drilling Co., was awarded to Offshore Construction Consortium, Hamburg, West Germany, Transocean said. The estimated cost is $16.5 million.

Transocean Drilling Co. is 51%-owned by Transworld Drilling Co., a subsidiary of Kerr-McGee Corp. The remaining interest is held by four West German oil companies.

The West German consortium is composed of two companies, Howaldtswerke-Deutsche Werft and Ulrich Harms. Howaldtswerke constructed Transocean's first offshore drilling unit in 1964.

Designated Transocean No. 3, the new unit will be constructed at Hamburg, West Germany, and is scheduled for delivery in July 1973. The unit, which is designed specifically for North Sea operations, will possess both the drilling-while-floating characteristics of a semisubmersible rig and the towing qualities of a barge.

Designed primarily to drill wells to depths of 20,000 feet in water depths of 600 feet, the unit's operational capability can be extended into greater water depths.

The main-hull portion of the unit is 400 feet long, 58 feet wide and 23 feet deep.

MAY 20, 1957

Dist. 3 Chooses Committeemen For Convention

Delegates to serve on key committees at OCAW's convention in August were named recently by the District 3 Council at a meeting in Fort Worth, Texas.

Publicity Chairman Nora Romine reported that R. H. Burke, Local 3-580, was elected to serve on the constitution committee. Neil Youngblood, Local 3-489, was chosen alternate. J. M. Cole, Local 3-463, was named to the resolutions committee; R. L. Kolb, Local 3-202, alternate. Harold Taylor, Local 3-612, was elected to the credentials and auditing committee; L. G. Pierce, Local 3-235, alternate. And J. W. Henderson, Local 3-235, was named to the grievance and appeals committee; A. E. Schoonover, Local 3-487, alternate.

The council delegates also elected officers and held an education program at the two-day session. W. H. Webb, Local 3-588, was elected president; V. E. Kisinger, Local 3-463, vice president; L. W. Graham, Local 3-487, secretary; R. B. Stevens, Local 3-544, guard; and Charles L. Brown, Local 3-487, Nora Romine, Local 3-463, and Neil Youngblood, Local 3-489, trustees. Mrs. Romine was also named publicity chairman and Youngblood was named to the publicity committee.

The education session featured a panel discussion on "Do Local Unions Need to Develop Stronger Bonds with the International?" Leading the program was OCAW Asst. Research & Education Director Al Wickman. Participating on the panel were Dist. 3 Director E. Carl Mattern; Local 3-487 Sec. Tom H. Durham, also alternate Intl. Executive member; Local 3-202 Vice Pres. R. L. Kolb; Local 3-580 Sec. Roy C. Wall, also Intl. Executive Board member; Local 3-463 Sec. Nora Romine; and Local 3-235 Sec. C. O. Pryor.

NEWLY ELECTED DISTRICT 3 COUNCIL officers are, from left: Pres. W. H. Webb, Vice Pres. V. E. Kisinger, Sec. L. W. Graham, Trustees Charles L. Brown, Nora Romine and Neil Youngblood. Not pictured is Guard R. B. Stevens.

evening.

Labor World

Hosiery Workers Elect Ace Benet, Grace Stephenson

6/12/57

Adolph (Ace) Benet was elected first vice-president of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers at the convention held recently in Philadelphia, Pa. Brother Benet was formerly district manager of the Deep South Council of Hosiery Workers.

Grace Stephenson of AFHW Branch 102 was elected a national trustee. Grace has held practically every office in Branch 102 and is active in labor circles throughout the area. She is chairman of the education committee of Central Labor Union, a member of the screening committee for the Hamilton County Board of Education and zone chairman in labor's political education precinct work.

Other Tennessee unionists who were elected to office in the American Federation of Hosiery Workers are Carl Wallace, Clinton, Tenn., Branch 125; Richard Badgett, Humboldt, Tenn., Branch 204; Murphy Newton, Knoxville, Tenn., Br. 94.

Andrew Janaskie of Philadelphia was elected general president when General President Alexander McKeown retired. Major Banachowicz of Milwaukee was named general secretary-treasurer.

Advance 6/15/57

Miami Local 694 Welcomes Gladys Dickason on Visit

MIAMI, Fla.—The members of Local 694 gave Amalgamated vice-president Gladys Dickason, director of southern organizing, and Ed Blair, assistant director, a record reception when they visited this area recently.

An overflow crowd jammed the meeting hall, spilling out into the street and into the backyard. Murray Gerstein, National Office representative in Miami and southern Florida, introduced the visitors.

Sister Dickason spoke to the members about the hard up-hill fight needed to get the South organized. She discussed the difficulties and hardships involved in the fight against anti-union elements in the South.

She reviewed the history of the ACWA and pointed out how important it is to continue organizing and securing the hard-wor gains and decent working conditions.

Sister Dickason reviewed the organizing plans for the Miami area. The members responded enthusiastically to her address, and when she asked for volunteers to help in organizing, everyone present raised a hand.

Blair also discussed the problems of organizing the South.

At the end of the meeting, a number of workers in various shops told Sister Dickason how deeply satisfied they were with conditions in their shops, now under Amalgamated agreement.

Sister Dickason and Blair thanked the shop chairladies, executive board and members of the local for helping to make the meeting a success.

The local's officers are: Josephine Muncy, president; Gizella Brack, vice-president; Addie Dyess, recording secretary; and Rose Caccamo, sergeant-at-arms; Blanca Gonzalez, Ann Mille, trustees; Freda Owen, Roberto Alfonso, and Betty Barth, executive board members.

AT A MEETING IN MIAMI: Some of the officers and executive board members of Local 694 are shown, from left to right: Josephine Muncy, president; Gizella Brack, vice-president; Addie Dyess, recording secretary; Rose Caccamo, sergeant-at-arms; Ann Mille, and Blanca Gonzalez, trustees; Freda Owen, executive board; and Murray Gerstein, National Office representative in charge of the local.

James M. Massey Elected by CWA

James M. Massey, Georgia director of the Communications Workers of America, Tuesday was elected a vice president at the union's annual convention in Kansas City, Mo.

Joseph A. Beirne was reelected president by a vote of 173,070 to 83,937 over A. T. Jones, who also was defeated for reelection as a vice president by Massey. Both are from Washington.

Massey, 47, lives at 2122 McLendon Ave., NE. He has been state CWA director for a year and a half. Previously, he was CWA representative in Atlanta. He formerly was assistant director of the CWA's Western Electric division in New York.

Beirne has been president of the 250,000-member union functioning in 46 states since 1943.

Atlanta Constitution
6/14/57

SPITZER AWARDED SCROLL: Gus Zeidman (right), vice-president of Local 33 and president of the wholesale group, presents scroll to Morris Spitzer, manager of the Detroit Joint Board, for his outstanding work in developing the local now celebrating its twentieth year.

Despite Intimidation of Workers

ACWA Wins Victory In Anti-Union Marianna

MARIANNA, Ark.—The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America has achieved a significant victory in a National Labor Relations Board election among the workers employed by the Marianna Mfg. Co.

The victory by the ACWA, by a vote of 78 to 50, means more than the figures indicate. Its real significance can be appreciated when it is considered that Marianna is located in a traditionally vicious anti-union section of eastern Arkansas, where unions are bitterly opposed by management, the local Chamber of Commerce, and usually, by city authorities. It is also a "right-to-work" state.

Marianna is only 30 miles from Brinkley, where recently an attempt was made to run two ACWA organizers out of town by an unidentified group of men who invaded the privacy of the organizers' apartment and ordered them to "get out of town, or else." The experience did not stop the ACWA organizers from continuing their union activities in this anti-union area and they were compensated by the Marianna NLRB election victory.

Organizing Despite Odds

The area is under the direction of Richard Brazier, ACWA vice-president. The organizing campaign here is being carried on unremittingly despite tremendous obstacles. Every achievement is a source of encouragement to the people engaged in the drive and increases their determination to liberate the workers from industrial autocracy.

In the case of the Marianna Mfg. Co., which is engaged in the manufacture of dress pants and is a subsidiary of Chas. Meyers Co., of St. Louis, the firm laid off nine workers as soon as the employees showed a desire to organize. The layoff was an obvious effort to intimidate and scare away the workers from joining the union.

This move on the part of the firm backfired. It did not scare the workers, but, instead, tended to solidify them and make them more determined than ever to get the protection and security of an Amalgamated contract.

Then, boasting that there "never have been any unions in Lee (Marianna) County and there never will be," 25 members of the local Chamber of Commerce came into the shop and made speeches telling the workers that they should be happy to have the opportunity to work for $1 per hour, and that the plant would close if the union came in.

Using the same arguments, the Marianna newspaper came out against the union. Charges of interference, restraint, and coercion, were filed with the NLRB against the company, the Chamber of Commerce, and the newspaper, but were later waived temporarily so that the election would not be delayed.

When management and the Chamber of Commerce realized that the union was still making progress and that the old close-down threat and discharges would not work, they called eight of the nine people back to work and, in effect, reversed their close-down story by saying that no new industry would locate in town if a local union were established. The employees were not fooled by this latest maneuver, and the business men began a name-calling campaign against the union in a desperate move to discredit the Amalgamated. They also tried to divide the workers by calling the employees who lived outside the county outside agitators and announcing a new policy of hiring only people who lived within Lee County.

But the employees would not be sidetracked or intimidated in their determination to have their own organization to represent them at the bargaining table and to get for themselves and their families a better job and a better future.

On the scene were ACWA National representative Arthur Hebner, Launa Everett, and Bill Becker, the Arkansas director of organization.

Valuable advice and assistance was rendered by William C. Hall, assistant regional director, who was the featured speaker at the last two organizational meetings and was present during the final week of the campaign.

The election union observers were Alberta Walton and Willie Jane Dailey. All legal work was handled by Philip Lampert, regional council.

"Wreck" Law Blocked In Connecticut

WASHINGTON—The attempt to foist a "right-to-work" law upon the industrial state of Connecticut has been rejected overwhelmingly by the Republican-controlled legislature.

Meanwhile, in Louisiana, the Senate has voted down by a decisive 25-to-8 margin an effort to restore the "wreck" law that was repealed last year. In Idaho, where a "right-to-work" drive was beaten earlier in the legislature, a new "Freedom to Work" committee has been set up to circulate petitions for an initiative in the 1958 elections.

SOUTHERN STUDENTS: At the left is the group of representatives from 11 locals attending the Southeastern Clothing Regional Board's second summer school. Above, board manager Ruth Vaughn speaks at the graduation exercises. Seated is Clarence Burckhart, of Local 611, Somerset, Ky.

The Education Department Reports:

Southern Locals Hold 2nd Annual Parley

CLAIRMONT SPRINGS, Ala.—Nearly 60 representatives from nine Palm Beach locals and two other locals attended the second summer school under the auspices of the Southeastern Clothing Regional Board.

Members of the Palm Beach locals came from Cincinnati, Ohio; Somerset, NewPort, Danville, and Erlanger, Ky.; Blackville, S. C.; and Roanoke and Talladega, Ala. Also represented were locals in Leeds, Ala., and Newberry, S. C.

Held amidst the lovely hill country of Clay County, Ala., in the Clairmont Springs Hotel, the delegates had plenty of time for recreation, swimming and an opportunity for exchange of information and experience, in addition to the formal education program.

The school was directed by southern education director Eric Polisar, and Ruth Vaughan, Southeastern Regional Board manager, assisted by Emil Starr, national education director, and Ray Brown, assistant southern education director.

Two main morning classes, held in the spacious open air pavilion, concentrated on national and international problems. Such aspects of the American economy that affect working men and women, legislation, civil liberties and ethical practices in the trade union movement were throughly aired.

As in the previous Palm Beach school, the students were divided into small discussion groups led by the education staff and the business agents.

Different pieces of reading material from the AFL-CIO on labor, economic and social issues were read by by the groups and then reports were made by selected representatives at a general session later in the afternoon.

Such topics as the "right-to-work" laws, myth of a labor monopoly, workmen's compensation, a fair federal tax policy, what's ahead for the economy in 1957 were included.

The evening sessions usually consisted of a film followed by discussion of the issue presented. Some of the films shown were "Labor's Witness," involving Walter Reuther's appearance before the Gore Sub-Committee on Elections, which takes up the problem of campaign expenditures and lobbying; "The Search", a film on automation, "People of the Cumberland" and "Valley of the Tennessee".

Special events of the week included a trip to nearby Talladega to visit the Palm Beach pants shop and a dance on Thursday evening. Members and their families from the surrounding area attended the latter function.

Highlight of the school, following the end of classes, was the regional board meeting on June 9 attended by ACWA, executive vice-president Hyman Blumberg and Charles English, assistant southern director. This meeting will be reported in the next issue of "The Advance."

Friday evening, the delegates combined seriousness with hilarity by putting on skits on various aspects of the school, the union label and labor laws, as well a: composing two school songs. This was followed by a cook-out.

Graduation exercises were held on Saturday evening following the board meeting. Clarence "Shorty" Burckhardt, of Local 611, Somerset, was elected as the student speaker by the delegates. He summed up the week's experience in the following manner:

"We are grateful for this opportunity to come from the many towns and cities of this vast country as part of the Amalgamated family to gather in fellowship and to discuss ways and means of improving our country and our union. We must act as spearheads of the organization in the locals and in the communities where we come from."

Polisar, Brown and Starr made brief comments on the school's accomplishments and the tasks that lie ahead. Ruth Vaughan thanked the entire staff for their wholehearted contribution in making this second Palm Beach school an unqualified success.

ACWA vice-president and southern organizing director Gladys Dickason sent her regrets at not being able to attend.

The following delegates received leadership training certificates:

Local 608, Newport, Jean Wainscott, Evy Buckler, David Huber, Eunice Steger, and William Clapp.

Local 609, Erlanger, Jane Boggs and Iona Wainscott.

Local 610, Danville, Hallie Newby, Esther Jones, Georgia Stipes, Stella Damaree, Lillian Hainsworth, Edna Rogers, Nora Evans, and Nellie Carrier.

Local 611, Somerset, Clarence Burkhardt, Magdalene Muse, Jean Rogers, Marie Ragle, William Stringer, Melvin Hall, and Anna Barnett.

Local 612, Talladega, Grace Camp, James Bynum, Mary Hudgins, and Susie Vincent.

Local 613, Roanoke, Dorothy Albright, Hazel Gray, Ola Pauline Muldren, Erma Jean Stitt, Alma May, and Betty Butler.

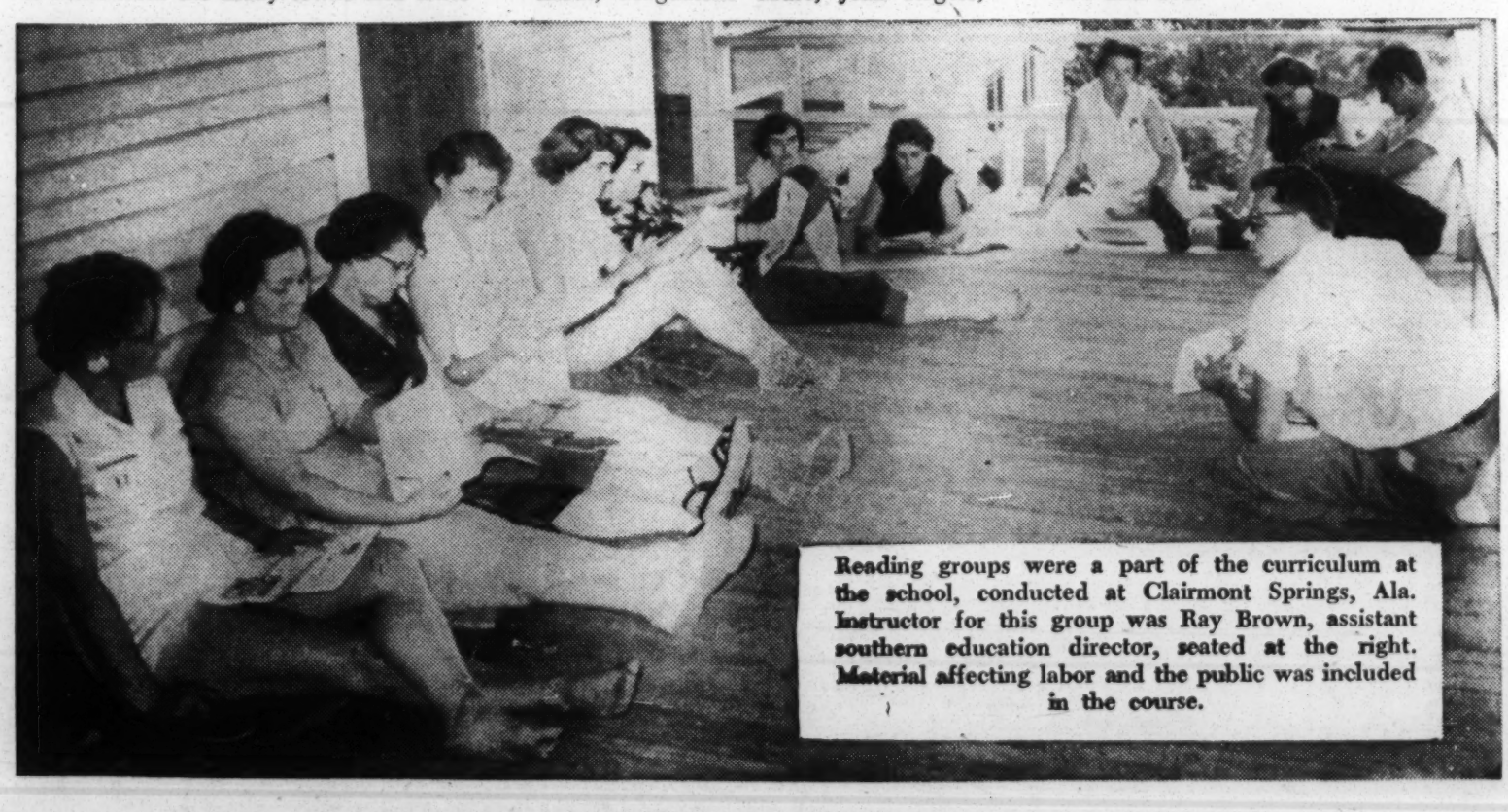
Local 614, Blackville, Lydia Johnston, Lore D. Lain, Keturah Cook, and Mae Sease.

Local 90, Knoxville, Stanley Jones, Betty Rockwell, Peal Hensley, Marie Roberts, Nadine Riley, Virginia Wright, Estelle Wolfenbarger, Gladys Yarnell, Joy Romines, Nova Atkins, Arvil Cupp, Estelle Hansley, and Bill Warwick.

Local 640, Leeds, Avarilla Stone, Freeman F. Macon, Jeane McLaughlin, and Amos Ragsdale.

Local 675, Newberry, Martha Watts, Lillie Caldwell Ophelia Dominick, and Boyd Boozer.

The following business agents participated in the school: Rachell Hill, Locals 608, 609, 610, and 611; Geneva Sneed, Local 90; Iva Brooks, Locals 612, 613, and 640; Lucretia Neal, Locals 614 and 675.



Reading groups were a part of the curriculum at the school, conducted at Clairmont Springs, Ala. Instructor for this group was Ray Brown, assistant southern education director, seated at the right. Material affecting labor and the public was included in the course.

Ark. Local 598 Conducts Union School

BLYTHEVILLE, Ark.—The regional and national group setup of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and the correct grievance procedure for members and officers of the local to follow was the subject of discussion at Local 598's union training school here on May 21 and 22. William Elkuss, western educational director, was in charge of the school. Attending the school were officers and members of the local.

The first night of the school there was a pot luck supper for everyone attending. Fifteen officers and members receiving certificates for participation in the union training school were: Adele Taylor, president; Thomas Johnston, financial secretary; Mittie Henry, recording secretary; Rachel Forshee, Lillian Jackson, Dorothy Mitchell, Jean Hatly, board members; Dorothy Smith, Berlin Privett and Opal Fisher, shop stewards; Carolyn Grammer, social committee; and Anita Boyd and Lucy Koonce, community relations committee.

On May 23, Local 598 held its regular monthly meeting. Adele Taylor, president, presided. Newsletters and correspondence were commented upon by Thelma Cantrell, business agent. The legislative chairlady, Mae White, reported on a communication from Jacqueline Kienzle, of the National Office staff.

Sister Taylor also reported that 350 letters were sent from the members of the local to U.S. Senators and Congressmen on the Morse-Kelley Bill and the Kelley Bill. Also read was Senator Gathings' answer to a telegram sent him on the Morse-Kelley Bill.

Comments were made by several that attended the union training school

The fact that several members attended the second night of the school despite a flash flood and some of them came through water up to parking lights on their cars was very pleasing. The attendance would have been much larger, if nature had been more kind.

Advance 7/15/57

2 New Shops Organizing In Charlotte

CHARLOTTE, N.C.—RWDSU Local 28 has two new shops under organization and gives other evidence of moving ahead at a steady pace in its drive to build the membership. Org. Bill Griffith, aided by rank and file leaders, has signed up nearly half of the workers in one shop and has made a good start at another shop with 150 employees. According to Griffith, organization in several other shops seems very likely.

Elsewhere in Local 28, improved sick benefits went into effect Oct. 1 for the employees of Ralston Purina Co. The new benefits, paid by the company, pay up to $2 a week more than the old plan.

At the Buckeye Cotton Oil plant, shop stewards are busy signing up workers returning to the job as the new season begins. Their goal is a 100% union shop before contract negotiations begin a few weeks from now. There have been some job transfers in the shop with pay cuts, which the shop leaders will take up as part of the contract talks.

Local 28 members mourned the death of Robert Watters, a member for the past 11 years. He was employed by the Ralston Purina Co.

5 Memphis Shops Settle With '19'

MEMPHIS, Tenn. — Contract settlements in five shops affecting close to 300 members of Local 19 have been completed in the past few weeks, Int'l Rep. George Boone reported.

At the largest plant, Buckeye Cotton Oil's Hollywood operation, 110 workers gained 3 cents an hour in wage increases. The contract will run for 2 years, with a wage reopener at the end of the first year. The increases are effective Sept. 28, 1957.

The Quaker Oats and McMillen Feed mill workers settled for 3 cents an hour in a cost-of-living adjustment effective Sept. 1.

At the Nutrena feed mill, Local 19 won 6-cent hourly wage boosts, one additional paid holiday, vacation improvements, 2 days' paid funeral leave in case of death in a worker's family, and 10-minute rest periods twice a day with pay. The contract, effective Sept. 27, runs for two years, with a reopener in one year. At Swift Cotton Oil, the workers also won wage boosts of 6 cents an hour in a one-year pact beginning Sept. 20.

A. Cohen Branch Organized in Ga.

ATLANTA, Ga.—Teamwork between two locals of the RWDSU has again resulted in the organization of a new shop. The employees of A. Cohen & Sons, a well-known giftware wholesale firm with headquarters in New York, have joined the RWDSU here after an organizing campaign led by Organizer Guy Dickinson.

District 65 has the firm's main warehouse and office in New York under contract.

Org. Dickinson signed up the 13 Atlanta workers in a few weeks. Once again the relationship that '65' has with the company helped out here, as the local management started to make things tough for the newly organized workers. The New York RWDSUers were told of the manager's activities, and they in turn spoke to top management in New York. The hard time the Atlanta workers were getting promptly stopped.

A petition for an NLRB election was filed about two weeks ago.

American Bakery Plant Goes RWDSU in Wilmington, N. C. Vote

WILMINGTON, N.C.—Sixty employees of the American Baking Company's plant here voted for the RWDSU in a National Labor Relations Board election on Oct. 17, Regional Dir. Irving Lebold reported. The vote was 33 for the RWDSU to 21 for no union.

LEADERS OF NEW RWDSU LOCAL meet at union headquarters in Birmingham, Ala. They represent more than 200 workers at White Dairy Co., who voted overwhelmingly last month to affiliate their independent Local 101 to the RWDSU. L. to r., seated, Sec. Bill Hardy, Pres. Lloyd McKay. Treas. Bob Bradley. Standing, l. to r., Committeeman Dewey Allen, Vice-Pres. John Kirkpatrick, Committeeman Grady Yother, and Bill Balcomb.

The baking plant employees are members of the Bakery & Confectionery Union. Those who joined the RWDSU are route salesmen here and in 14 other cities in this state where the company operates distribution depots, as well as the retail employees who operate the company's Thrift Store. This is a store attached to the plant where one-day-old bread is sold at reduced prices.

The company is best known in this area for its Merita bread, and its plant here sells at wholesale to retailers throughout the state.

The organizing campaign was a careful one, Lebold said, lasting over a period of about 10 weeks. Its success, he said, was due in large part to the earlier victory at the Sealtest Dairy in Florence, S.C., about 100 miles from here. Working under Lebold's direction were Org. R. W. Parker and AFL-CIO Org. Ray Schnell.

In addition to higher wages, the men are very much interested in the RWDSU Southeastern States Health and Welfare Plan, which covers, among other members in the South, the route salesmen at American Baking in Gadsden, Ala. Also important is establishment of job security and the correction of such conditions as the requirement to load and unload trucks and to do unreasonable amounts of paperwork.

Earnings Below RWDSUers

Although the company handed out commission increases shortly before the election, bringing their rates to 7½%, the earnings of the routemen here are far below those of the RWDSUers in Gadsden, Ala., Lebold said.

Lebold credited Organizer Parker with having carried out a tough job well in working on this campaign. The regional director pointed out that Parker, who is only on the full time union staff a short time, visited the company's depots in 14 cities and signed up the men on the spot.

Long Meadow Dairymen Await NLRB Election in Durham, N. C.

DURHAM, N.C.—As the day of a National Labor Relation Board election draws near, a majority of the employees of Long Meadow Farms are meeting regularly to plan measures to insure a victory in the balloting, and to guard against possible unfair labor practices by the company.

An organizing campaign has been under way among the 80 workers at this large independent dairy during the past few months. Directing the drive is Regional Dir. Irving Lebold, and working with him is Org. R. W. Parker.

There have been several indications of the company's disposition to fight unionization of its plant here. Not long after the union came on the scene, wage increases ranging from $2.50 to $4 a week were handed out, and it appears that further wage boosts are likely.

This move was immediately interpreted by leading rank and filers in the plant as proof that the union has made progress. They feel also that once organized the workers can confidently demand substantial wage increases in negotiations to improve the present poor conditions.

Since the union petition for election was filed, the company has tried to challenge the NLRB's jurisdiction, but was turned down. The latest company move has been to insist that the employees of five plants in other cities be permitted to vote in one election, in the hope that the weight of a majority of unorganized employees in the other plants would defeat the pro-union vote at the one plant here.

This case is now before the national office of the NLRB for decision. Lebold said it was unlikely that the labor board would uphold the company in this maneuver, and that an election at this time will be held only among employees of the company's plant in this city.

7c Raise and Health Plan Won at Bremner Biscuit

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—The Bremner Biscuit workers, due for an automatic 7-cent wage boost on Oct. 1, came out of negotiations with management with the 7-cent raise intact, plus coverage under the RWDSU Southeastern States Health and Welfare Plan.

Actually, the shop went into the talks with the modest aim of using part of the 7 cents to get company-paid coverage under the union plan, it was reported by Ass't Area Dir. Frank Parker, who led the negotiations. The final agreement provides for extension of the contract for another year. The pact, covering more than 100 workers, was due to expire in October, 1958.

With Parker on the negotiating committee were Bobby Hardin, Ray Spruill, Claude Greene, Victor Parker (no relation), and Lomax Smith.

Rushton Toy Co. Talks Move Ahead

ATLANTA, Ga.—Agreement has been reached on two major issues in negotiations between the RWDSU and the Rushton Toy Co., but the main parts of a first contract for this 350-worker plant have yet to be ironed out, Ass't Area Dir. Frank Parker reported.

Management has agreed to the workers' demand for department seniority, and to the establishment of a grievance procedure. Still open is the question of arbitration as the final step in the grievance procedure, which the workers also seek.

Although further talks will be needed to round out this part of the contract, Parker said the issues already settled represent important progress, since job security is the main question as far as the workers are concerned.

Wage increases are also sought, with the aim of raising the piece rates which are the basis of earnings for the overwelming majority of the employees. Also on the list of demands is union security and a voice for the union in determining qualifications for promotion to better paying jobs in the plant.

With Parker and Organizer Guy Dickinson in the negotiations is a rank and file committee headed by Mrs. Williams.

The workers, who make stuffed animals, voted for the RWDSU just a year ago this month. Negotiations were delayed until late last summer by the company's use of various means provided by the Taft-Hartley Law and the Republican-dominated National Labor Relations Board to stall collective bargaining.

3 December 1965

Mr. Holgate Young
Education Director
Communications Workers of America
1925 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear Hoagy:

The Face of the South was produced by the Department of Social Education and Action of the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church of the USA. The technical end of the film -- shooting through editing -- was done by Frank Willard Productions, 1842 Briarwood Road, N.E., Atlanta Georgia.

The word is that the film cost about $3,000. However it was an early film for the company and can not be used as a gauge to costs then or now. Willard would now estimate costs for a similar film at about $1,000. per minute.

If you are interested in producing something and want to tap a valuable source of information on inexpensive productions I would suggest that you be in touch with Oscar Cohen, Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue, New York.

Hope this helps.

Sincerely

Emory F. Via,
Director, Labor Program

EFV:jb

File CWA
Misc. Unions
DEOD

Communications

1.13
x 1.17.1

Workers of America

(AFFILIATED WITH AFL-CIO)
1925 K STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C.
TELEPHONE: FEderal 7-7711

December 9, 1965.

Mr. Emory Via
Director, Labor Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Emory:

Thank you very much for the information on your film and we'll follow up on the contact with Cohen. Enclosed are some notes we made on "Face of the South" based on a discussion we had at Ann Arbor a few weeks ago. I thought you would be interested in having these.

Fraternally yours,

Holgate Young
Education Director

Enclosure

April 4, 1966

Mr. James Pierce
Southern Coodinator
Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO
2121 Commonwealth Avenue
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Jim:

The Board ruling Re: J. P. Stevens must have been heartening news despite getting no order to bargain. Among other things, it is worth plenty these days to have a unanimous ruling.

I hope I'll be your way before too long.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

EFV:jb

April 6, 1966

Mr. Carroll Hutton
Education Director
United Automobile Workers
8000 East Jefferson Avenue
Detroit, Michigan 48214

Dear Carroll:

It was good seeing you in Detroit. Many thanks for the hospitality which you and the UAW extended to those of us attending the meetings. I am very sorry that our schedules were so packed that there was no time to really talk. I will be in touch with Herb Green here and will soon send you a copy of the kind of program which we are proposing to the state labor bodies. It will give you some idea of the sort of activity which might be available to UAW members through the state body or more directly through their own locals if they and you should desire. This will not be the only kind of activity in which the labor program here will engage but it is one of several that hold some promise.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Director
Labor Program

October 31, 1966

Mr. Gordon H. Cole, Editor
The Machinists
Machinists Building
1300 Connecticut Avenue
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Gordon:

I was pleased to see your front page spread "Can You Talk About Race" taken from the COPE leaflet. I would be interested in hearing of any special reactions you get to it.

I am putting in a second year here with the Southern Regional Council before returning to The School for Workers.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via, Director
Labor Program

hj

"Face of the South"

Discussion Ideas

1. This film was made about 10 years ago and predates much of the current civil rights activity. Does it have interest for unionists today?

   problem that it deals with has become more prominent in the last 10 years.
   explains history of racial issue.
   makes point that liberty is based on a measure of economic equality.

2. Is George Mitchell's solution the same or different from today's civil rights movement?

Civil Rights emphasis:	George Mitchell's emphasis:
political equality as the road to economic gains.	economic equality as the road to political freedom.

3. This is not a high budget film.
   What do you think of its effectiveness as a film?

   has something to say.
   colorful personality of Mitchell.
   uses some simple variations — photographs, blackboard.